
CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS

THREE DECADES OF POST-SOCIALIST TRANSITION



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THREE DECADES OF POST-SOCIALIST TRANSITION

Edited by
Nebojša Čamprag
and
Anshika Suri

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UNIVERSITÄT
DARMSTADT

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Introduction: 1989-2019 – three decades of post-socialist transition

Cities today are sites of immense physical changes, resulting from the last few decades of comprehensive global economic and social restructuring. In order to properly address growing urban challenges in the future, investigations of urban transformation processes, diversities of their manifestations and implications on the built environment subsequently became of extreme importance. However, scholarship in the field of urban studies that deals with the processes of urban transformation paradoxically lacks a diversity in geographic perspectives. Historically, urban research has had a western centric focus, although recent scholarship has demonstrated a slight shift of its analytical lens towards the Global South—namely to some Asian, African and Latin-American urban contexts. Other regions, such as of Central and Eastern Europe² along with Eurasian cities more generally, could still be considered as relatively understudied—despite the complexity, rapidity and diversity of its socio-political and economic transitions.

There are a few elements that represent a starting point for this book. The first one considers the observation that many valuable lessons from the process of post-socialist transition remain largely marginalized in the circulating global urban theory, although many scholars have recognized the particular case of the CEE region as a perfect laboratory for exploring urban change (Thornley, 1993; Stanilov, 2007). The following aspect that needs to be discerned is that scholarly attention on investigating transitional processes in the field of urban studies has largely been focused on examining the historical, social, political and economic aspects of transitions. Apart from some significant contributions (Hamilton, Andrews & Pichler-Milanović, 2005; Tsenkova & Nedović-Budić, 2006; Stanilov, 2007; Czepczynsky, 2008; Czaplicka, Gelazis & Ruble, 2009; Kliems & Dmitrieva, 2010; Hirt, 2012), the architectural and urban dimensions of post-socialist transition haven't been fully explored. As Stanilov (2007) noticed, this could potentially be attributed to socio-political structures of cities generally having a higher level of adaptability to changes, which contrasts with the characteristics of urban built environments, which require more time to reflect societal shifts. Finally, in addition to the under-investigated processes and outcomes of spatial change following the fall of state-socialism in CEE, the legacy of its urban planning and architecture remains mostly excluded from the present-day preservation and development agendas. However, taking a look at the earlier research on this matter, the scholars generally highlighted how the socio-spatial transition in CEE region demonstrated a variety of manifestation forms. On the one hand, these transitions occurred in a rather normative and mundane manner, such as through renaming of places or through regeneration of urban neighbourhoods (Azaryahu, 1997; Light, 2004; Jagiełło-Szostak, 2013). On the other hand, it has also materialized through contestations and negotiations; often leading to destruction and reconstruction of cities (Crowley, 2003; Banaszkiewicz, Graburn & Owsianowska, 2017). Hence, the transitioning processes in CEE cities represent a significant

¹ Technical University of Darmstadt, Faculty of Architecture. "Urban Morphosis Lab" lead researcher. E-Mail: camprag@stadt.tu-darmstadt.de

² Central and Eastern Europe will be referred to as CEE in the text from here on.

potential for comparative research of diverse spatial mechanisms, factors, and actors involved that can shed new light on the phenomenon of urban transformation in a broader context. Considering that 2019 marks three full decades since the fall of the Berlin Wall (1989-2019) and the collapse of state-socialism in CEE, the team at the “Urban Morphosis Lab” research group considered this as an opportunity to reflect on and discuss the ways in which the processes and outcomes of post-socialist transition have impacted the built environment of the CEE cities. Subsequently, three decades have provided a broad time span to contribute to the existing knowledge on material, physical, and spatial dimensions of post-socialist transition. Based on this idea, we decided to organise the inaugural International Conference on Cities and Change, focused on topics related to the restructuring of planning and design frameworks, infrastructure, architecture, and urban space in CEE context. The conference titled “Cities and Change: Three Decades of Post-socialist Transition”³ was organised at the Technical University of Darmstadt on May 17th and 18th, 2019. It brought together leading academics, researchers and practitioners, provided an opportunity for inter- and transdisciplinary exchange on varied social, political and economic phenomena affecting urban metamorphoses in cities of CEE. Furthermore, the sessions of the conference addressed the major factors that guided the transitional process, such as—the shift to neoliberal system of urban governance and planning; strategic and innovative urban development approaches and practices for adapting to socio-political change; democratization of planning and design practices; privatization and commodification of urban spaces; globalisation and diversification of urban culture; and transformation of urban memory, heritage and identity. The conference included four keynote lectures, seventy-four presentations distributed in fifteen thematic sessions, and extensive discussions and debates amongst more than one-hundred-and-twenty-five international participants from a wide range of disciplines - including architects, planners, geographers, historians and sociologists (fig. 1).

This book is a cumulative summation of one-of-a-kind conference, explicating the varied outcomes of one of the most remarkable socio-political shift in the 20th century Europe, its intersection with current globalizing challenges, and their joint implications on urban planning, identity and image-making, heritage preservation, and the overall post-socialist reconfiguration of cities in the CEE region. The fifty-seven papers included in this volume approach these dimensions across multiple scales—from the city to the built form—and analyses of different spatial categories—a city’s spatial structure and practices, urban morphology and network.

The book is thematically divided into eleven chapters, with the first five chapters aiming to provide an in-depth understanding of relevant concepts, notions, and the current state of approach and engagement with the socialist legacy. The chapters discuss and explore various themes surrounding these topics. The first chapter introduces crucial questions on the longevity of the prefix ‘post’ with regards to socialist cities, and contestations surrounding when it began. It also brings in-depth understanding on the specific historical and cultural contexts within special local contexts that preceded the post socialist period. The second chapter explores the ways in which the post-socialist societies have dealt with their socialist built urban heritage. Cases in this chapter include tangible objects and urban spaces, and intangible elements in cities—rituals in public space, place names amongst other forms of spatial discourses. The third chapter brings forth the question of the urban morphology of post-socialism. Papers in this chapter explore relations of society and space as a synthesis of material and immaterial structures—both witnessing change, and also determining possible new ways of urban development. The fourth

³ This conference was funded by DfG, as well as by INGENIUM and AG STADTFORSCHUNG at TU Darmstadt.

chapter dealt with social, political, educational, representational roles and functions of architecture in the post-socialist era. They lead inquiries into the capacity of contemporary architecture to promote and support transitions, and also consider strategies for re-approaching, re-use, re-programming, re-modelling and re-branding of former buildings and sites of socialist-state. The fifth chapter approaches the phenomenon of urban transformations in the CEE cities through drawing parallels with the processes occurring in other regions in the world. It highlights the conventional conceptual frameworks that shape the discourse on post-socialist transition and reaches for new knowledge beyond the mere physical structure.



Fig. 1. Group photo of the conference participants. Photo: Urban Morphosis Lab, 2019

The remaining part of the book emphasizes the significance of a holistic approach to understanding post-socialist transformation processes. This is done, firstly, through taking culture and tourism as the focus in the sixth chapter, by considering how these two play a crucial role in the urban transformation processes today. It explores the phenomenon of culture-driven tourism development and its impacts on post-socialist cities, through both 'positive' and 'negative' aspects. Secondly, as a starting point in order to understand the current state of urban governance in post-socialist cities, the seventh chapter focuses on investigations of mobility governance, through a debate on conflicting considerations of stakeholders in shaping urban mobility governance. In addition, the eighth chapter brings the topics of the socialist rural economy, socialist planning theories, the collectivization of land, and the transfer of town planning schemes on rural villages. The chapter highlights how the rural areas in CEE are also entirely reshaped, with consequences that are still visible today. The ninth chapter deals with the new patterns of land appropriation in post-socialist space. This is particularly important since the post-socialist space became a disputed territory with the advent of neoliberal transition. Recent decades of economic and political crises demonstrated some new waves of urban and rural land acquisitions, with local populations being deprived of their land, and powerful entities gaining more control.

While most of the chapters highlight the challenges of the socio-spatial realm of post-socialist transition, there were also some opportunities that emerged, which deserve equal consideration. The tenth chapter showcases the link between the post-socialist cities and urban innovation. The

legacy of socialism and the Cold War, in combination with the drastic socio-economic changes and varied emerging global issues, created challenges but conversely triggered, rather paradoxically, innovative solutions and new models of urban practices. Similarly, the last chapter brought a critical lens on the enthusiasm behind more than two decades of strategic planning approaches—in particular, the challenges and opportunities of their transfers to the complex realm of post-socialist cities.

As Prof. Dr. Luděk Sýkora befittingly highlighted in his concluding lecture of the conference, the paradox of CEE is in having cities with socialist legacies, being governed and shaped by capitalist rules. To examine the urban effects of these transformations, current debates on globalisation and trans-national transference of ideas can be of valuable insight, as urban transformative processes are not exclusive to Eastern Europe only. Similar urban metamorphoses seen within cities globally not just highlight challenges but also paradoxes and strengths of city-making processes. In doing so, they reveal issues of inclusion and exclusion, of both people and governance that shapes our cities. Furthermore, the effects of globalization, increased mobility, technological advancements, informatization, and climate change, highlight the rapidity of transformations occurring in cities worldwide. This has led to calls for a comprehensive understanding of formulating efficient and sustainable responses to these transitions. With the former socialist countries' inclusion into the competitive global economies through temporally and spatially uneven processes, a deep insight into diverse regional case studies reveals a variety of factors and actors driving contested urban transformation processes in general. Through these investigations, the team of "Urban Morphosis Lab" hopes that the conference, followed by this publication, will make a humble contribution to increasing the diversity of geographic perspectives in research on urban transformation. In addition, we also aim to bring forth the spatial dimensions of transitioning processes, and produced new empirical insights, theoretical concepts and analytical methods for better understanding of the complexity behind the processes of urban change in wider international contexts.

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CHAPTER 1

How Long Does The 'Post' Last? Spatial Dynamics in Post-Socialist Transition

How long does the post last? In order to answer this question, we should also investigate when has the post begun? Post is from today's perspective regarded as homogeneous process, but the aim of this introductory session would be to question this opinion having in mind specific historical and cultural context of various Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) countries that are nowadays regarded as post-socialist. Therefore, having in mind different social, cultural and historical circumstances of various countries, territories and cities that are nowadays called post-socialist, this session should examine special local contexts that preceded the post period. This session welcomes diverse perspectives of spatial dynamics explored with special emphasis on the processes of morphogenesis. Through examination of these processes running on different spatial levels, studies within this session should finally shed a new light on the beginning of transitional spatial dynamics and try to predict when or if the post will ever be finished.

Milica Milojevic, Faculty of Architecture, University of Belgrade

Mladen Pesic, Faculty of Architecture, University of Belgrade

Super-gentrification in a post-socialist state on the example of Poland

Abstract: *The multidimensional process of gentrification is one of the most commonly occurring processes of the contemporary urban transformations. Its most advanced stage is the so-called super-gentrification, a situation in which wealthy residents of the neighbourhood are replaced by ones even richer. This process is particularly clear in the most affluent cities in Western Europe and Northern America. Gentrification there seems really advanced, and it has been observed and described for at least several decades. In contrary, in the case of the states of the former bloc of real socialism, the manifestations of gentrification started to become visible only after 1989, or even later. In their case, gentrification is less advanced in its form and affects many spaces only point-wise. However, the aim of the paper is to describe the presence of the super-gentrification process on the example of Poland, in relation to cold-war-modernist housing estates, the process of 'wild' property restitution, and of some rural areas. Data on the real estate market and field research are used for this purpose. The author concludes that super-gentrification is already a tangible process in the region of Central and Eastern Europe, which shows a much greater advancement and social severity of this process of transforming urban space in relations to the vast majority of research analysing the level of gentrification advancement in the CEE region. The occurrence of super-gentrification also suggests the possibility of indicating a significant caesura or even ending the socio-economic transformation of some post-socialist countries.*

Keywords: *gentrification, super-gentrification, CEE, Poland, dependent market economies.*

Introduction

Gentrification was already described more than half a century ago (Glass, 1964), however, it was not commonly found in the former Soviet Bloc, as before 1989, real estate markets there did not allow free circulation of land (Drozda, 2018a). Only the marketization of real estate in the 1990s enabled the development of speculation on a larger scale, which is a necessary prerequisite for the 'mature' gentrification, even though some authors found its remnants even before (Pobłocki, 2012). The specificity of this process tends to associate it with the scheme on the basis of which one can indicate its two main stages and a possible third. The first is the so-called pioneer gentrification (1). It involves the emergence of new inhabitants in degraded spaces with greater resources of cultural capital, which can be described as pioneer gentrifiers. Their presence improves the general perception of a given space. Subsequently, it becomes the basis for the accumulation of its economic counterpart by advanced gentrifiers. They are richer people, displacing both the original inhabitants and the pioneers. Following

¹ University of Warsaw. E-mail: lukaszdrozda@uw.edu.pl

such advanced gentrification (2) super-gentrification (3) may take its place. The latter can be understood as a situation in which wealthy residents of the neighborhood are replaced by ones even richer (Lees et al, 2007).

Does such process actually occur in the Central and Eastern Europe (CEE)? The first publications about the occurrence of gentrification there began to appear only after the collapse of real socialism (Sýkora, 1994; Smith, 1996), or even later in the case of Polish language (Lisowski, 1999). Actually, the only place among them where gentrification could manifest clearly already in the 1990s was East Germany, especially Berlin because of a large inflow of economic capital from West Germany and the existence of numerous degraded areas. The second distinguishing feature of CEE gentrification is its limited scope. According to Jakóbczyk-Gryszkiewicz et al (2017: 161), such processes there 'generally are less intensive', occur on a relatively small scale, mainly concern new buildings, and mostly is raised by the public sector. The character of local gentrification can be treated as a measure of broadly understood social, economic and urbanization processes. The thesis is an indication that gentrification in Poland is more advanced than expected in the case of countries less advanced economically. Its intensity is uneven, which makes this regularity less obvious and visible. These considerations are based on the source literature on gentrification, on authorial field research, as well as on some data on the real estate market.

Cold-war-modernist housing estates

Large housing estates built during the period of real socialism are still an important part of housing stock in CEE, where they provide up to one-third of the entire residential stock (Szafrńska, 2017). The economic breakdown in the 1980s and the total reorientation of housing construction at the beginning of the next decade resulted in a sharp drop in its productivity. While in the 1970s almost 300,000 flats were put into use per year, and at the end of real socialism almost 200,000, in 1996 the number was only 62,000 (Local Data Bank, 2019).

The shape of housing production in Poland after 1989 clearly shows that it was a market insensitive to the basic social problems, especially in the case of less affluent people. Nowadays in Poland there are only 350 dwellings per 1,000 inhabitants (least in the entire EU) compared to 485 as the average for the Union (National Housing Program, 2016: 9-10). Housing experts point out that construction of 300,000 flats per year should reduce quantitative deficits of Polish housing, but this level is not reached, as well as construction of public housing almost does not exist (see Chart 1). What is more, the quality of the stock built after 1989 is not far different from the real-socialist predecessor. Polish architects tend to joke that real estate development companies would like to sell apartments in blocks with a marble reception, which is an imaginary symbol of prestige, rather than build sufficiently insulated buildings. Such weaknesses in connection with the popularity of gated communities or almost non-existing spatial planning prompted some authors to discuss whether the Polish capital should not be classified as a third-world city (Jałowiecki, 2019).

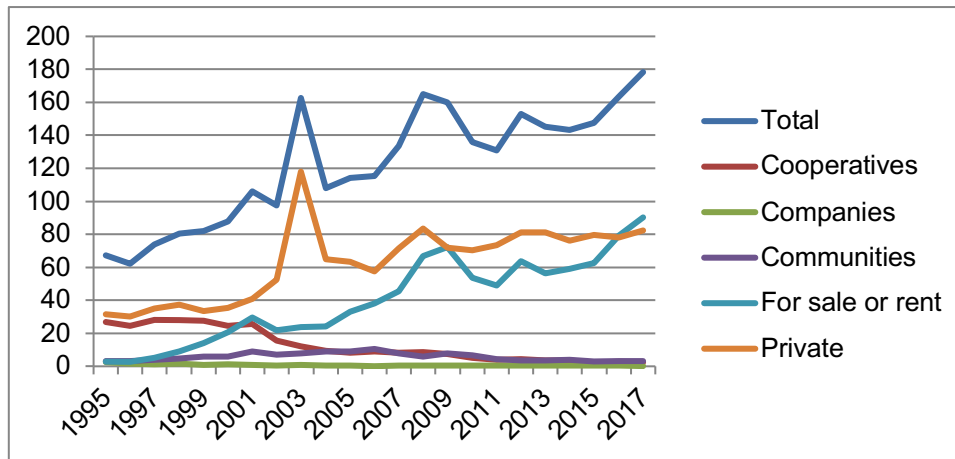


Chart 1. Number of apartments completed in Poland (1995-2017, in thousands)
Source: Local Data Bank, 2019.

Contemporary housing estates are designed in the pursuit of maximizing profit. Polish real estate development companies tend to buy the smallest lots, and then crowd out on it as many apartments as possible. This is in contradiction with real socialist logic, when the lack of a free market allowed to locate housing estates in a manner far more wasteful from the capitalist perspective and to use for them attractive, central locations that were chosen more freely, and not only buy vacant lots located in the periphery because of its low price, as it happens nowadays. A good example in this context is the 'Za Żelazną Bramą' housing estate in Warsaw. As shown below (see Fig. 1), it is well situated and equipped with social services.

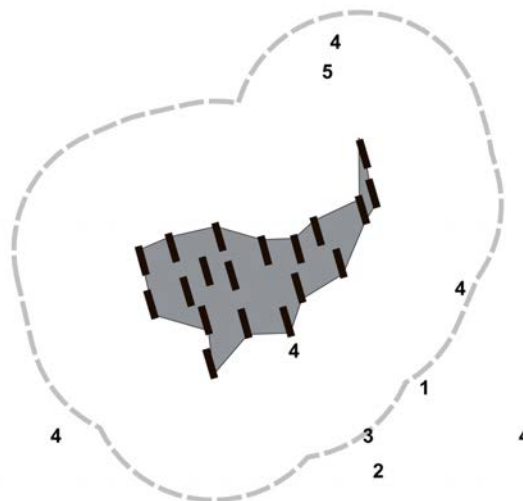


Fig. 1. Spatial analysis of the 'Za Żelazną Bramą' housing estate (gray field)

In the area or in the vicinity of 500 m (a gray dashed line) there are, among others: 1 – Palace of Culture and Science, 2 – Central Railway Station, 3 – 'Złote Tarasy' shopping mall, 4 – underground stations, 5 – City Hall. Source: Drozda, 2017a.

This large-scale housing estate was completed in 1972. After the collapse of real socialism, its blocks built in pre-fabricated technology began to be ardently criticized. The apartments were small and uncomfortable, and there were no windows in microscopic kitchens. The collapsing, but well-situated estate became therefore attractive for two groups of

gentrification pioneers. Firstly, the flats were rented by students for whom attractive rents and proximity to the city centre were more important than the apartments' low standard. The representatives of the Vietnamese minority were also willing to settle down here. In this way the estate was not depopulated. What is more, it has gained a multicultural diversity, and its wide negative spaces were filled with new buildings. The area contains nowadays prestigious offices, including the headquarters of the largest insurance company in Poland and several expensive hotels.

A real turning-point in the history of this place was the appearance of a short-term rental that has been gaining increasing popularity in Poland (Drozda, 2017b). As real estate agents pointed out in conversations with me, small apartments were so successfully turned into apartments rented for a short period using Airbnb that currently they constitute up to a third of all apartments in some blocks. In this way, one can observe the entire cycle of the gentrification of the estate. The revaluation of the blocks themselves, combined with the inflow of capital, meant that also super-gentrification could be found in this place.

'Wild' property restitution

Another example of gentrification in Poland is the so-called 'wild reprivatization' (Drozda, 2018b). This phenomenon is related to the insecure ownership status of many properties in Poland. In contrast to the majority of states undergoing a similar transformation, capitalist Poland did not quickly decide to privatize its housing stock (Glock et al, 2007). This allowed to avoid the sale of public property, but the status of such real estate remains vague. Some apartments were privatized during several waves of expropriation. Politicians that supported the dissemination of private property then awarded high discounts to tenants, making it easier for them to buy their apartments. Distributing property rights allowed to avoid the responsibility for conducting housing policy and provided support from grateful voters.

The issue of real estates located in buildings built before 1939 is more complicated. Due to World War II damages, the latter are relatively few, and therefore particularly valuable, as well as more ornate and larger than those built after the war, which is why they can be successfully turned into luxurious apartments. After 1945, they were taken from their owners and transformed into social housing units. After 1989, some people started taking advantage of the fact that the expropriation process was carried out in a defective manner. The lack of clear legal provisions meant that the tenants were unable to find out about the status of their own apartments. In the thicket of intricate rules, so-called claim dealers, associated with criminal organizations or specialized law offices, best operated. Such groups of people bought claims to attractive real estates in the form of notarial deeds, thus gaining artificially the heirs' rights (Drozda, 2018b).

The 'wild reprivatization' process is, therefore, an example of brutal gentrification. The stage of degradation, in this case, was the acquisition of apartments for social policy purposes. The tenants, were often not interested in renovations or simply could not afford any. Flats emptied of such 'meat stuffing' turned into luxury apartments or the old buildings were demolished to make place for new ones. The example of a tenant movement activist, Jolanta Brzeska, is particularly shocking. She used to live in a nearly 100-square-meter apartment in an attractive part of Warsaw that was 'recovered' by a well-known claim dealer. Her body was found in a forest, burnt alive, and the perpetrators have never been detected. Her flat was

put up for sale for about a €0,25m. Subsequently, representatives of the upper class moved into the gentrified building (Drozda, 2018b).

Brzeska's story is a practical illustration of the concept of rent gap theory described by Smith (1979). According to this model, gentrification takes place when the disparity between present value and possible profit becomes so big that it encourages the inflow of speculative capital. By the same token, 'wild reprivatisation' is super-gentrification in instant mode. Its less advanced stages occur only occasionally and to a lesser degree. Locating fashionable cafes, bars, clubs or galleries in such buildings is relatively rare, although sometimes new owners decide to 'enrich' in this way the view of neighbourhoods affected by reprivatisation. According to the Central Statistical Office in Poland (Local Data Bank, 2019), in the years 1995-2016 such property restitution took up 33,000 apartments, including 8,300 in Warsaw.

Super-gentrification of the countryside

Although gentrification is most often associated with urban areas, this issue is well reflected in examples from various rural areas as well (Phillips, 1993). In this case, it is also possible to distinguish the whole cycle of gentrification. The most classic examples are the vast areas of Italian Tuscany and French Provence, dominated nowadays by the global tourism industry. However, in the past they were strictly agricultural and experienced intensive depopulation. A similar pattern can be observed in some places in the Polish countryside. Traditionally it has been a very agricultural country with a regular but quite rare network of relatively small towns. Nowadays it remains the most agricultural EU member state, but more and more rural inhabitants are employed in other sectors of the economy, thanks to which many farms change their functions, for example turning into agritourist farms or centres organizing special events such as weddings or communion parties.

Similar functions are performed by former granges and palace complexes. Unlike most of the countries from the Soviet Bloc, Poland maintained a fragmented ownership structure of rural lands. Relatively few state-owned farms (PGRs) were located mainly in the area of the so-called 'Regained Territories' that were seized from Germany during post-war border changes. Many PGRs were established on the grounds of former aristocratic properties, which easily provided the necessary infrastructure for such enterprises. In 1991-1993, the vast majority of them were liquidated due to austerity policies of the central government and nowadays only one exists. For locals the collapse of this socio-economic system was a particularly hard experience. Some researchers described fallen PGRs as 'total' (because of their versatility) welfare state (Tarkowska, 2000). The culture of poverty and massive unemployment triggered by the collapse of this system exacerbated the degradation of former farms.

Abandoned real estate aroused the interest of the first pioneers of gentrification. They were enthusiasts of monuments, artists and other expats from cities, all of them interested in rural culture. Afterwards, some serious investors also bought and renovated old aristocratic complexes and changed such residences into hotels, SPAs and conference centres. Numerous similarities can be observed, for example, between the Polish region of Masuria and the previously described. For many years, it was an area characterized by record levels of unemployment. Its landscape, however, is very attractive, nicknamed the 'land of lakes'. In this way, palaces in Galiny, Mortęgi, and Myśleńta were transformed into elegant hotels. The above examples illustrate the super-gentrification in the form of a comprehensive

transformation of former aristocratic residences from the state of degradation of bankrupt PGRs to the present state of luxury residences.

Conclusions

As the above considerations show, super-gentrification is also present in CEE, even though this presence 'is not obvious' (Dudek-Mańkowska & Iwańczak, 2018: 28). Inducing such incomplete gentrification is sometimes the hidden aim of official urban policies. The municipal regeneration programs are an important instrument of contemporary public policy in Poland (Ciesiółka, 2018). Not only was there a special legal act adopted in this matter (*National Regeneration Act*, 2015), but also more than half of the municipalities in Poland implemented programs or conducted advanced work on their adoption (Bal-Domańska & Buciak, 2018). Despite the declared goal of initiating only the positive aspects of gentrification, they often trigger the whole process. It is frequently welcome by local authorities because social problems are thus relocated elsewhere (Drozda, 2017c). This is a problematic phenomenon, especially in the context of the shrinking of public housing stock in Poland and inefficient housing policy.

The example of 'wild reprivatization' clearly shows how gentrification can be problematic for urban policy. In the aforementioned example of Warsaw, where as a result of property restitution public residential stock lost 8,300 units, there are as many as 5,500 Airbnb rental offers (AirDNA, 2019). 4,500 of them are apartments rented in their entirety, not as rooms used to make extra money for tenants. There is no evidence that these are exactly the same flats. However, the fact that residential stock was reduced and does not increase because of almost non-existent public housing construction, shows how helpless policymakers and urban community can be in comparison to rampant gentrification accelerated by such devices as Airbnb.

The processes of gentrification in Polish rural areas are slightly less negative because they affect mostly regions that already experienced depopulation, thanks to which gentrification could not cause displacement. Gentrification in these areas is more often limited to the positive dimensions of the renewal of the built environment. To a far lesser extent it generates social costs of paternalistic, cultural colonization performed by gentrifiers, even though sometimes it is connected to some forms of romanticizations of rural culture. From time to time it even revives the local economic life, for example by employing people from the fallen state farms in the new hotels. The former workers are also employed in the technical support positions, which allows using the qualifications of persons from families of unemployed workers to a greater extent than various precarious jobs.

CEE is sometimes still perceived as 'immature'. This is due to the difference in relation to Western European counterparts affecting the economic, legal or social spheres and the perception of Eastern European systems as 'post-socialist' or 'post-communist' (Staniszki, 1999). First of all, this is dubious because of the differences between the ideologies of socialism and communism and the actual systemic models of the Soviet Bloc. Secondly, it is problematic from the practical standpoint. This perspective forces us to perceive the entire CEE as doomed to imitative modernization according to overtly occidentalist stereotype. In addition, it does not take into account social, economic, legal and technological changes related to the integration of this area with the EU.

By the same token, it seems that the Polish transformation is coming to an end, and its urbanization processes reflect this very well. Local super-gentrification, on the one hand, reflects global trends, and on the other is a proof that CEE not only passively repeats Western phenomena, but also initiates their own singularities.

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CHAPTER 2

Socialist Legacy—Emerging Heritage?

After the fall of socialism in the Central and Eastern Europe, architecture and urban space that expressed the communist ideology occupied a disputable place in the collective memory and identity of the post-socialist countries. Buildings, public spaces and monuments of the socialist era, which were designed to foster the communist political order and society, became abandoned, depreciated and contested in the context of transition to democracy. Some of them represented unwanted heritage that embodies the former communist values and ideals, such as proletariat and partisanism, which became obsolete. Others represented difficult and painful heritage that recalls occupation, oppression and violence by the fallen authoritarian regimes. This session seeks to explore the different ways in which the post-socialist societies have dealt with their socialist heritage in architecture and urban space. The case studies can include tangible spaces such as political and communal buildings, monuments and memorials; as well as intangible elements of city, including rituals in public space, place names and other forms of spatial discourse. These can be both designated and undesignated heritage sites. We welcome theoretical and empirical papers which investigate the spatial, social and political dimensions of dealing with the socialist heritage, covering (but not limited to) one of the following themes:

- Actors, negotiations and contestations in the process of dealing with socialist heritage
- The link between the transformation of the socialist heritage and the post-socialist identity.
- Destruction of socialist heritage and its role in mediating the post-socialist change.
- Urban fallism—the action of pulling down and/or removing monument to the ousted communist regimes and leaders.
- Adaptive re-use and transformation of socialist heritage for new purposes.
- Musealization of socialist heritage.
- Creative reuse of socialist legacy and the cases of its decontestation.

Mirjana Ristic Trograncic, Institute for Sociology, TU Darmstadt

Nebojsa Camprag, Faculty of Architecture, TU Darmstadt

Anshika Suri, Faculty of Architecture, TU Darmstadt

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- 1** Contemporary art and socialist heritage debate in post-socialist Bulgaria / Belcheva, I.
 - 2** A tale of two cities: everyday encounters with memorial sites of socialist Yugoslavia / Murtic, A.
 - 3** Philosophical representations of socialist architecture in Hungary / Jasz, B.
 - 4** Intangible, fetishized & constructed-new contexts for staging the socialist heritage / Zekovic, M., Zugic, V., Stojkovic, B.
 - 5** Dealing with “unwanted” past: the urban project Skopje 2014 and the socialist architectural legacy / Saletovic, B.
 - 6** Loss of heritage and revival of memory in post-soviet Yerevan / Harutyunyan, T.
 - 7** Opening prefabrication to participation: the Institute for Testing Materials between Switzerland, Yugoslavia and Cuba / Gojnic, A. B.

Contemporary art and socialist heritage debate in post-socialist Bulgaria

Abstract: *Bulgarian debate on the presence in the public space of monuments from the socialist period had a slow start. After the political changes from November 1989, the major concern seemed to be the creation of new alternatives of political ruling of the country; the transformation of the urban space was not a priority. The falling of monuments of ideological figures happened without a public discussion and not in the heat of mass protests as it was the case of many countries in the former Eastern Bloc. When the real debate started in the summer of 1990, concerning the Mausoleum of Georgi Dimitrov and the Monuments of the Soviet Army, it was quickly eclipsed by more urging economic and social issues. The most consistent reaction was observed among museum professionals and contemporary artists. The first started a new reflection on their collections and exhibitions almost immediately after the Change. Contemporary artists, on the other side, were the quickest to interrogate the aesthetics of the public space and the presence of monuments referencing an ideology from the past. They have questioned, reexamined and appropriated several key socialist monuments or memory sites in their works, and it is the conflict of memories and aesthetics, as well as the need for reconciliation, that transpire from their art. This paper strives to reveal the important role contemporary art plays in the developing of the perception of socialist monuments as heritage in Bulgaria, as well as its part in the memory and aesthetics debate on public space. Through the case studies of the Mausoleum of Georgi Dimitrov (1949-1999) and the Monument 1300 Years Bulgaria in Sofia (1981-2017), we put an accent on the importance aesthetic arguments have on the preservation of socialist heritage today.*

Keywords: *contemporary art, heritage, socialism, monuments, public space.*

In 2018, in the framework of Water Tower Art Fest in Sofia, the London-based artist Gal Leshem proposed an artwork inspired by the heritage and memory debates in Bulgaria. Entitled "These stones", it presents a patchwork of memories of emblematic monuments, collected through interviews. The video, more than twelve minutes long, consists of a split screen with on the left side visuals from the Museum of Socialist Art in Sofia and on the right: a green carpet onto which the artist's hand arranges different small stones into precariously standing forms. The beginning of the video, punctuated with the phrase "The weight of these stones on my back", carries the idea of the problematic dealings with a difficult past. The use of the pebbles, taking care of them and positioning them in a ritualistic pattern, on the other side, reminds us of the Jewish ritual of visiting a grave: to place a stone on the grave of a

¹ University Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne. E-mail: belcheva.ina23@gmail.com

deceased person signifies the permanence of the memory, the transmittance of heritage, as well as the idea to help the soul remain in place and not haunt the living. The Museum of Socialist Art and its park – often compared to a sculptural graveyard (Belcheva, 2017) – is a perfect analogy. We use “These Stones” as an introduction to the relations between contemporary art and heritage debate in Bulgaria today. The idea of construction and destruction, of presence and absence, of memory and forgetfulness, of life and death, is a symbol of the opposition in contemporary Bulgarian society, the conflict of memories and the different emotions monumental heritage inspires today.

Since the 1990s, numerous contemporary art interventions, installations and performances have taken place on the sites of monuments from socialism, and many artworks questioning this monumental legacy of the recent past appear in exhibitions.² These works are at the same time inspired by the ongoing debate in the society on the destiny of this dissonant heritage (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1995), and taking an active part in it. Through the case studies of two emblematic monuments from socialism in Sofia that have each been destroyed, we approach contemporary art as actor in heritage processes pertaining heritage from socialism in post-socialist Bulgarian society. Although the choice of dismantled monuments might be slightly unconventional, we chose these two examples because of the important part contemporary art has played in the appropriation of these sites, in their perception as heritage, as well as its contribution to them becoming markers in Sofia's post-socialist public space.³

The Mausoleum of Georgi Dimitrov (1949-1999)

The Mausoleum of Georgi Dimitrov was the most iconic monument of Bulgarian socialism. Built in 1949 to host the embalmed body of the head of the Bulgarian Communist Party Georgi Dimitrov, it was transformed through political rituals in the pedestal onto which stood Socialist Bulgaria. After 1989, it was one of the first monuments to be contested. The body of Dimitrov was removed in July 1990 and since the Mausoleum has become a place for different appropriations, as well as interrogations on the future of this central public space. In August 1999, the building was destroyed, but not as a consequence of a long public debate or a revolutionary impulse, but as a very deliberate political act of symbolically taking down communism. Since, the place where the Mausoleum once stood remains empty; this void in the public space has attracted a big interest from the society, scholars (Ivancheva, n.d.; Stanoeva, 2011; Todorova, 2006; Vladova, 2012) and contemporary artists.

² The two most emblematic examples are the exhibitions that took place in 2009 and 2012. The first, “From yesterday to tomorrow: Sofia monuments” (Sofia City Art Gallery) looked at the transformation of the city through the transformation of its monuments. In 2012, WM Gallery, Amsterdam, organized the exhibition “Socialism's Material Residue”, which explored the way contemporary artists in Bulgaria see monuments from socialism and the reflection this could have on the way public space and public art are thought of in Bulgaria today.

³ The role contemporary art plays in post-socialist processes has been already partially analyzed through several angles. Izabel Galliera, for instance, has looked at contemporary art as a way to form post-socialist civil society (Galliera, 2013). Caterina Preda, on the other hand, has developed the idea of art as a “poetic justice” in the memory of a repressive past (Preda, 2017). Maria Orosan-Telea approaches contemporary art practices as a political and social critique on socialism and post-socialism (Orosan-Telea, 2015). Bojana Matejic has issued a critique of the trend of self-exoticising in post-socialist art. (Matejic, 2017) Finally, in 2018, as part of its series ‘Primary Documents’, the Museum of Modern Art in New York published “Art and Theory of Post-1989 Central and Eastern Europe: A Critical Anthology”, which retraces the most important theoretical work and artistic practice in post-socialist European countries. These are but a few examples of preexisting literature, bearing in mind that the interest in the art of post-socialism has been quite important in the last decade, and many studies have been published, many exhibitions organized.

The Monument 1300 Years Bulgaria (1981-2017)

The Monument 1300 Years Bulgaria in Sofia was created by a collective led by the sculptor Valentin Starchev in 1981. It commemorated the anniversary of the creation of the first Bulgarian state in 681, and represented the country's "heroic past, (...) socialist present and communist future". (Mihov, 2012: 87) Thirty-two meters high, it was a landmark in Sofia, and the source of strong emotions in its defenders as well as its detractors. According to an urban myth, the General Secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Todor Jivkov did not like the monument since its inauguration and even asked his driver to avoid passing by it. This displeasure was shared by a big part of the citizens of Sofia. After 1989, contemporary art interventions renewed the debate about the monument and attracted more attention to its aesthetics. Despite that, another argument was voiced against the monument – during its construction, the army barracks and war memorial that have been on that spot since the 1930s were removed, and the memory of them resurfaced in stages since the beginning of the 1990s. *1300 Years Bulgaria* was dismantled in 2017, in the context of the reorganization of the public space around the National Palace of Culture, headquarters of the Bulgarian Presidency of the Council of the European Union (January-June 2018). At its place was rapidly installed the sculpture of a lion, which had been preserved at the National Military History Museum, and that had once been part of the military memorial. This very late dismantlement of a socialist monument was accompanied by serious debates on heritage, memory, but especially aesthetics. (Kaleva & Vasileva, 2017)

We are specifically interested in the use of artistic arguments in the discussion on monuments from socialism in Bulgaria. Contemporary artists that appropriate these sites, aestheticizing them in a specific way, participate directly or indirectly in the heritage debate. We would like to propose a classification of the types of artworks that address the existence or absence of socialist monuments in Bulgarian post-socialist public space and illustrate each category with a single example related to one of the two monuments.⁴ In general, we can identify three themes: memory and the disappearing traces of the past; heritage protection; and fascination with socialist aesthetics or ruins.

Memory traces

Ivan Mudov's action from 2012 has become emblematic for the Bulgarian contemporary art scene and can be quoted as a prime example of the first category. In the framework of the Sofia Contemporary festival, the artist made an installation on the site of the Mausoleum: surrounding it by a construction fence, he put up a sign that announced an impending construction of a "multifunctional building with societal functions". An image accompanied this vague statement: it proposed a reconstruction of the façade of the Mausoleum for the first

⁴ For the purposes of this paper, a choice was made to give only one example per category. For a more in-depth analysis of the artworks and architectural projects inspired by the Mausoleum of Georgi Dimitrov and their reflection on the heritage debate, see our article « Memory Debates and Public Space: Contemporary Artists on the Traces of the Mausoleum of Georgi Dimitrov in Sofia » (upcoming 2020). Artistic interventions on this and other monuments are analyzed as well in the framework of the author's ongoing PhD thesis.

floors and for the upper levels – a contemporary structure. The project seemed real enough, and as nothing identified the installation as an artwork, a vigorous debate took place in the media for a couple of days until the origin of the project was revealed. Mudov's work, based on a provocation as is the signature of the artist, interrogated at the same time the void that represents the empty platform of the Mausoleum in Sofia's public space and the lack of visibility of public restoration projects. The reaction to the installation, which can also be considered as part of the artwork itself, was telling of the emotional charge of the site. Its post-socialist history, through different projects for the Mausoleum's adaptation to its destruction, and then the following decade of a lack of memory-sensible replacement, had for a result the attachment to the myth of the Mausoleum, no longer there but still ghostly present. This can be observed with the carriers both of the traumatic and the nostalgic memory of socialism. In a way, a consensus was reached, a reconciliation of memories achieved through the mobilization for the preservation of the emptiness of the Mausoleum site during the brief debate on Mudov's work. This is a rare case of heritage consciousness expressed by a large group of people in Bulgaria after 1989.

Protecting heritage

A second category of artists take their works from an interrogation on the presence/absence of monuments and its meaning in the public space, to an engaged position for the preservation of the heritage of socialism. In this group we could classify the photographer Nikola Mihov. With his series *Forget Your Past* (2009-2012), he retraced the history of emblematic monuments from socialism in Bulgaria and their current degraded state. Mihov's photographs have a documentary quality to them, and the artist's book represents an inventory of a selected group of monuments, that have significant aesthetic qualities and that are now in danger of self-destruction. The title of the project, inspired by a graffiti on another monument – the House-monument of Buzludzha - became the emblem of the defenders of socialist heritage in Bulgaria. Part of *Forget Your Past* is also the Monument 1300 Years Bulgaria, and it is presented in a way that suggests for a special investment on the part of the artist. Photographed twice, from the ground in order to appreciate it and from its top so that only its shadow is visible, the monument becomes alive, and engages in a dialogue with the passers-by. While all of Mihov's photographs are characterized by a certain dramatic dimension to them, he chose to capture 1300 Years Bulgaria as a silent participant in the discussion for its own fate. Years later, the artist organized an exhibition entitled *Re-Forget Your Past*, inviting several contemporary artists to intervene on his photographs from this project. For the poster of the event he chose Stanislav Belovski's collage "No More Heroes Anymore", where the Monument 1300 was threatened with an electric saw by a blindfolded woman: the opening was a little over than a month after the destruction of the monument in 2017. This is not the first time other artists take inspiration from Mihov's project in the battle for the preservation of 1300 Years Bulgaria: in 2015, Anton Terziev's performance on the site of the monument, *200% Pure Past*, consisted of him gluing the pages of Mihov's book to its foundations.

(Post-)Socialist ruins

Finally, the category of artists fascinated with the ruins and aesthetics of socialism needs to be addressed. While certainly Nikola Mihov's work could also belong to this group, there are

other levels of significance that could be read in Sabine Bitter/Helmut Weber's work *The Handling of Histories* (2018). The Monument 1300 Years has gone through an important transformation through time: because of the rapidity of its construction that resulted in some elements not being well-enough installed, as well as following its abandonment by institutions responsible for its upkeep, it lost elements of its cladding at an alarming pace. This, as well as degradations by acts of vandalism, and its dismantlement by the Municipality of Sofia, made for the significant physical transformation retraced in *The Handling of Histories*. Bitter and Weber are interested in relating this (self-)destruction of the monument to the space it occupies and its inhabitants. The collage technique used by the artists allows for a fragmentation of the image that corresponds to the physical and social fragmentation that resulted from the debate on the destiny of the monument. From the destruction they created a new highly aestheticized ruin, but one that strangely resembles the original. Fascinated by the Monument 1300 Years Bulgaria and the (heritage) emotions (Fabre, 2013) it concentrated, Sabine Bitter & Helmut Weber's work is a prime example of the artistic interest towards a legacy of the recent past. This particular artwork received a lot of attention, because it came at a moment after the much-contested destruction of the monument, but also because of the fact the artists' international recognition. This was a legitimization of the importance of the monument that went beyond the national.

Heritage and Aesthetics

The cases of the Mausoleum of Georgi Dimitrov and the Monument 1300 Years Bulgaria are emblematic for the dissonant heritage politics in Bulgaria, the conflict of memories and their reflection on the urban space. Contemporary art brings a new aspect to the multi-layered situation, by transforming the way monumental heritage is seen, from the monument's function - to serve an ideology - to an artwork that is also a national treasure in its uniqueness. Since the 1990s, architects and art historians have tried to defend monuments by insisting on their values of authenticity and beauty. Their aesthetic arguments, often lacking understanding of the emotional polarization in the society, were however countered by political, emotional, historical ones, and this resulted in further conflicts.

Of course, there are historical equivalents to the post-socialist situation. The often-quoted French revolution of 1789 as well as the October revolution of 1917 managed to control iconoclasm by raising as an argument the aesthetic value of monuments. In Lenin's Plan for monumental propaganda from 1918, it was explicitly stated that monuments from the past should be preserved if they have undeniable aesthetic value. (Decree of the Soviet Power, 1959) Long before that, just after the French revolution of 1789, the acts of vandalism were stopped or justified by evaluating the aesthetic value of certain monuments compared to their monetary value (Poulot, 1997). Later, in the 1990s, when arranging Russia's sculptural park, signs were put up that announced the cultural and aesthetic importance of the monuments exhibited (Forest & Johnson, 2002).

The new element added in the Bulgarian post-socialist situation is the very active participation of contemporary artists through their works and interventions. While in previous examples institutions and heritage specialists were the ones to give a specific status to monuments, in the case of Post-Socialism this initiative is often taken up by contemporary artists and curators. Through the artistic lens, which is subjective, emotional and aestheticizing, dissonant monuments become more than unwanted legacy of the past.

In this sense, we could talk about a process of artification (Heinich & Shapiro, 2012) of the monuments: they start being seen as artworks while this was not the case beforehand. It is true, monuments are artworks in the first place, so the process of them being recognized as such should not be subjected to all the different stages of recognition that the process of artification demands.⁵ But the case of monuments of socialism is singular. While they were commissioned to the most recognized architects and sculptors of their time, these monuments were rarely looked at as artworks by the public, because they had a very specific utilitarian role in structuring socialist everyday life. This was the case of the Mausoleum of Georgi Dimitrov, who was not seen as an example of socialist architecture from the 1950s in Bulgaria, but as the heart of public parades and official celebrations. The Monument 1300 Years Bulgaria was supposed to be an ornament to the square and the heart of Sofia, but its ideological message and even more importantly – the ideological context of the over-the-top celebration of the 1300th anniversary into which it was created – obscured its aesthetics or played to its detriment, effectively contesting its artistic status. Contemporary art has brought the opportunity to look at these monuments in a different way, by an accumulation of different aesthetics and (heritage) emotions.

Some facts should be put in perspective. In the case of the Mausoleum of Georgi Dimitrov, artworks and projects for its adaptation, before and after its destruction, have managed to create a consensus on its value, either for historical, memorial or even touristic reasons. The fact that the site continues to be empty and is only temporarily invested by events or artworks (Sofia Municipality's recent project "Outside" imagines it as a site for temporary contemporary art installations), is a specific way for its preservation as a heritage site of socialism and post-socialism, as well as the development of a citizen heritage consciousness in this specific case.

When it comes to the Monument 1300 Years Bulgaria, the architectural and artistic projects concerning it were confronted not only on a memory level, but also on aesthetic one. The monument was disliked for its modernist aesthetics and wished to be replaced by a simpler and more directly nationalistic monument, which also confronted one memory with another: the memory of socialism with the memory of soldiers fallen for the country. In this case, two institutions were in conflicting positions: Sofia Municipality which wanted to remove the monument and the Ministry of Culture who issued a position for its preservation. The public debate was led by citizen organizations for the restoration of the old monument from the 1930s, confronted by artists, art historians, and architects. Because of the lack of a proper dialogue, as well as the specificities of contemporary art, the debate became an elitist one and this resulted not in the overlap of different layers of heritage and memory emotions as with the Mausoleum, but of a strong confrontation that couldn't be resolved in a monument-conscious way. This is an example where contemporary art is an actor in the heritage debate, but inadvertently acts against its initial goal.

Conclusion

The weight of the monuments from socialism, to paraphrase Gal Leshem, is still not completely lifted. The conflict of memories continues to oppose Bulgarian society and this is mostly

⁵ The peers, the gallerists, the critics and the larger public - Heinich and Shapiro adopt the classification proposed by Alan Bowness, *The Conditions of Success. How the Modern Artist Rises to Fame*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1989.

observable in the heritage debate. Contemporary artists bear witness to it and engage in it, effectively intervening in the heritage processes and the development of a heritage awareness when it comes to socialism's monumental legacy.

Through contemporary art, monuments from socialism in Bulgaria have progressively lost some of their ideological charge and started to be seen as artworks from a past period. They have also become canvases, the opportunity for a new art to emerge from the old, combining memories and aesthetics.

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A tale of two cities: everyday encounters with memorial sites of socialist Yugoslavia

Abstract: *“A transformation of mentalities (a transformation of hearts and minds)” which are part of the heritage of the old regimes, was one of the goals of transition listed in the Resolution 1096 adopted by the Council of Europe in 1996, inviting governments to “dismantle the heritage of former communist totalitarian systems.” With international resolutions in their hands, new ethno-national political elites in the post-Yugoslav countries were equipped with powerful rhetoric tools to reorder earlier transnational, antifascist and socialist memory, and suppress alternatives to what was taken to be the transitional condition.*

While integrating an analysis of the European memory discourses that participate in codifying objects and ideas of the Yugoslav socialist past into my own arguments, I redirect ethnographic and theoretical attention to forms of everyday encounters between people and memorial sites of socialist Yugoslavia, asking questions about authorised and alternative processes of heritage-making. In pursuit of a novel perspective on the memorials, I use a diverse range of materials gathered through a series of (walking) interviews, participant observations and site explorations in two cities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Presenting a series of snapshots from the (after)lives of the Partizan Memorial Cemetery in Mostar and the Garavice Memorial Park in Bihać, I explore the way the sites are experienced from within the lives and thoughts of individuals of different generations who are otherwise hidden from the heritageisation process. I demonstrate how citizens incorporate a range of actions engaging the memorials on individual registers, at the same time while political elites use strategies of negating, selectively appropriating and reorganising layers of memorials’ collective significance. As my analysis illustrates, people who engage Yugoslav memorial sites are not as passive receptors of the authorized idea of heritage but active agents in the creation of knowledge and values about them.

Keywords: *memorial architecture, everyday life, Mostar, Bihać, Bogdan Bogdanović.*

Introduction²

“How will this building be seen by generations to come? What will they see in it, what will they experience? Will it speak to them? Will the children of our children

¹ Heidelberg Centre for Transcultural Studies (HCTS), University Heidelberg. E-mail: aida.murtic@hcts.uni-heidelberg.de

² I am profoundly grateful to Alisa Burzić and Marko Barišić for creating and sharing an inspiring intellectual terrain in which we explored the matrix of memorial sites in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the past three years. My arguments in this paper are interlaced with their comments and observations. Special thanks to Sergio Mukherjee for his insightful comments and suggestions on earlier draft of this paper.

My appreciation extends to citizens of Mostar and Bihać who readily accepted an invitation to open their family albums and reflect on the lives of the memorials in their cities.

also see in this monument an image of an odd, proud, and humane city, a city built as a *Fata Morgana*, between the earth and the sky?” (Bogdan Bogdanović, 1980).

Nearly forty years ago, the architect Bogdan Bogdanović asked a series of uneasy questions about the future of the Partisan Memorial Cemetery in Mostar while shaping the text for his 1980 monograph *Partizanski spomenik u Mostaru* [The Partisan Memorial in Mostar]. Fifteen years after the completion of the Memorial, its author stated, both with fear and resolution, “Yes, the building and a man will recognise each other, they will meet as long as they both exist” (Mutevelić, 1980: 38). Echoing Bogdanović’s dilemma, I explore forms of everyday encounters between people and two selected memorial sites in Bosnia and Herzegovina, asking questions about authorised and alternative processes of heritage-making.

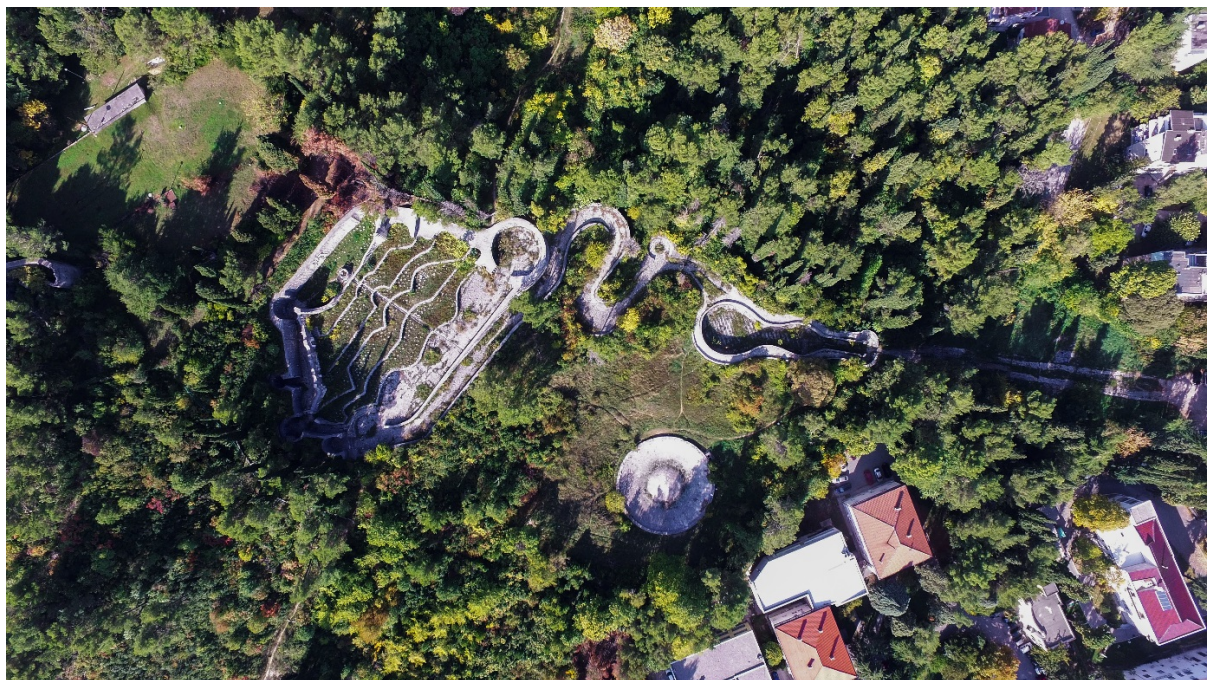


Fig. 1. The Partisan Memorial Cemetery in Mostar (Luka Čuljak, 2017)

After Yugoslavia collapsed through a series of wars, and citizens of the six constituent republics of the former state reconsolidated their ethno-national identities and affiliations, the network of antifascist and partisan memorials stepped into the post-war and post-socialist afterlife suffering neglect, damage, and vandalism. Since knowledge production about memorial architecture of socialist Yugoslavia has been largely dominated by studies based on photographic explorations (Kempenaers, 2010) and devoid from actual perceptions of their everyday environment, I adopt an ethnographic sensitivity to explore the value of what could be called insiders’ point of view. Using Breglia’s (2006: 208) conceptualisation of heritage as “a set of values, meanings, and practices differently constituted at local, regional, national, and international levels by social actors and institutions”, I outline how different understandings of the memorial sites exist in tandem and tension with urban and site-specific ideas about them. I focus on two monuments dedicated to the People’s Liberation Struggle: Partizan Memorial Cemetery in Mostar and Garavice Memorial Park in Bihać, both designed by Bogdan Bogdanović. Through a dialogic immersion into reflections of citizens assembled during

a series of conversations and city walks, I move beyond the gaze of a singular viewer guided by aesthetic effects to trace interests and perceptions from communities of users.

Research context: engaging with multiple “post-s”

Bosnia and Herzegovina hold an ambiguous position in the study of post-socialism, since the definitive end of state socialism came with a violent war (1992-1995) that separated and displaced the state socialist past from the present (Gilbert, 2006: 17). For that reason, the theme of post-socialist transition can hardly be detached from the theme of post-war condition in the analysis of post-1989 trajectory of the country. As if coupling the two notions was not complicated enough, this paper adds another loaded category: post-Yugoslav experience as a phenomenon that qualifies as “not-yet-entirely-past” and “partially-still-present” (Spaskovska, 2014: 241).

I do not look at material evidence from the Yugoslav socialist past as “mute evidence” (Hodder, 1994: 393), since there is still a possibility of interaction with authors, producers and users, and material past can be interpreted using the benefit of an insider’s commentary. My storyline surrounding the two memorials is, hence, plotted by a diverse range of materials gathered through a series of (walking) interviews, participant observations and site explorations in the cities of Mostar and Bihać. I use materials compiled in the book *Mostar’s Hurqualya: The (Un)forgotten City* (Barišić et al., 2017), that reflects the commitment of a group of local and international contributors, including myself, to deeply embedded perspectives and long-term fieldwork.

Meta-production of socialist heritage

Before introducing the two memorial sites in Bosnia and Herzegovina, it is worth placing the current analysis in the framework of European memory discourses that codify objects and ideas of socialist past. I situate this process at a meta-level of heritage production that, as Kirschenblatt-Gimblett (2004) suggests, take place in diverse national and international policy processes.

Resolution 1096 (Measures to dismantle the heritage of former communist totalitarian systems) adopted by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in 1996 was significant in the (re)writing of the Yugoslav socialist past. The dismantling and overcoming of “old structures and thought patterns” was the key goal of the transition listed in the Resolution, inviting governments to “dismantle the heritage of former communist totalitarian systems” (PACE, 1996: 1). Envisioning a ground zero of society, the Resolution called for “restructuring the old legal and institutional systems”, but also for “a transformation of mentalities (a transformation of hearts and minds)” (PACE, 1996: 2).

The European Union’s uncritical embrace of the “tale of ‘two totalitarianisms’” (Ghodsee, 2014) has had a real impact on the nature of public debate. The process of disqualifying references of communism, framed as a critique of totalitarianism enabled new “Euro-compatible” political elites (Horvat & Štikš, 2015: 5) in the post-Yugoslav countries to reorder earlier antifascist, socialist memory, deemed as transnational in character. It also enabled the strengthening of ethno-national ideologies as a dominant principle of historical interpretation. The architectural references from the socialist past in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in particular the memorial sites discussed here, were sanctioned strategically by their exclusion from the

agenda. Such is the case of Partisan Memorial in Mostar that was for many years rendered invisible in the urban arena although situated close to the city centre and easily accessible on an everyday basis. Memorial park Garavice in Bihać witnessed a reconfiguration of memorial practices and inscription of new layers of historical and religious significance. Fundamentally, shrinking a place for dialogue with Yugoslav socialist experience was a discursive tool of suppressing alternatives to the presentness of the transitional condition. In what follows, I present a series of snapshots from the (after)lives of the two memorial sites, juxtaposing everyday lived experience of the sites with political and media discourses.

Undisciplined memorials

Bogdan Bogdanović, did not envision architectural works that command or prescribe attitudes and practices, but “kingdoms that you enter, you go through, and spend the entire day in” (Grimmer and Leboš, 2013: 33). In his surrealist-inspired language of memorial architecture, everyday life became an act of commemoration.

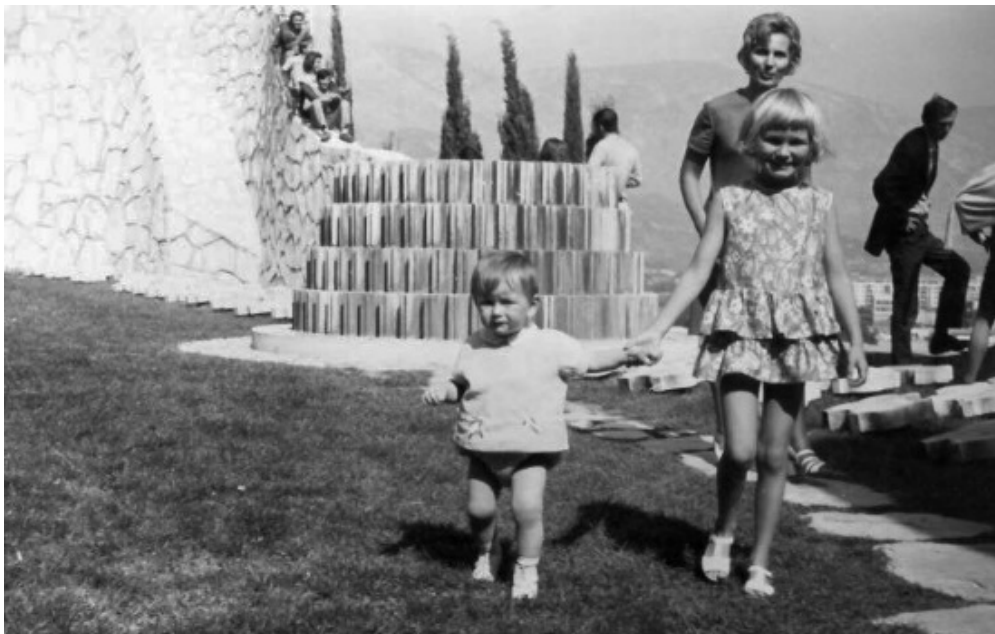


Fig. 2. Branka (the girl) with her mother and younger brother at the uppermost terrace of the Partisan Memorial in Mostar (family album, 1973)

In particular, the Partisan Memorial in Mostar developed a peculiar relationship with the rest of the growing city, becoming Mostar’s “living room” (fig. 2). Completed in 1965, the Memorial was envisaged as “the City of the Dead,” a shared resting place for Partisans from Mostar, citizens of different ethnic and religious background, overlooking “the City of Living”, a place where their families continued living (Bogdanović, 2001: 247). When asked to describe the everyday practices of using the space, citizens of today’s Mostar stated that the Memorial used to be “a city within a city”, “a park”, “a playground”, “place for picnic” and that even some of them “learned how to swim” in the circular pond (Barišić et al., 2017).

After the collapse of Yugoslavia and the end of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1995, the Partisan Memorial Cemetery for many years was a topic that animated, not urban debates, but the anti-communist political project of local ethno-national political elites. In a

“predatory” form of recollecting the past that required elimination of certain memories (Appadurai, 2001: 44), the Memorial was not simply destroyed, but kept in a suspension, discarded from everyday practices of urban sociability. Groups and individuals who openly cherished the site were dismissed as “communists”, welcomed with Ustasha³ and Nazi insignias, as well as bottles and stones during their commemoration ceremonies. Until May 2018 when the site was cleaned and renovated, the whole complex was perpetually labelled in public discourses as an unsafe, no-go zone for people from Mostar. “Bureaucratic cynicism and historical revisionism” (Tanović Sijerčić, 2017) worked in tandem as an instrument for disqualifying the Memorial from the repertoire of everyday urban practices.



Fig. 3. “Greeting to the Universe” mural by Kristina Bradara in Mostar inspired by “cosmological sundial” - concentric stone relief from the wall that backs the uppermost terrace of the Partisan Memorial Cemetery (Kristina Bradara, 2013)

For the citizens of Mostar I met, stories and memories about the everyday socialist past surrounding the Memorial were perceived to be as much their heritage as the materiality of the site itself. While the urban significance of the Memorial was constantly questioned, groups of Mostarians reacted using social media to organize numerous platforms where they collected and shared visual and textual materials about the city and the Memorial. The emergence of this genre of “activist archives” (Kurtović, 2018) enabled the preservation and passing of knowledge that was discarded from the public arena, understood as “a sign of a shift in the historical self-understanding” (Kurtović, 2018: 3). As elaborated elsewhere (see Murtić and Barišić, 2019), citizens, artists and activists used the Partisan Memorial as a means for exploring, deconstructing, and negotiating the societal status quo, creating a number of

³ Fascist movement that ruled the Independent State of Croatia during the Second World War.

unsynchronized and individualized ephemeral interventions while transposing and re-enacting the Partisan memorial into different artistic mediums (fig. 3). These forms of engagement with the Memorial are understood here as an alternative heritage making practice, existing in tension with previously introduced meta-production of heritage in the official policy documents.



Fig. 4. Five-blocked sculptures “Mourning Women”, Garavice Memorial Park (Alisa Burzić, 2017)

The second memorial that stands in the focus of this paper is located in the northern Bosnian town of Bihać. The Memorial Park Garavice was completed in 1981 as a site of remembrance for the “Victims of Fascism” of all nationalities in the region (Bergholz, 2010: 396). Fifteen stone sculptures to which Bogdanović referred as “Mourning Women” were positioned in a way to look like standing filled with worry, “catching sight of the past and looking towards the future” (KONS, 2015). The Memorial was conceptualized as a place of consensual memory without including information regarding one’s nationality or the number of victims.

Starting from 2017, the Memorial Park Garavice became an element in a new memory schema and strategy of political appropriation. Installing a commemoration ritual that included paying wreaths in the lower part of Garavice hillside, the spatial dynamics of the Memorial was significantly reconfigured. Bogdanović’s “Mourning Women” became of secondary importance as the ritual was organised around the older layer of the site—engraved stone from 1949— hence, providing resources for discussions about failures of former Yugoslav state to properly narrate the history of the site. The stone with a plaque was a reminder that the mass killings in 1941 were committed by local Nazi-collaborators (i.e. Ustasha regime). In 2018, the initiative of the political leadership of Republika Srpska⁴ to

⁴ The entity in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

build an Orthodox chapel at the site and to (mono)nationalize victims received significant media attention, heating debates about the status of the national monument and appropriateness of inscribing new religious meaning into the site. As an answer, the local municipality installed the flag of Bosnia and Herzegovina to claim the “national” in the arena of conflicting understanding of the site.

On the other side, in a series of conversations with citizens of Bihać, I learned that they coin their understanding of the Memorial not only with reference to the system of official representation, but also by recalling ordinary events and unofficial site visits. Archival photographs captured moments when visitors were sitting on megaliths, squatting also places in-between, hence, confirming that everyday life was welcomed inside the Memorial Park in the years after the complex Park was built. Among pupils from Bihać, Garavice hillside is still considered an outstanding place for building sledging paths in the winter. The hillside also gives cyclists the freedom to choose their own route and discover the Memorial Park by bike (fig. 5).



Fig. 5. Memorial Park Garavice in Bihać (Aida Murtić, 2018)

As my analysis illustrates, Partisan Memorial Cemetery in Mostar and Garavice Memorial Park in Bihać, together with other Bogdanović's memorial sites, have been “landscapes of experiences” (Kulić, 2018: 5) and not islands of memory excluded from everyday urban life. Acting as “memory entrepreneurs” and seeking “political legitimacy of one (their own) interpretation or narrative of the past” (Jelin, 2003: 42), new political elites deliberately started organizing memory, not envisioning space for activities that could occur naturally and outside binary discourses. While political elites used strategies of negating, selectively appropriating and reorganising layers of memorials' collective significance, citizens incorporated a range of actions engaging the memorials on individual registers. Additionally, the Partisan Memorial Cemetery became a driving force for creative endeavours of new generations of Mostarians.

Concluding remarks

Looking into different corners of reality to forge insights about the Partisan Memorial Cemetery in Mostar and Garavice Memorial Park in Bihać, I argued that rather than a place for memory, these two sites represent an active legacy, still operative, and capable of influencing social structures through relational effects. They are not fixed by knowledge and values, but they exist in a state of simultaneous suspension and potentiality.

Furthermore, I distinguished between political and institutional framings of the monuments—commonly featured in scholarly presentations—while focusing on what I call everyday encounters. By outlining contours of contests over the management and interpretation of the memorials in Mostar and Bihać, I explored the way the sites are experienced from within the lives and thoughts of individuals of different generations who are otherwise hidden from the heritageisation process. This was clear by the presence of communities of users that have reinserted their urban experiences, without exclusively projecting collective identities into these sites. I argued, therefore, that people who engage Yugoslav memorial sites are not passive receptors of the authorized idea of heritage but active agents in the creation of knowledge and values about them. Moreover, new generations of users look at material evidence of Yugoslav socialist past not simply as nostalgic artefacts or something that needs to be “dismantled” but with the aim to discover something new that would help them articulate the present and unpack the future.

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Philosophical representations of socialist architecture in Hungary

Abstract: *The role of philosophy in both parts of the Socialist building processes has become dominant at two points in Hungary. The first is the selection of the region and culture specific historical style in Socialist Realism; the second aspect emerged after the Khrushchevian architectural turn, the foundations of turning to Soviet modern. The application of the Socialist Realist motto, “socialist by content, national by form”, has caused a great controversy among architects, who originally preferred the modernist architectural aesthetics and methods. This problem is related to the issue of the language and the meaning of architecture. This was apparent and central in the so-called Great Architectural Debate in Hungary in 1951, in which it was not the architects who decided between the competing views, but the philosopher George Lukacs. He cast his vote on the classicist way of architectural aesthetical thinking. As in every eastern Central-European state, including Hungary, the Socialist Realist building method (not a style but a method) was terminated by the Khrushchevian turn in 1954. Although form language changed from Socialist Realism to Soviet Modern, the ideological content remained the same in building processes. The role of philosophy in architecture became dominant at this point. This was a major problem of the era, because the reason for shifting from the historical to a modern form language under the same ideological and political power, had to be explained. I will present the two turning points that define the Hungarian architecture under the Socialist influence, from the point of view of the role of philosophy. First, I examine the Great Architectural Debate, especially the activity of the architects (Imre Perényi, Máté Major) and the effect of philosophy (George Lukacs). Second, I emphasise the philosophical ground for changing the architectural form language under the same ideological content.*

Keywords: *socialist realism, socialist modernism, architectural debate, eastern Central-Europe, Hungary.*

The role of philosophy in both parts of the Socialist building processes has become dominant at two points in Hungary. The first is the selection of the region and culture specific historical style in Socialist Realism; the second aspect emerged after the Khrushchevian architectural turn, the foundations of turning to Soviet modern.

The application of the Socialist Realist motto, “socialist by content, national by form”, has caused a great controversy among architects, who originally preferred the modernist architectural aesthetics and methods. This problem is related to the issue of the language and the meaning of architecture. This was apparent and central in the so-called Great

¹ Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Philosophy; Budapest University of Technology and Economics, Department of Sociology and Communication. E-mail: jasz.borbala@gmail.com

Architectural Debate in Hungary in 1951, in which it was not the architects who decided between the competing views, but the philosopher George Lukacs. He cast his vote on the classicist way of architectural aesthetic thinking.

As in every eastern Central-European state, including Hungary, the Socialist Realist building method (not a style but a method) was terminated by the Khrushchevian turn in 1954. Although form language changed from Socialist Realism to Soviet Modern, the ideological content remained the same in building processes. The role of philosophy in architecture became dominant at this point. This was a major problem of the era, because the reason for shifting from the historical to a modern form language under the same ideological and political power, had to be explained.

I will present the two turning points that define the Hungarian architecture under the Socialist influence, from the point of view of the role of philosophy. First, I emphasise the philosophical ground for changing the architectural form language under the same ideological content. Second, I examine the Great Architectural Debate, especially the activity of the architects (Imre Perényi, Máté Major) and the effect of philosophy (George Lukacs).

The Role of Philosophy in the Socialist Architecture

There were two dominant architectural debate in Hungary during the 20th century, when the frame of philosophy of art was dominant: the Great Architectural Debate in 1951 and later in the 1970s and 1980s the Tulip-debate (Molnar, 2005: 124). Both debates escalated under the political system of Socialism, and there are lots of similarities from the approach of philosophy of art. Although the main goal of the Great Architectural Debate was to find the right concept of matching the Hungarian architectural form language with the socialist content. The result was the form language of classicism, but without the original bourgeois context. The intentions of the Soviet Union were another level of the same period: in case of the most representative buildings architects had to use the renewed antient roman elements, but in a huge scale.

After WW2 the main goal in city planning was the reconstruction of the urban landscape across Europe. Relying on the results of the classical modern movement this was a common project all over Europe. At the beginning of the 1950s in eastern Central-Europe a distinct socialist approach emerged with the motto: 'national by form, socialist by content'. This is called socialist realism, which returned to a classical architectural form-language on the surface level of decorations, but at the same time it also retained modernism under the surface in a hidden way. In fact, a modern structure has been decorated with mixed elements from the history of architecture. This approach was terminated and changed by Khrushchev's famous industrialisation speech in 1954 (Khrushchev, 1963: 153-192). At that point a new era began: the age of the prefabricated house block systems. Newly built socialist cities emerged, e. g. Stalin city [Dunaújváros] in Hungary [Figure 1], or complete districts were renewed by using the then current form-language, e. g. in Warsaw.



Fig. 1. Stalin City [Dunaújváros], Ironworks in 1958. Source: Fortepan 12054

Philosophy had an important role during this process in two ways. First, in case of the Socialist Realist gap the philosophical foundations assisted the evolution of the new form-language in connection with the visual appearance of the ideology of the regime. The Socialist Realist pieces of arts and buildings must have been understandable for the workers, had to demonstrate the power of the state and the role of social responsibility. The gap is the niche between two modern periods: from the end of WW2 until 1951 and from 1954 until today. Between them a Socialist Realist gap emerged in eastern Central-Europe. Second, after the Khrushchevian architectural turn in 1954 the materials used and the planning methods applied became more important and the reasons for this could be found in the philosophical foundations of the architectural theory of the era. At the beginning of the 1950s a new machine age started, which was based on the renewed idea of the machine city of the interwar period, and this theory has dominated until today.

The role of philosophy was to provide the legitimation of fully and partly imported ideas. At the socialist realist times it means the fight against the cosmopolitan modernism, at the soviet

modern era the main goal was to correlate the international modern paradigm to a socialist and nationalist context. This architectural paradox had to be dissolved, and this determined the role of Marxist philosophy in the process. This laid the ground for turning to standardisation and mass production due to satisfy a wide range of social needs. Architects renewed the universal laws of economy and technology of the interwar period, which were based on the philosophy of science, especially the theories of Vienna Circle. The embodiment of this theory was the house factory technology. The method is characterised by the standardisation, which means a prototype-design, like in the interwar period. Architects had to work out the universal solution to the housing issue due to make a calculable system for planning the living.

“The discourse of architects on rationalisation, standardisation, and prefabrication signalled that by the 1960s, with the end of Stalinism, modernist architecture entirely rehabilitated in Hungary. But its meaning was further expanded. It came to be seen as the antithesis of totalitarian architecture, and its prevention seemed to stand for the defiance of direct political control over architecture” (Molnár 2005: 119).

After the revolution in 1956 in Hungary there were new challenges for the architects. She argued that after the dominance of socialist realism the issue of classical modernism returned. I claim that the revolution did not play such a direct role in changing styles from the Socialist Realism to the Soviet Modern. The tendency started right after the Khrushchievian architectural speech, the plans for the ongoing construction have been redesigned. This may be because of the definition of Socialist Realist architecture: it is not a style, but a method.

After WWII, during the period so called ‘coalition years’ the main goal for architecture was the reconstruction and housing issue in Hungary. Next to this, there were some prestige investments in the era, which was influenced by the Soviet regime. Modernist trends were not tolerated by the Soviet Union, so Hungarian architects had to adapt the theoretical expectations of the regime: they had to plan in the name and in the spirit of Socialist Realism. For analysing the architectural context, it is important to notice, that after WW2 the modernism of the interwar period continued in eastern Central-Europe. Then the socialist realism emerged with a sharp shift with its glamorous outfit and hidden modernist values. This was the system a Mátyás Rákosi. Next step was the human-scale Socialism by János Kádár due to change the socialist realism to the soviet modern, which meant the visible version of social equality (Cook, 1997: 9-10).

Modernism (Interwar period)	Socialist Realism (1950s)	Soviet Modern (from 1954)
Capitalist	Socialist	Socialist
Cosmopolitanism	National	International
Scientific	Artistic	Scientific

Table 1.

For summarising the ideological and philosophical background, let's see the changing in notions between the different periods. Although the classical modernism had got a capitalist,

cosmopolitan and scientific character, the socialist realism offered a completely different solution: it was socialist and artistic, it had got a national character (Simon, 2013: 31-32). The challenge for soviet modern was to combine compatible parts with the socialist content. The solution in case of the architectural form-language could be separated on an ideological basis: it was the task for philosophers to adapt the nature of modern architecture from cosmopolitanism to internationalism. Physical appearance was the same, but to be international was much more compatible than the cosmopolitanism. In the table is visible, that this happened under the same ideology.

The answer was often the total demolition of Socialist Realist or Soviet/late modern buildings and districts. Our first task is to understand these different periods and styles under the Socialist regimes in eastern Central-Europe. Socialist Realism was a propaganda movement with the motto I already mentioned above: 'national by form, socialist by content'. The precast house block system became the embodiment of the idea of the interwar modernism: happiness for the greatest number. Secondly, we need to understand the financial situation and the limited possibilities of architecture during this period. We are not able to understand the buildings of the era yet. Masterpiece buildings were torn down due to misunderstanding or non-understanding of the message of the building. Philosophy, the human and social sciences may help us look beyond the machine paradigm without demolition and without simply removing the traces of the past.

The Great Architectural Debate

In Hungarian philosophy of art in the 20th century there was a fight against the modern architecture, because of its abstract, formalist and cosmopolitan character. Countries under the influence of the Soviet Union had to adapt the new way of architecture: socialist by content, national by form.

It means the renewing of the notion of *kalokagathia*, in Hungary by the aesthetics of George Lukacs. The aesthetics was based on the ancient notion of *mimesis*, because of the realist nature of socialist realism. These ancient aesthetical concepts were combined with the historicist form-language of architecture. The aim of the Great Architectural Debate was something, like Hübsch's emblematic question in the 19th century: in what style should we build? (Hermann, 1992: 170-177). This public debate had to clarify the style, which is compatible with the socialist realist motto.

Like Socialist Realism, the debate was like a Potemkin-village as well. It seemed that it was a scientific discussion between two architects, Máté Major and Imre Perényi. But in real, only architects thought that there were some artistic values; this was held only for the public. The accelerator was the building of the of the National Association of Hungarian Construction Workers (MÉMOSZ) on a representative allée in Budapest, which was built in 1947–50. The team of constructors was symbolic: Imre Perényi, who was the main ideologist of socialist realism, Gábor Preisich, who was the leader of city planning as a chief architect in Budapest (Simon, 2013: 33) [Figure 2].



Fig. 2. Building of MÉMOSZ in 1956. Source: Fortepan 39759

The next stage in the struggle for ideologically correct style was the final enforcement of the architectural style. To achieve this goal, the Hungarian Workers' Party's Agitation and Propaganda Department launched a debate in April 1951, creating a democratic appearance of free expression. However, the proposed topic and the list of officially invited professionals clearly predicted the room for manoeuvre of the participating architects and the conclusion of the whole debate, of course, as a guideline for subsequent periods. According to the official objective of the conference, Imre Perényi analysed the presentation of Western decadency current in contemporary architecture and in the presentation of Major Máté: *Chaos in our contemporary architecture*. Among the invited experts representing artistic life, George Lukács and Aurél Bernáth also appeared. The "jury" is chaired by Márton Horváth, member of the Central Management of the Hungarian Workers' Party and the Department of Agitation and Propaganda, former architect, editor of the Free People's Party, while the "judge" is the main cultural ideologist of the system: it was József Révai.

The statement argued by Major, who propagated the Marxist architecture theory-based modern architecture, was demolished. The form-language of the new architecture was a renewed classicism. This is called "socialist eclecticism" among Hungarian theorists (Molnár, 2005: 119). I claim that this is not the right notion or description of the socialist realism. If we are arguing, that this is an eclectic appearance of building, it had been meant that the socialist realism is one of the styles in the history of art. But socialist realism is not a style, but a building method (Huet, 1998: 254). This is why I call socialist realism only 'facadism'.

For a case study let's see a specific example. Typical building types were the universities, which were built for educating heavy industrial needs. New buildings of technological universities emerged to put cities to the industrial map of Hungary, e. g. technological universities in Miskolc and in Budapest. To be an industrial city in the era meant a cultural phenomenon, as well. The socialist governmental rethink of the culture was based on a new

class of the society: the workers. In the years of the Socialist Realism it means a so-called artistic victory of the workers. Due to using different historical motives in a glamorous – and not reflective – way, workers could feel that they were in the core of bourgeois or aristocratic culture; of course, without the members of the original class, but save and transform the cultural heritage of them. To feel the power by the glamorous built environment and interiors was an everyday situation for the workers. This seemed the emerge of the worker's class to the glamorous sphere in the Socialist Realist period during socialist building. This happened in case of the new building of Budapest University of Technology and Economics, but the situation is different in case of the Technical University of Miskolc, because this is a soviet modern style-built university building [Figure 3].



Fig 3. University for Heavy Industry in 1966, Miskolc. Source Fortepan 24914

The legacy of the Great Architectural Debate could be found in the Tulip-debate in the 1970–80s. The Tulip-debate which was an important component against the built heritage of socialism, a fight against the mechanical planning and using concrete everywhere. The new way of architectural thinking called the organic school. In their theory they returned to much more naturalistic appearance of the Secession from the turn of the 19th and 20th century.

Socialist Realism (1950s)	Soviet Modern (from 1954)	Organic approach (from 1970s)
Socialist	Socialist	Organic
National	International	National
Artistic	Scientific	Artistic

Table 2.

Conclusion

This paper analysed philosophical representations of socialist architecture (the socialist realist and the socialist modernist) in Hungary. The main goal of the Great Architectural Debate was to find the right concept of matching the Hungarian architectural form language with the socialist content. In Hungarian philosophy of art in the 20th century there was a fight against the modern architecture, because of its abstract, formalist and cosmopolitan character. The challenge for soviet modern was to combine compatible parts with the socialist content.

This happened after the Khrushchevian architectural turn, when the Socialist Realism finished across eastern Central-Europe in a moment, a new kind of building type emerged: the conception of prefabricated houses. The task was architecturally and theoretically also problematic. This extremely hard edge between the two different architectural form language needed the explanation for the workers class. The focus turned much more to the *visible version of social equality*.

The task was to compare the modernist form language with the same ideological content. This work had to be done by the philosophers. The result was a socialist, scientifically calculated and international modern style. With this new architectural movement eastern Central-Europe (including Hungary) returned to the international forefront. This process was “analogous to how architects in postwar (West) Germany viewed architectural modernism as the material expression of democracy” (Molnár, 2005: 120).

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Intangible, fetishized & constructed—new contexts for staging the socialist heritage

Abstract: *Standing still at the geographically stable, but territorially challenged ex-socialist playground, observing the information on an overall world-wide promotion of the Ex-Yugoslavia heritage, it is difficult to determine the quality of diverse contexts that envelope those activities. The moment when Martino Stierli organizes the biggest exhibition of the Yugoslav architecture in MoMA, is the same one in which schools of architecture outside of the Ex-Yu borders already research and teach Yugoslavian contexts and heritage. It is the same moment when we, the Ex-Yu Republics, are joining the play through micro-actions.*

At the intersection of deeply nostalgic and melancholic feelings on one side, and the nationalistic sweeping streams on the other, the ex-socialist countries in Eastern Europe may conclude that the time has come to discuss the heritage that socialism and communism have left behind. Accepting the label of 'negligence' attached to the countries that did nothing, or very little, to protect or promote the heritage of this era for the last decades, today they finally feel invited to reclaim at least what is left of it. Staging the heritage as if on an exhibition, festival or in theatre, highlights the diversity of contexts that one could define as potentially fruitful platforms for heritage placement.

*The paper explores several types of projects that represent new possible contexts for staging the Yugoslav architectural heritage - a theatre performance *Future Read in Concrete and Stone* (TkH), the curatorial concept for the exhibition *Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia, 1948-1980* (MoMA), and a three months long, process-based exhibition project for Venice Architecture Biennale 2014, *Re:Load*. Focusing on distinct formats of these projects, as well as on the (re)interpreted, inscribed or imagined qualities that Yugoslav architecture generates or reflects, the paper will introduce the contextual paradigms of the *Intangible, Fetishized and Constructed*.*

Keywords: *Ex-Yugoslav architecture, modernist heritage, performance, exhibition, contexts.*

¹ Department of Architecture and Urbanism, University of Novi Sad. E-mail: miljana_z@uns.ac.rs

² Department of Architecture and Urbanism, University of Novi Sad. E-mail: zugic.visnja@uns.ac.rs

³ Department of Architecture and Urbanism, University of Novi Sad. E-mail: bojan.d.stojkovic@uns.ac.rs

*"Imagine walking into a vast and chilly aeroplane hangar.
Imagine encountering a space that is so vast that your own body's scale and fleshy
fragility becomes strikingly apparent to you in startling contrast to the volume and
metallic solidity of the room.
Imagine the chill of this space.
Imagine its enveloping, sparse, metal-and-concrete scenography.
Imagine entering this space in search of answers."* (Bouchard & Duggan, 2018:
n.p.)

On Staging

In their call for proposals for the Performance Research Journal's Vol. 24, No. 5, editors Gianna Bouchard and Patrick Duggan asked for opinions on 'staging the wreckage'. Inevitably drawing attention to an unconventional curatorial practice – staging the wreckage and showing the products of catastrophe – this call promoted yet another phenomenon. A poetically told game of imagining at the very beginning of the call, introduced a reader to a place of a fantasy accident where 'a loved one had suffered and died', leaving the reader's conscience to decide on 'an ethics of spectatorship' in relation to the scene of a plane crash (Bouchard & Duggan, 2018: n.p.). Staging the wreckage in this particular case covers not only typical questions of an exhibition assemblage – that of documenting, collecting, spatially performative and co-performative staging – but also the question of a human experience inscribed into collection. Carefully led through an easily relatable imaginary situation, the reader/curator exits the introductory story with subjectively coloured lenses. Storytelling in curatorial practice has gone a step further in making spectators care – by offering 'an effective immersive narrative' that 'provides a bridge between the visitor's own life experience and the objects that represent another time and place' (Burnette Stogner, 2010: 119), thus elevating the value of personal experience to a new height.

Staging tangible and intangible heritage for diverse purposes of observation, as if for an exhibition, festival, museum, or theatre, correlates dually with the storytelling factional approach and that of the interdisciplinary critical heritage studies. Managing the politics of the past along with the distinct contexts of heritage placement, the field of critical heritage studies empowers relations between public and private memory and introduces a 'material-discursive' approach to heritage which, according to Rodney Harrison, offers 'new templates for imagining and designing alternative heritage futures and the common worlds which might be articulated amongst them' (Harrison, 2018: 1379). Relying on spectators' ability to conceive and inhabit those worlds in their minds, induced by storytelling, there exist multiple platforms for heritage placement.

Recognized as constitutive elements in not only creation of the consumer's experience, but in conception of numerous probable stories in different worlds, heritage artefacts, places and practices grow into *protagonists* of those stories. Such a shift from a passive object centred in the storyline and an active leader of a non-linear narrative with multiple possibilities for story's development is what also enables a consumer's experience shift from a mere spectator to an active contributor – a curator of one's own experience.

On Socialist Yugoslav Heritage

Debating on ethical aspects of spectatorship leads inevitably to a debate on *an ethics of curation and representation*. The obligatory questioning of the heritage staging models, as critical heritage studies fairly insist upon, brings along the question on curator's rights, not only referring to one's competences, but to one's intentions as well. Writing about a heavy deliberate misinterpretation of the socialist architectural heritage in his argument on orientalisering socialism (Kulić, 2018: 1-6), Vladimir Kulić asks the following question: 'Who should have the right to shape the public perception of architectural history?' (Kulić, 2018: 4). His argument stresses out that a pop-phenomenon which the buildings of the late socialism have become due to uncritical and somewhat impetuous representations, results in multiple forms of 'othering' and 'alienating' of the socialist built heritage:

..., it is not only that late socialist buildings don't seem to belong on Earth — for what is more other than being extraterrestrial? — but they are also excluded from the historically situated cultural lineages and are cast as pure whimsy. Leftovers of a yesterday's future, quaint but inconsequential, they are disqualified from serious consideration as architecture (Kulić, 2018: 3).

What Kulić is indicating is that these controversial interpretations of the socialist architectural heritage were only possible because of the negligence of the mainly western presenters and that were only readable in a context where an observer didn't care about basic historical facts, but observed this built heritage without its ideological background, simply as an empty skin. Kulić's paper came as an entering standpoint for him when accepting the co-curatorial role, along with Martino Stierli, in MoMA's intention to host the exhibition on socialist Yugoslav architectural heritage. Hoping to 'conceive the show as a remedy for the misinterpretations' (Kulić, 2018: 5) curators have, on behalf of the MoMA influential platform, done much for popularisation and spread of detailed knowledge on socialist Yugoslavia architecture.

Simultaneously, credible European schools of architecture and the provocateur among them – ETH Zurich, already held courses and led research projects on the similar topics⁴. Setting aside the outstanding, exclusively individual efforts on writing any type of thesis on such matter in Serbian and regional schools and universities, up to now there exists none of the educationally based organised course on scientific reflection on the socialist Yugoslav architectural heritage. Observing from the Serbian perspective, the label of 'negligence' attached to those countries that did nothing or very little in the last three decades, to protect or promote the heritage of the socialist era, is a shameful fact. In this paper we argue that while not neglecting the 'deflection period' during which we were repulsed by our socialist heritage, we need to encourage the critical, analytical and curatorial views on the socialist heritage of every type and to share views and thoughts on possibilities and potentials of creative interpretations of such a legacy.

In this article we present three different projects as striking examples for the new possible contexts of staging the socialist Yugoslav architectural heritage - a theatre performance *Future Read in Concrete and Stone* (TkH), the curatorial concept for the exhibition *Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia, 1948-1980* (MoMA), and a three months long, process-

⁴ Philip Ursprung's research project on Conflicting Identities

based exhibition project for the Venice Architecture Biennale 2014, *Re:Load*. Focusing on distinct formats of these projects, as well as on the (re)interpreted, inscribed or imagined qualities that socialist Yugoslav architecture generates and reflects, the article introduces the contextual paradigms of the Intangible, the Fetishized and the Constructed.

The Intangible

Regarding the shifts in staging the Yugoslav cultural heritage in general, the context of *the Intangible* structures around the paradigm of the *experiential turn* (von Hantelmann, 2014) in arts, which points to the 'viewer's situated and embodied experience' (ibid.), and the state of the *affect*⁵, favouring its visceral and bodily, over cognitive dimension. One of the mostly addressed themes in this context revolves around the revolutionary thought fostered in the socio-political and cultural life of Yugoslavia, woven into diverse forms of the collective remembrance culture of the period. Staging this specific ideological position, this context focuses on the production of embodied experiences - in the moment, and for those already historically distant from the analysed era.



Fig. 1. The WWII memorial Kadinjača by Miodrag Živković; photo credit: Milica Stojšić, *Deep Cuts* series, 2017.

Future Read in Concrete and Stone produced by TkH⁶, thematically examines the Yugoslav modernist land art memorials of WWII anti-fascist struggle and communist revolution. Directly translating the architectural program of the three chosen monuments - Sutjeska, Kozara and

⁵ More in Gregg, Melissa and Seigworth, Gregory J (eds.), (2010). *The Affect Theory Reader*

⁶ Walking Theory (Teorija koja Hoda) - centre for performing arts theory and practice; director: Bojan Đorđev

Kadinjača⁷ - into the language of the staged and collectively performed choreography, the performance signifies the reading of the monuments' narratives 'as the traces of revolution, and at the same time, as the coordinates for the new society'.⁸

The audience is invited on the stage and spontaneously guided through the 'journey' to WWII memorials. Reviving the individual experiences of encountering the structures in the landscape, the performers carry out the analysis of the monuments' tectonics and their narratives, recognising the revolutionary gestures translated into spatial microcosm of constructed landscapes [fig. 1]. Similar to the way the monuments ask for an active engagement with their materiality, rather than passive observation of their form, the performers encourage the audience to take part in collective rehearsing and the process-led re-enacting of the monuments. As performance reaches its ending, one witnesses a quite literal *staging of architecture* - not through formal mimicking, but through an experience of a collectively performed choreography.

This unusual process of translating the built environment into a choreographic content was possible due to the inherent *performative quality* (Žugić, 2014: 325-348) of the monuments' rather abstract architectural form, and the productive aspects inscribed into the designed space. Finally leading to rehearsing and performing this *social choreography*⁹, the project raises the question of possibilities for challenging passive and inert positions in both consuming the cultural heritage and acting towards the society of tomorrow.

The Fetishized

Underrated and underrepresented the architectural heritage of Yugoslavia, as an issue of a massive oversight with dramatic potentials, caught attention of Martino Stierli¹⁰. Getting on board of the project that would become the first major western exhibition of the topic, the guest curator Vladimir Kulić participated in exhibiting socialist Yugoslav architectural and design heritage framed through perspective of an everyday usage by people in Yugoslavia. Fully aware that MoMA might have made the decision to focus on this precise topic due to a blooming publicity of digitally shared photographs and videos particularly of the Yugoslav war memorials, Kulić decided to accept the co-curatorial role in endeavour of reactivating the values beneath the dominant, oversimplified representation of the Yugoslav architectural heritage – its practices, places, buildings and design objects. Emphasizing that MoMA 'has the potential to be transformative for perception of architecture' (Kulić, 2018: 5), he hoped to change perception of socialist Yugoslav heritage formed through the digitally reproduced, carefree fetishization of its individual structures distributed through mass media channels.

The success of MoMA's exhibition *Toward a Concrete Utopia: Architecture in Yugoslavia, 1948-1980* is not questionable, and so is not the positive world's promotion drawn to the topic. However, the point on fetishization got highlighted by curators themselves. The entering scene of the promotional video 'How to See: Concrete Utopia'¹¹ shows Stierli and Kulić giving the

⁷ The revolutionary memorial, Kozara, by Dušan Džamonja, and the memorials Sutjeska and Kadinjača by Miodrag Živković

⁸ From the official author's statement, TkH website: <http://www.tkh-generator.net/>

⁹ Which, by Andrew Hewitt, implies the ideology that is always bodily performed rather than remaining on the level of an abstract thought; more in Hewitt, Andrew: *Social Choreography: Ideology as Performance in Dance and Everyday Movement*, Duke University Press, Durham & London, 2005.

¹⁰ Martino Stierli is the Philip Johnson Curator of Architecture and Design at MoMA, since March 2015.

¹¹ Accessed from: <https://www.moma.org/magazine/articles/19>

opening word in the structure that represents famous K67 Kiosk – 'a highly artful piece of design which found its way into the streets to be used by everyone on daily basis'.¹² Capturing this moment of an established curator (Stierli) and a well-known academic (Kulić) dressed in suits, standing in the socialist Yugoslav ephemeral architectural structure, originally used as booth, as a news-stand, as a small-scale store enabling the everyday life's processes in Yugoslavia [fig. 2], it becomes obvious that the K67 Kiosk is getting its momentum as the image reaches mass media.



Fig. 2. The K67 Kiosk, Novi Sad, Serbia, 2018; photo credit: Dragana Šaša, *New Paradigm + New Readings* Exhibition by Ephemera Collective, 2018.

Rhetorically asking the vague question on possibilities of maintaining the original meaning of a topic in the culture obsessed with the fast-changing visual impressions, the context of intentionally led fetishization becomes legitimate in today's curatorial practices. What comes

¹² Ibid.

as a feedback to such a concept is the following dilemma: Now that people around the world recognize and associate images of the socialist Yugoslav heritage with an institution as influential as MoMA, would that lead to a satisfying level of knowledge about intentions and concepts of otherwise incomprehensible and overly complex essence of the legacy? K67 Kiosk is clearly a star-project featuring the MoMA's exhibition and its media popularity, but is that image enough to clarify that in Yugoslavia 'architecture operated as a visual represent of the social-political concept, as an embodiment of the avant-garde socialist and self-governing ideas on society and its culture by society itself' (Konstantinović, 2018: 85)?

The Constructed

*Re: Load*¹³ is a competition entry for Serbian national exhibition at the Venice Architecture Biennale 2014. Conceived as a response to Rem Koolhaas' thematic framework *Fundamentals*, the project aimed to define 'what was fundamental' for Serbian architecture. The research identified precisely the legacy of modernist architectural production of Yugoslavia as *the foundation* to be revisited, rethought and learned from.

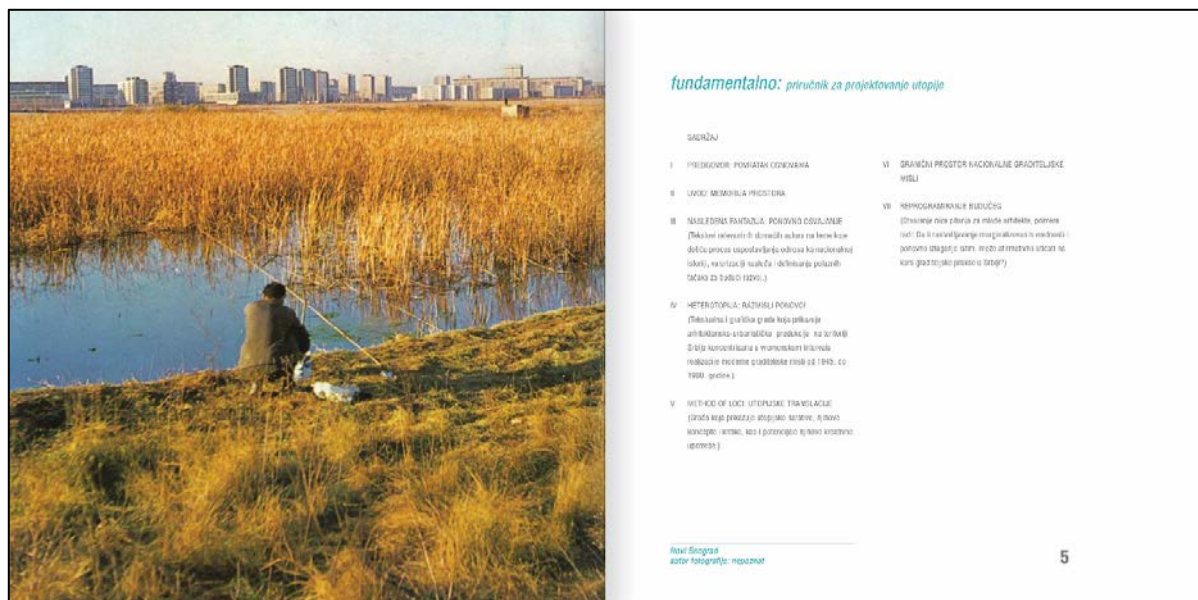


Fig. 3. An illustration of the monograph *A handbook for Designing Utopia*, part of *Re:Load* project, a competition entry for Serbian national exhibition at Venice Architecture Biennale, 2014.

The concept of a three months long, process-based exhibition project for the national pavilion in Venice, has been developed around 1967 urban plan for the city of New Belgrade. The last one in the turbulent history of many, the plan incorporated and materialised the utopian ideas of the *New Country* in its new symbolic capital – the *New City*, emerging from scratch on an empty, 'neutral' territory. The exhibition was designed as an ongoing architectural studio inside the Serbian national pavilion (which paradoxically, still holds a caption *Yugoslavia* on its façade), where the groups of students and mentors from every architectural school from ex-Yugoslav republics, would develop, in a week-long period, their own utopian visions of the

¹³ Authors: Bojan Stojković, Miljana Zeković, Višnja Žugić, Vladimir Garboš and Dragana Konstantinović

imaginary future of New Belgrade. Through a fictional recreation and alteration of the course of history, thoroughly explained in a monograph *A handbook for Designing Utopia*¹⁴ [fig. 3], the schools' delegations were invited to offer an imaginary spatial answer to question: *What could have happened?* By collecting and exhibiting each groups' results during the design process, the exhibition is seen as an *overall construct*, which emerges from the process-based cumulative endeavour of creative rethinking of utopia that was predestined to failure.

The unrealised faith of the project precluded seeing if a complex, multi-layered design construct could generate a deeper understanding of Yugoslav architecture and the context of its development. More importantly, it brought to focus a necessity to requestion the conventional curatorial approaches of exhibiting aestheticized objects in the context of Venice Architecture Biennale and correlating international events.

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In their approach to heritage as a threshold of contemporary production in culture, curators often enter a specific creative dialogue with material provided on a particular piece/part of heritage that is being analysed. In the process, heritage is seen as an initiator, generator and a protagonist of the newly created story, which emerges from a critical, creative and open correlation with pure facts. This perspective results in an outcome often articulated through the factional approach. Even though it might appear unburdened with the strict and pure historical facts, this approach emerges not from ignorance or disrespect towards the heritage, but from seeking new platforms for critical rethinking, staging and placement of the historical legacy. Being reversible in its nature, this point of view engages into a simultaneous relation with contextual history. Indicated by Raphael Samuel, that a dramatic staging and presentation of memory today are phenomena to which a contextual history needs to reflect upon, he proposed exactly an establishment of 'a construct' as a "hybrid form of knowledge' that will stand as a political alternative to a single master narrative" (Gale, 1996: 290). New contexts of heritage staging and placement thus remain obligatory course for further investigations and deeper research.

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Dealing with “unwanted” past: the urban project Skopje 2014 and the socialist architectural legacy

Abstract: *In this paper, I analyze the urban project dubbed Skopje 2014 and how it treats the “communist” architectural legacy in Skopje, Macedonia. The central argument is that through the massive urban intervention the former conservative government sought to foremost stabilize its dominant power position in the country, consolidate the political right and leave an ideological mark on the urban space.*

Keywords: *Skopje 2014, nationalism, power, authoritarianism, architecture.*

Introduction

The newest urban revamp of the city occurred in a specific political context for the country. After the violent conflict in 2001, which brought the country to the edge of war, both Albanian and Macedonian political subjects have signed the so-called Ohrid Framework Agreement (OFA), assigning to the minorities, in this case targeting especially Albanian minority, a set of cultural and representative rights (Bieber, 2008: 7-40). Many right-leaning ethnic Macedonians, as well as the political right, were displeased with this outcome, as it was perceived as a triumph of Albanian nationalism. The so-called Millennium Cross, towering now over Skopje, is being seen as a symbolic provocation to the Albanian community in the new political context. It was erected in 2002, approved by the Ministry of Finance led then by Nikola Gruevski, the future Prime Minister.

One of the crucial political junctures occurs in 2004, when Gruevski took over the presidency in the largest conservative party VMRO-DPMNE. In 2006, DPMNE is back on power, after which the so-called “antiquization campaign” was launched (Vangeli, 2011: 13-32), which sought to make the narrative of ancient origin a dominant national narrative. The airport has been renamed after Alexander the Great as well as several ancient sculptures have been put up in front of the government building. Moreover, this process found its place in the historiography and textbooks alike (Stojanov, 2010: 225-234). The campaign picked up pace after the NATO summit in 2008, when Greece blocked Macedonian bid to NATO.

In 2010, the former mayor of the city announced the urban project Skopje 2014. It envisaged a wholesale restructuration of the city center, breaking up with the socialist legacy and disseminating a mono-national image of a city that is being largely divided along the lines of ethnicity. It is being perceived as an embodiment of the antiquization politics due to the

¹ Centre for Southeast European Studies, University of Graz. E-mail: branimir.staletovik@uni-graz.at

dominance of ancient figures and narrative. After the announcement, the presented plan surprised the Macedonian public due to its magnitude, architectural design (arguably neoclassical and neo-baroque) and planned financial framework. Despite the skepticism about the final realization of Skopje 2014, the government led by conservative VMRO-DPMNE managed to implement the project as it had been initially designed.

Scholars and researchers are now reporting on the ethno-nationalist messages that dominate the project. Many see Skopje 2014 and its anti-communist and ethno-nationalist narrative as an identity-making and nation-building strategy (Kolozova et al. 2013), resting on the practices of inventing tradition originated in Western Europe. Others see it as a nation-branding politics carried out by neoliberal dynamic and government (Graan, 2013: 117-142). Although scholars offer valuable observations, their explanations are empirically limited to the external factors and neoliberal argument. While nation-branding theory correctly points out the attempt of making Skopje a “European city,” it is less clear why such processes must be framed in a neoliberal language. Neoliberalism is originally designed to capture the post 1970s economic dynamic, that is, the weakening of the welfare state, and the rise of globalization, market deregulation and so forth. The attempt to bend the concept of neoliberalism from the economic to the political level, more precisely to highly centralized and authoritarian state-driven actions, stretched the concept too far. If neoliberalism is everywhere, it seriously limits its analytical capacity. Similarly, we can argue about identity theory. Yet, the central weakness here lies in the methodological and empirical capacities of this notion as “identity” appears empirically irrelevant as a unit of analysis and unfeasible to work with. This is what Brubaker meant by identity being sociologically too static, despite the constructivists’ attempts to make it transcend, flexible or multifaceted (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000: 1-47).

This paper expands the scope. It redirects the attention from the approaches discussed here to the power organizations such as the political party (VMRO-DPMNE) led by Nikola Gruevski, the state and ideology. The narrative behind Skopje 2014, as well as the organizational aspect, were highly centralized and designed to target specific conservative and nationalist constituencies. This had a lot to do with attempts of establishing and securing the (authoritarian) hierarchies of power, discrediting political opponents as well as making an ideological statement on Skopje’s urban space.

A Brief Historical Reflection

Skopje’s urban development is highly complex, mostly due to the regime discontinuity in governing the city, which were ideologically quite opposite and as a result the city was heavily affected by rises and falls of different systems. The city was under the Ottomans rule from the late 14th century up until 1912/13, during which period the Skopje’s (ottoman) Bazaar was constructed. After the fall of the Ottoman Empire the city was administered by the Serbian power structures, which made effort to expand the city to the south, where predominantly Christian population settled.² Along with this, the authorities sought through both formal and informal political practices to marginalize and relegate the status of the non-Christian subjects (Turks and Albanians) in the post-Ottoman context.³ Exclusive nationalism

² On Skopje’s urban development, see Veron, O. 2015. Deconstructing the divided city: identity, power and space in Skopje (Doctoral dissertation, UCL (University College London)).

³ According to the last census, Albanians make about 25% of the total population in Macedonia.

endorsed by the Serbian authorities favored Christian and Slavic-speaking population and privileged the south bank of the river, which quickly became city's political and economic core (Lafazanovski, 2006). On the other hand, predominantly Muslims, Turks or Albanians populated the north bank of the river. In this way, the power elite has divided the city along ethno-national lines, politicizing thus the urban space and cultural differences.

This practice continued in the communist period. The urban plan of 1948 was based mostly on the models already designed in the interwar Skopje. However, the disastrous earthquake precipitated a massive reconstruction of the city in 1963, when 80% of the city was destroyed. In the light of the tragedy, the authorities saw an opportunity to put in work its central normative goals: breaking up with the past and accent on modernism. In this context, Skopje was proclaimed an "open city," where the ethno-cultural division will be transcended by applying modernist and socialist principles. Yet, the announced model of an "open city" failed to be achieved as the state did little to incorporate the north bank and Skopje's Bazaar into the city's urban network. This practice also had a lot to do with the general reluctance and failure of the state to integrate non-Slavic speaking Muslims in the ideological and institutional framework of the state (Brunnbauer, 2004: 565-598).

After Macedonia gained an independent status in the nineties, the social division exacerbated and new ones arose. The pluralization of the political space enabled a much wider political participation, but in this context the potential for political turmoil rose rapidly. Besides the ethnonational division, the antagonism between the political right, on the one hand, and the political left on the other, has been disrupting the political stability in the country ever since. The coming of Gruevski's government into power in 2006 intensified the division between these political spectrums. The urban changes of Skopje had been on the conservative government's agenda since winning elections in 2006 (Blazhevski, 2016). Even as an incumbent in the government from 1998-2002, Gruevski as Minister of Finance allocated the budget resources to the Millennium Cross. The above discussed antiquization and Skopje 2014 deepen the rift even more, as the implementation and the disseminated content were quite controversial from the very onset and directly targeting the socialist cultural and political legacies. Many institutional procedures have been circumvented in order to realize the project as it had been initially designed.

The so-called Museum of VMRO and the Victims of Communism built as a part of the Skopje 2014 epitomizes the position of the former authorities towards the communist past. The museum is designed to guide visitors through modern Macedonian history centered on a myth of martyrdom. The tour ends in the "communist room," where events from the communist period are attempting to depict how the communists violently suppressed any idea of the Macedonian national path, portraying the period as a detrimental to Macedonian nationhood (Trajanovski, N., 2016).

Project Skopje 2014 and its relation to the communist past

Since the party VMRO-DPMNE has been established in 1990, its central narrative strategies rest on the committed anti-communism and exclusive Macedonism. They serve as a legitimization strategy for establishing a political domination over the Social Democrats (SDSM), but also as a mechanism of establishing both group and political dominance in the country where interethnic politics largely shape the social and political landscape.

While the project Skopje 2014 manifests a complex social and political background, a set of “soft” and “hard” strategies may be identified when it comes to dealing with the socialist architectural legacy: 1. Diminishing the value of the “communist architecture” by overshadowing the objects with the newly erected ones; 2. Abandoning abstraction in architectural art, and instead stressing the figurative monuments; 3. Refurbishing a large number of buildings’ external outlook into neoclassical and baroque architecture.

Firstly, as the project was announced in 2010, one of the central aspects was evident marginalization of the modern socialist buildings. A good example is the treatment of the modern objects built during socialism. Most of these structures are now overshadowed by the new set of buildings built as part of Skopje 2014, which neutralize the symbolism and architectural value of the pre-existing objects.

Secondly, there is an evident break with the past in the design form of over 100 monuments and sculptures that have been put up in the course of a couple of years. Whereas the communism in Yugoslavia sought to ideologically frame itself along the lines of abstract (politically neutral) art, the figurative monuments dominate the city’s urban center in the modern Skopje (Koteska, 2011). They serve the idea of linking different historical figures and periods into an uninterrupted national path. Unlike the abstract art, the newly put up monuments make a clear ethno-national statement, thus having a strong political connotation.

The process of refurbishing of the large set of buildings in the downtown area can be seen as a hard mechanism of dealing with the urban heritage, since it completely eliminates any connotation with modern architecture stemming from the socialist period. One of the buildings that evoked a particular attention is the Government Complex that was built in 1977. A modernist building with a clean architectural form has been redecorated in a neoclassical style.

Power and ideology

The question arises why did the former government revamp the city to this extent? The answer can be categorized as external and internal strategies of legitimization. From an external perspective, the project tends to position Macedonia close to the idealized Western culture. The new neoclassical and baroque buildings found its inspiration in the European cities. It is argued that the project serves as a strategy to brand the nation internationally and attract more financial investment and tourists from abroad.

Internally, the urban space and architecture, and the parting with the socialist urban heritage, were used as a platform for rebranding the VMRO-DPMNE after Gruevski took over the party in 2004. Skopje 2014 served as an ultimate project of the new political right, and a convenient opportunity for the party, and Gruevski himself,⁴ to leave a mark on the urban space. Whereas the disseminated content is seen as an attempt to redefine Macedonian identity, the distributed anti-communist statement is central to the conservative party and shares all of its central ideological attributes.

Moreover, the project targets the conservative constituency that is traditionally anti-socialist and anti-Muslim oriented. Breaking up with the socialist legacy does not simply imply an automatic “redefinition of Macedonian identity,” but rather, empirically more plausible, a strategy to legitimize the Gruevski’s government and delegitimize the main political opponent.

⁴ Gruevski has micro-managed the project. This is evident from the leaked recordings publicly presented by the current Prime Minister Zoran Zaev in 2014/15.

While this was not a guarantee for election success, it played an important role in stabilizing the right-leaning base (Staletović, 2016: 1-11). In this way, the government embarked on a divide and rule policy, thus consolidating its authoritarian hold of the state, which enabled a control of the state's resources and accordingly, staying on power.

Thirdly, while this does not have a direct relation to the socialist urban legacy, it does help in understanding the motives behind the Skopje's revamp. As stressed before, the post-conflict context changed the power relations in the country, empowering Albanians through a set of political and cultural rights they did not enjoy in the pre-conflict context. The urban space and architecture, and the exclusive mono-national and autochthonic content, were used as tools to reemphasize the dominance of Macedonian nationalism and downgrade Albanians subjects to the pre-conflict status. This practice, again, was targeting the right-leaning constituency that is traditionally at odds with elevating the status of minorities (read Albanians) in the country (Vangeli, 2011).

Conclusion

The urban space and architecture have been used as a tool for promoting and legitimizing political power across time and space. The Macedonian case resembles many of the strategies already employed elsewhere (Vale, 2014). Yet, what is being often overlooked is the quality of the power that dictates the decision-making process, which in the post-communist context has been carried out by utterly arbitrary politics on the part of the either full (e.g. Astana or Ashkhabad) or semi-authoritarian regimes, as in the case of Macedonia and Skopje. The urban planning and reconstruction of the objects and cities were one of the central policies of Gruevski's government, and this stretches since 2006 onwards. While I accept the argument that the project is to some degree a result of the name issue with Greece and tensions with Albanian nationalism, these tensions have been present on the Macedonian political scene since the 1990s. Thus, the concept of power, or more to the point the authoritarian power, appears central to this analysis. It has enabled the former conservative government the control of symbolic, human and financial resources that had been employed in remolding Skopje for the purpose of leaving an ideological mark and aggravating social and political relations, from which rift the Macedonian political right traditionally benefits.

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Loss of heritage and revival of memory in post-soviet Yerevan

Abstract: *After the collapse of the USSR a new economical and political system was established in the Commonwealth States, including in Armenia. These changes had an impact on urban planning and were based on controversial and largely disputed ideological bases. One of the best examples of such controversial developments is the city of Yerevan, the capital of Armenia, where the retrospective view on the “glorious past” of the country became the ideological bases of its newly developing urban fabric. This retrospective approach resulted in the reconstruction of new urban memory on the bases of the revived and revised phantoms of the older urban fabric. This included, for example, ubiquitous renaming of streets (the majority of street names of soviet origin gave a way to the names of national heroes), partial demolition of communist monuments and by such reconstruction of new national narratives in architecture. The new city identity was being formed by simultaneous construction of the new urban fabric and demolition of the historical, whereas the initial intention was to complete the historical image of Yerevan. The reason of such an overall retrospective attitude to the urban development was conditioned by the controversial and complex perception of own past and history. Yerevan is a modern city built mainly in the 20th century despite that it was a period when the core architecture was being developed on the idea of the revival of traditional architecture. Even after the end of communist era the city continued following that ideology attempting to fulfill the gaps of urban memory. The proposed paper intends to examine the controversial urban development of the city of Yerevan in the context of the political changes which took place in post-independence period. We will examine how the role of the past and history is being interpreted in the formation of the contemporary urban fabric of the city, attempting to establish it as the symbol of the nation’s “glorious past”-processes which were accompanied by ubiquitous demolition of the historical architectural heritage.*

Keywords: *urban change, memory revival, loss of heritage.*

If to describe the processes happening in the urban landscape of Post-Soviet Yerevan in one word, then it could be characterized as paradoxical. This paradox consists in the city’s battle against its own past on the one hand and in a simultaneous construction of its future on the bases of that past on the other hand. These are two opposite paths, which go against each other whilst manipulating with the notion of heritage each on in its own way.

Reproduction or mimicry of the past has become the DNA of the city of Yerevan, the capital of the Republic of Armenia. Throughout development of its contemporary history the city has

¹ Independent researcher. E-mail: tigranharutyunyanarch@gmail.com

assimilated values which not always have direct or coherent link to itself. For example, Yerevan is associated with such a global idea as the revival and reunion of the Armenian nation, yet this idea remains a sentimental poetic concept, instead of becoming the city's development strategy by means of assimilation of its past urban layers and cultural traditions into its contemporary fabric. Yerevan is an idealistic project that has been serving certain ideological missions in the past and continuous leading this ideological stance nowadays.

The Post-Soviet period of Yerevan's development represents a non-disciplined yet an explicit process of reproduction of the 'own non-existing'. This idealistic national project is a continuation of the processes initiated back in the times of Soviet regime. It continued developing during the independence period in the same 'utopist and ephemeral' manner attempting a 'logical return' to the past and aspiring to reconstruct the history and maintain continuity of architectural traditions and culture in general.

Yerevan of Pre-Soviet period, being a part of Russian Empire, was a totally different city. It had completely different format, borders and layout. Yet it is not this Pre-Soviet Yerevan but 'another', 'genuinely national' Yerevan that is being recreated in the Post-Soviet period, an image of a city that is connected exclusively with the city's own national authentic heritage and is unrelated to its past status and image of a peripheral town. By opting for their Pre-Soviet past Yerevan and many other former Soviet cities explicitly indicate exclusion of the Soviet past from their historiography and demonstrate that Soviet ideologies were artificially planted from without and had no link to their own local traditions. In their current development processes these cities attempt to omit Soviet period, which created a historical gap in the continuity of their local traditions. Yet, however paradoxical it might not seem, it is exactly the Soviet period that has inherited to contemporary Armenia, and mainly to Yerevan, the main body of its survived material culture and architectural heritage in particular. The Soviet architectural heritage represents a reincarnation of the Pre-Soviet tradition, which nowadays the Post-Soviet culture accepts as traditional or national.

The first steps towards 'nationalisation' and 'de-Sovietisation' of urban environment had been taken in the early 1990s, even before announcing the independence of the country later in September 1991. The changes first of all touched the material and non-material symbols of cities, such as monuments to Soviet heroes and leaders which were dismantled, and to streets and other urban places which were renamed. This process was analogical to that of Lenin's Plan of 'Monumental Propaganda'. This strategy that had been devised to plant the communist ideology in the organization of urban spaces, now turned against itself. In Yerevan the names of all the streets, towns and even educational institutions that had any relation to the recent communist past had been changed to names of national heroes. The only exceptions were streets carrying names of some communist figures of Armenian origin which didn't change its' names.

One of the main symbolical events indicating the arrival of changes in the urban landscape of Yerevan was certainly dismantlement of the monument to Lenin on the main square of the city (sculptor S. Merkurlov, architects L. Vartanov, N. Paremuzova, 1940). This decision was taken by the local municipal authorities in 1991 and the monument was removed from the pedestal on 13 April 1991, just before the official collapse of the Soviet Union [fig. 1]. This was one of the most iconic events in the contemporary history of the city-a demonstrative erasure and obliteration of what had been an unshakable ideological symbol for many decades.



Fig. 1 Demolition of monument Lenin in 1991 (photo by Photolur)

In the second half of the 1990s 'de-Sovietisation' and 'nationalisation' processes of the city continued and were manifested in dismantlement of the monument to 'The Worker' (sculptor Ara Harutyunyan, 1982) which was located in the 1st Quarter of Yerevan, the industrial district of the city. This monument was the most important non-personified communist monument in Yerevan representing a collective character of the working class. It was one of the most important communist symbols during Soviet period, which had become unfit to the new ideological policy of the independent Armenia.

As from 2000s a new tendency of installing military-patriotic monuments to local national heroes of different historical periods emerged. The mission of this tendency was to fill in the lacuna of national ideology by emphasizing national liberation motifs instead. One of the first monuments of such ideological inclination was dedicated to the early 20th century national hero General Andranik (sculptor Ara Shiraz, architect Aslan Mkhitaryan, 2001). Another monument, this time to a hero and national ideologist of the early 20th century General Garegin Njdeh (sculptor Gagik Stepanyan, architect Aslan Mkhitaryan) was erected in 2016. Yet erection of these and many other monuments of the same nature had obvious symbolic character, rather than being a part of global cultural and urban development policies. For example, a monument to Aram Manoukyan (sculptor Davit Minasyan, 2018) - one of the founders of the first Armenian Democratic Republic² was erected and demonstratively placed in the center of Yerevan, whilst the house nearby where the famous political actor lived had been demolished few years before.

It was back in 1919 when the image of Yerevan, as of a city reviving and simultaneously destroying national traditions was established. That year the government of the First Armenian

² The first Armenian Democratic republic was established in 1918, after the collapse of the Russian Tsarist Empire (October revolution) and lasted two and half years until Armenia was integrated into the Soviet Empire.

Republic invited the architect and academician Alexander Tamanyan from Petersburg to undertake the mission of construction of Armenian new capital-Yerevan. After long-lasting absence of statehood, Armenia had finally obtained its independence and the task of the new government was to create a national state on the fundamentals of a tsarist province, that Armenia actually was. The city's past image of a provincial town had to be erased and a new representative image adequate to a capital of a new republic had to be created. Yet the city, like a palimpsest, had to erase the old in order to give a way to the new.

The national ideas to be implemented in the new master plan were close to Tamanyan and he pursued these ideas in the creation of Yerevan's master plan even during the Soviet era. His master plan of Yerevan was approved in 1924 during the reign of the Soviets according to which Yerevan had to look at the biblical Mount Ararat, a sacred national symbol for Armenians. The mount was the focal point of the city's panorama, and all the newly constructed main streets and avenues were oriented towards it. The new city was symbolizing the national revival of Armenian people after liberation from foreign invasions and after having survived the genocide of 1915.

Tamanyan adapted certain elements from classicist architecture and married it with local traditional architectural motifs to create the new architectural language of Yerevan. He derived prototypes mainly from the architecture of Ani (9th-11thcenturies), one of the 12 historical capitals of the ancient Armenian Kingdom. This new architectural style that Tamanyan synthesized while working on the project of Yerevan offered such an organic transition from the traditional to modern architecture that it became a sort of a 'tonometer' for the development of the city's architecture in the coming decades. Yet we should note that the construction of the new architecture for the new city was accompanied by simultaneous destruction of layers of the city's historical architecture.

After Soviet Union had collapsed the city had to adapt itself to the new political-economical conditions. Now Yerevan had to be developed as a capital of an independent state, but still on the bases of its existing Soviet-times structure. Just like Tamanyan in the early years of Soviet reign was building the city by destroying its past historical layers, in the Post-Soviet Yerevan too new construction projects were often realized on the spots of demolished historical buildings. They were destroyed not to build something better instead, but to build something more 'national'. This is a paradoxical process of destruction of own heritage with the aim of ascertaining national self-identification, whilst the construction boom of the times gave certain economical justification, legitimization to such urban destruction initiatives.

In the architecture of the first decade of independence period (before the 2000s) period architects attempted to devise a new architectural language, which was expressed in the use of new materials and technologies. At the same time certain traditional architectural motifs were still kept and reproduced. This approach can be explained by the aspiration to catch up with the world tendencies that were inaccessible during the Soviet period. Yet these new designs were not always backed up with any theoretical or disciplined concept and tended to be rather eclectic.

The first major urban project realized during the Post-Soviet period was construction of the Northern Avenue, a 500-meter-long boulevard connecting two main squares of Yerevan, the Republic Square where the statue of Lenin used to stand and the Opera Square. A project of such a scale could not be realized without foreign investments and government sponsorship and calls for controversial interpretation, both as an urban and social-economical project. The architecture of the Avenue calls for ambiguous interpretation, 'Being modern, [it] also

represents certain homage to Tamanian's architecture [fig. 2]. It suggests a new architectural language with intonations of the past' (Harutyunian, 2007: 64). Tamanian imagined the Northern Avenue as a central axis of the city connecting the cultural and administrative centers, namely the Opera and the Republic Squares. Yet construction of the State Art Gallery in the 1970s on the axes of the Avenue rendered its urban concept impossible³. As a result, Tamanyan's initial idea of Northern Avenue obtained rather formal realization.



Fig. 2 Residential complex in Northern Avenue (photo by Tigran Harutyunyan)

³ See Karen Balian, *Sovremennayanazional'nayaarchitekturaArmenii* [Contemporary National Architecture of Armenia] (Yerevan: Ayastan, 1987).

In the architecture of the Avenue the principles of Tamanyan school architecture were intended to be maintained. Yet this attempt of retrospective recreation of 1920s architectural tendencies, above all in different construction materials and structural principles, resulted in a disproportional and rather eclectic architecture. The Avenue starts with a complex of buildings in a sort of a mimicry of modernist style on the one end and finishes with a building representing eclectic mutations of neo-traditional and neo-classicist motifs on its other end.

The Old Yerevan urban project is perhaps the most controversial urban project in the contemporary history of Yerevan. The purpose of the project is to collect in one area all the historical buildings of Tsarist epoch that were dismantled in order to clean up territories for contemporary urban developments. A sort of a historical buildings' 'reservation, this project represents a square built up with buildings featuring reassembled facades of dismantled historical buildings to be located alongside the Northern Avenue. The area adjacent to the Avenue was chosen for this project as the main body of survived buildings of Tsarist period is located here.

The idea of collecting reassembled facades of historical buildings without preserving any authentic urban planning principles is certainly a symbolic gesture aimed at preserving only the memory of those buildings. As a consequence, the project has been nicknamed as a 'graveyard of monuments'. Current economical and political situation in Armenia makes it almost impossible to find investments for the restoration or preservation of those buildings in their initial locations. Hence Old Yerevan can be seen as a project offering positive alternative solution to the complete loss of those buildings, which would definitely be the case if not this initiative.

Old Yerevan is a typical result of an economical situation that affected urban development in many Post-Soviet cities, including Moscow. Historical centers of cities and towns which are densely built up with historical architecture are attractive for developers, who take the advantage of possibilities to bypass urban laws and regulations and manage to clean up territories in city centers for their development projects.

Another characteristic example of post-Soviet urban development strategies is represented by the Shahumyan square reorganization project. This square is built up with many historical buildings belonging to different historical epochs. Yet this square has been and still continues undergoing major urban planning and architectural transformations. As a result of these interventions the urban fabric of the square has been irreversibly changed. These changes concern first of all the 'Sevan' hotel (architect N. Buniatyan, 1931) located north to the monument to Stepan Shahumyan. This building representing a very interesting example of Post-Constructivist architecture was demolished in 2004. After the building had been demolished its spot remained empty for long time until the government took a decision to construct on that location a new building which would host offices of five ministries.

The newly designed building of the ministries, the construction of which was finished in 2016, continues the mixed neo-traditional and neo-classicist stylistic direction of the Northern Avenue. The rectangular turret asymmetrically placed on the left side of the massing and a large arched opening in the center are direct quotations of Tamanyan's Republic Square architecture. [fig. 3]



Fig. 3 Monument to Stephan Shahumyan in the front of new MFA building
(photo by Hakob Mansuryan)

The reconstruction of the 12th century 'Katoghike' church was another major urban development project in Yerevan of the independence period. For decades the only medieval church of the city was hidden behind the building of the Institute of Languages (architect A. Ter-Avetikyan, 1952) and could be seen only from the courtyard of the Institute. In 2008 the Armenian Apostolic Church came up with the project of rectifying this 'historical injustice' in order to disclose this medieval gem and include it in the urban panorama of the city. The building of the Institute was demolished to open up a view onto the church. Yet apparently this was not considered enough. The idea of this tiny church's disclosure turned into a

construction of a huge spiritual complex including a larger cathedral on the spot of the destroyed building of the institute with adjacent complexes of the offices of the Diocese of Ararat Congregation and the city residence of the Catholicos of All Armenians.

Yerevan was conceived on ruins. In order to build up Yerevan of the new times Tamanyan had to destroy many buildings of the older Tsarist period. Destruction-reconstruction is embedded in the DNA of the city. It seems that in its hectic attempts to maintain the historical continuity of its development Yerevan constantly loses its previous historical layers while recreating instead eclectic mimicries or mutations of what it destroys.

On the bases of the described cases several generalizations can be derived.

The Tamanyan school architecture is considered the model of national or traditional, local architecture, although it on its turn has borrowed and reshaped architectural forms from the medieval sacred architecture, which represents the authentic Armenian traditional architecture. Hence whenever there is a need to refer to the tradition, the reference goes to the Tamanyan, rather than to medieval architecture.

The modernist architecture is seen as 'anti-national' hence cannot be reproduced and referred to as another stage of local architectural traditions' development. Modernism remains within academic interest of architectural connoisseurs.

The Tamanyan school architecture (1920s-1950s) is seen as a model of traditional architecture and reproduced as such without any reference to the political context of its times. Here what matters is merely the architectural aesthetics related to the medieval architecture.

Despite this clearly distinguished ideological tendencies, in Post-Soviet Armenia there is no official policy regarding architectural styles or tendencies.

By reproducing the Tamanyan-style architecture in contemporary Yerevan architects believe to revive the historical architecture, the authentic tradition. Yet Tamanyan's architecture and Yerevan that he created was a modern project. It was a modern architecture and a modern city. Hence what is being reproduced in Yerevan is a mere stylization of what itself already was a style, rather than a tradition.

Tamanyan-school architecture is not only erroneously regarded as a historical, traditional architecture, it is equally erroneously denied as being a Soviet architecture. Soviet modernism of 1960-1980s is not seen as a representative of traditional architecture. Yet, paradoxically, Tamanyan-school architecture that was in vogue some twenty years before then is regarded as a true national architecture, whilst it is in fact a pure product of Soviet socialist-realism ideology.

The utopist futurist ideologies of Soviet times nowadays have been replaced by an equally utopist obsession with historicism. What was a mere socialist-realism produce is perceived as a Golden Age of national culture and is endangered to face an ideological bankruptcy similar to the stagnation of Soviet futuristic aspirations that lead eventually to a collapse.

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Opening prefabrication to participation: The Institute for Testing Materials between Switzerland, Yugoslavia and Cuba

Abstract: *Institute for Testing Materials Serbia was formed soon after Yugoslavian break with USSR in 1948 marking country's shift toward rapid industrialisation. In this process use of manual building techniques was in the stage of transition toward application of equipment mainly imported through contracts on war reparation. As argued by Cornelius Castoriadis in his article on Yugoslavian bureaucracy from 1950, it was by abroad equipment once installed and further kept in good repair, replaced, and expanded that industrialisation of Yugoslavia assured dependence from a qualitative point of view from the West. After retirement from ETH, one of the most prominent engineers of the generation Mirko Roš will return to his country of origin to constitute a new institution. After importing Swiss equipment, the institute will gain its initial organisation. In this process prefabrication itself became the object of ultimate expertise involving variety of actors. Deliberately designed as an 'open prefabricated system', IMS enabled primary construction to be completed in situ by manual techniques both as to work compatibility with secondary systems from variety of industrial catalogs. Envisioned to adjust to the different qualifications of construction labor with extreme savings in concrete and steel and being the first to introduce prefabrication at the actual construction site, the IMS system soon become one of the leading Yugoslav export products. From its initial application in New Belgrade, the IMS final product – a flexible flat – generated more than 60 000 housing units in Yugoslavia. Moreover, it domesticated within the European, African, Asian and South American market with incomes big enough to assure autonomy to the house of its origin. Tracing the development of institute from its constitution and import of machinery toward technical characteristics of the system and its application in housing in Yugoslavia and abroad (Cuba) the paper will try to point to the possibility of experimentally lead prefabrication as one of potential legacies of socialist architecture.*

Keywords: *institute, prefabrication, Yugoslavia.*

In April 1949, the recently retired ETH professor Mirko Gottfried Roš received a photo album depicting the achievements of The Five-Year Plan in building the country from the Ministry of Construction of Yugoslavia. It was as a gesture of gratitude for his visit to Belgrade, the city of his birth, where Roš travelled, invited by the same Ministry (*Erinnerungsalbum*, 1949). The reason for the visit was the offer from the government and the Serbian Academy of Sciences to create a new institution for guiding industrialization and testing materials according to his

¹ RWTH Aachen. E-mail: andjelkabadnjar@gmail.com

knowledge and experience (Vojinović, 2014: 85). This was more than rich, as Roš obtained 11 honorary doctorates throughout Europe and set the foundation and developed the Swiss Federal Laboratories for Material Testing at ETH. In 1952, the new institution took the role that the prewar institutes had in government, gathering these within one center. In the letter addressed to the government Roš referred to the new institute as one for testing industrial materials and buildings being independently funded, apart from initial expenditure covered by the state. Apart from loans for machinery and the salaries of employees, these included furniture for departments to equip '7 cabinets for researchers taking into consideration their scientific work, personal relations and the visits of groups of scientists from abroad' (Roš, *Letter*, July 1952). These corresponded to departments of Stone, Concrete, Geomechanics, Wood, Metals, Physics and Chemistry, and the Development of Machines.

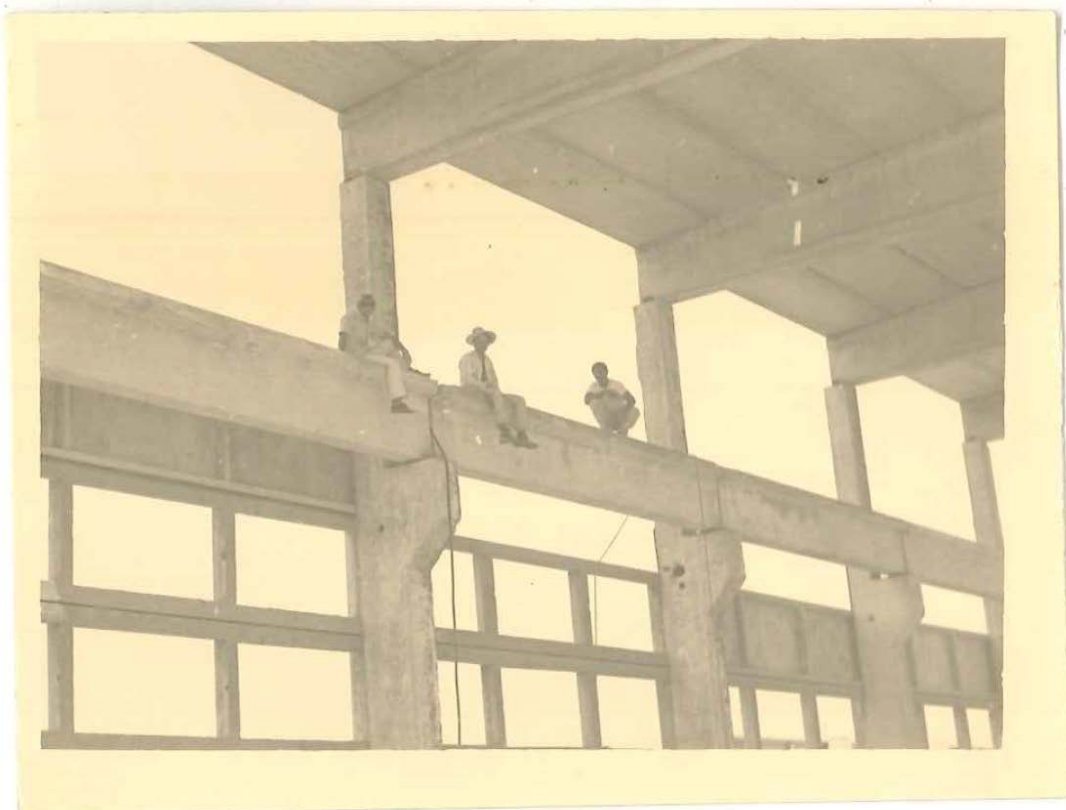


Fig. 1. Institute for Testing Materials plant for the production of flats at the PVYC construction site, Cuba, 20 April 1977. Archive IMS.

Roš worked on the research program, the people engaged, specifications of the equipment with the positions of machines and the distribution of spaces. He oversaw the import of machinery from Switzerland produced by Alfred J. Amsler, writing: 'Initially we have one loan to obtain machines and apparatuses from Switzerland for scientific research and the practical testing of materials with the value of 1 000 000 CHF...the first half of the loan is adopted. The rest is needed for the fruitful work of the Institute. The machines are specified, prices without increase and with special discount of 10 %' (Roš, 1952). Although initially part of the Academy of Sciences, the Institute was separated by decision of the government from 1953 and placed under the supervision of an Executive Committee (Žeželj, 1953). It was then renamed the Institute for Testing Materials of the Republic of Serbia (IMS) and Roš's deputy

and the Chair of the Department of Concrete, the young, up-and-coming Branko Žeželj, took Roš's position as Principle (Official Gazette, 1955: 900). This initiated a long phase of the Institute's development based on original patents in prestressed concrete, initially applied to Experimental housing in New Belgrade.



Fig. 2. Branko Turin *Novi Beograd* 1962, 24 x 18 cm, Belgrade City Museum

In 1962, the Belgrade photographer Branko Turin depicted motifs from newly inhabited Experimental housing in New Belgrade (Turin, 1962). Sitting in a local restaurant, a man looks throughout a large window towards the center of the housing area, playground and school. Dressed in a suit, he is surrounded by marble columns and wooden walls with memorial picture devoted to the youth working actions in building the city [fig. 2]. Built as a trial solution for solving the housing crisis in Yugoslavia, Experimental housing was a testing ground for both a way of living and a way of making. The most peculiar feature of the new settlement was the introduction of the IMS prefabricated system and the substitution of working actions by machinery equipment (Marković, 1968: 23-26). Yet, despite all the difficulties, this new way of prefabrication actually took a lot from practices of youth actions. This primarily meant trial work on the construction site with the involvement of a variety of semi-specialized actors in the process of building.

Recalling the difficulties in construction Žeželj mentioned that the soil was unexplored and sometimes impassable, and that there was a lack of electricity, phones and basic materials such as cement and gravel. As the city was planned for the very unstable floodplains at the confluence of the Danube and the Sava, every kilo of weight within the construction was important [fig. 3]. Moreover, there was a lack of mechanization in the construction process, with only a few, weak cranes. With transport from the factory being expensive, it was decided that floor slabs will be produced at the construction site (Žeželj, 1960: IIg-2).



Fig. 3. View of Experimental housing, Milan Pavlović Novi Beograd, around 1964, 24 x 18 cm, Belgrade City Museum

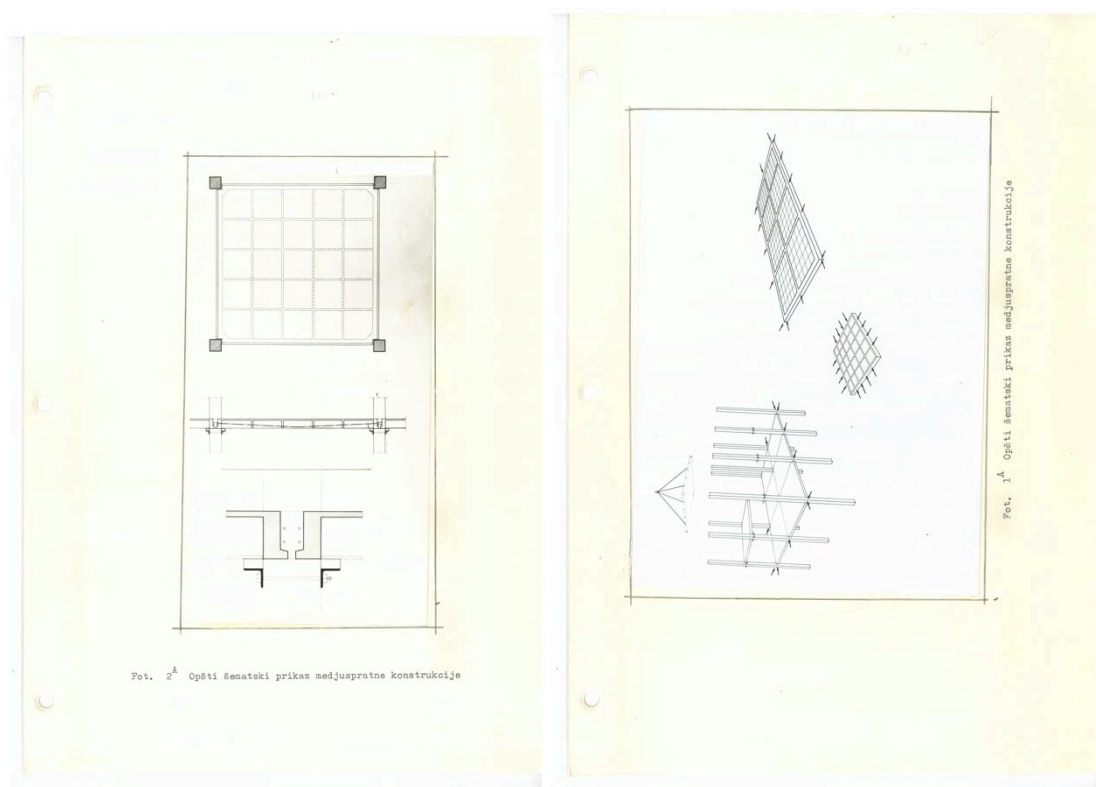


Fig. 4. The IMS principle for floor slabs, from *Study of the testing of prefabricated floor slabs* (1960), Scientific work of Department II: Concrete, the Institute for Testing Materials FRS Belgrade. Archive of the IMS.

An applied system was envisioned as a homogenous and rather simple solution made out of a pillar and a slab in a square of 4.2 x 4.2 m [fig. 4]. Yet due to the joint between the slab and column regulated by the steel pre-stressed wires, the system acquires a high level of flexibility (IMS Bilten, 1974: 9-13). The floor slabs, as the most original part of the system, are made out of internal ribs sandwiched between concrete slabs. The ribs are followed by cables which by introduced force create the prestressment of the concrete through each floor. The lower slab is made of two layers of plaster with a net in between and it represents the final solution for the ceiling. Due to the absence of a beam and the integration of the ceiling, the structure forms a very clean base for further work. The creation of the slabs was simple, too, as instead of steel molds, they were made using cardboard. Using paper for molding the ribs and upper slab was prioritized due to economics and simplicity of assemblage as it enabled both ribs and slab to be made as one (*Study of testing of prefabricated floor slabs*, 1960). The solution fitted the goal, with slabs weighing 3t on 17 m² which was 30 % less compared to known systems and actually enabled building on sand (Petrović, 1968: 222).



Fig. 5. The production of floor slabs for the IMS system at an Experimental housing construction site, album of the Department of Concrete (II) 1960, IMS Archive.

The floor slabs were weaved to each other in a horizontal continuum by intersecting cables running through the ribs. The introduced force was adjusted to each building and delivered *in situ* as the final touch. This was done using equipment produced in Yugoslavia as part of IMS technology (Institute for Testing Materials, documentary). The intention was clear from the very

foundation of the Institute under Roš as two main themes during 1949 and 1950 were prestressed concrete and work on steel armatures and presses. The phase ended up with prototypes of press for straining cables made out of six $\varnothing 5$ wires with armatures (Petrović, 1968: 207, 222). The joint would become most famous solution of IMS technology bringing to Žeželj international recognition and to the Institute an initial product for export: metal systems for reinforcement (*Institute for Testing Materials*, documentary). The solution brought relief in the housing sector as until the end of the 1960s, the majority of building in New Belgrade was designed and performed by IMS system.

As shown in a 1960 album by the Department of Concrete at IMS, weaving the structure in Experimental housing was performed by a mixed community of builders, from laymen and semi-skilled workers to engineers [fig. 5]. With minimal equipment this process of making although named the first phase toward industrialization was more correspondent to *crafting of industry* in trial by actors seeking a place in society by building it.



Fig. 6. The concept of the microregion in the plan of the Urban Planning Institute Belgrade by Branko Petričić, 1958. From *Novi Beograd. New Town* (Belgrade: The Direction for the Construction of Novi Beograd, 1961)

From the perspective of city planning, Experimental housing was based on the General Urban Plan for New Belgrade as a city of 200 000 inhabitants adopted in 1958 by the People's Committee of Belgrade [fig. 6]. The plan came from the Urban Planning Institute Belgrade by a group of architects around Branko Petričić, known for his collaboration with Le Corbusier on *Plan de Paris* 37 related to the thesis from *Ville Radieuse* (Blagojević, 2007: 148-150). More than any other, the plan reinforced the idea of greenery surrounding freestanding objects that almost took a secondary role in the overall *imago* of social life. The city was envisioned as a sum of centers of neighborhoods of 5000 to 10000 inhabitants accompanied by schools, kindergartens, markets, playgrounds, health centers and culture. The adaptation of the plan was followed by its testing sample of Experimental Blocks 1 and 2 that became the biggest housing construction site in the country, a 'laboratory of experimental work whose findings from 1955 until 1960 were of major significance for the development of the construction sector' (Petričić, 1975, 223; Petričić, 1969: 14-19). Attempting to meet the extremely high rates of demographic increase, the Experimental housing was envisioned as two parcels totaling 3640 flats on 35 ha, for 12 425 inhabitants and represented the first local communities in New Belgrade. Embedded areas in the middle of the block for communal activities were surrounded by 5 types of buildings with 8 to 13 floors and 10 types of apartments (Petričić, 1975: 230). That the experimenting regarding planning followed the experimental work of the IMS was affirmed by Petričić, who wrote that in order to fit the IMS vision, defined spans, heights and module were needed. Petričić worked on span, recalling that 'after competition we adopted one of 4.2 x 4.2 m and next to the new urban vision, we got an original structural system. Seemingly crucial to this were the extremely difficult field conditions' (Petričić, 1975: 227). Construction informed the plan in the other direction as next to Petričić, an architect employed at IMS Dušan Milenković worked on designing the first buildings built in 1957/1958 prior to the adaptation of the plan (Čanak, 1968: 295). The plan simultaneously adopted resulted in mock-ups in order to build most housing from 1960 until 1963.

For the IMS, apart from testing the new way for construction, working on Experimental housing meant new visions for the production of flats at construction sites. There would be organized precast plants for production at sites capable of producing 500 hundred flats per year. Production was mobile and as soon as it finished work at one site it moved to a new area. In order to set up production, the Institute initiated cooperation with interested firms for building and installations, craft workshops and the Yugoslavian sector for construction of machines (Žeželj, 1960: 11g-10). In this sense, the involvement of the IMS in solving the housing problem mediated by the plan of the Urban Planning Institute, informed its future by adding the production of flats as part of its experimental offer.

In June 1966, the Cuban Vice-minister of Housing, Alberto Arrinda Pinero, wrote to the ambassador in Yugoslavia, José Luis Pérez, that 'our Ministry wishes to experiment as soon as we have sufficient technical data with the system of Prestressed Concrete developed by Professor Branko Žeželj'. The information requested included the plans for four to five story buildings, details on the construction of floor slabs, the form of prestressing through the columns, the kind of material for the joints and views on possible alternative material to be used. Additionally, the Ministry would ask for '6 more copies of the excellent brochure of this system published in 1966 by the IMS' and photographs (Pinero, 1966).

The ambassador visited the New Belgrade construction site in September 1966 in order to compare options for similar construction in Cuba. According to his talk Cuba faced a huge

program of housing construction and Fidel Castro personally had an interest in applying the IMS system for this purpose (Pejanović, 1966). In December, a Cuban delegation visited New Belgrade followed by another group aiming to agree work on experimental building in Cuba according to the IMS system (Embajada de Cuba, 1967). Formed of Amor Serjo, Adolfo Gonzales, Leonardo Ruiz and the architect Basilo Piesecki, the group worked at the IMS on an experimental project followed by the three-month practice of six Cuban technicians at the Institute. In return, Žeželj travelled to Cuba to give lectures, describe the system and suggest building location in Havana. (Pejanović, 1967). Meanwhile, material travelled back and forth, including pieces of steel wire for prestressment arriving at the IMS for final approval for the adequate application of the system in Cuba (*Report on testing samples*, Sep 1967) [fig. 7]. The phase resulted in a contract between the IMS and the Cuban Ministry on the application of the IMS system and the export of equipment for the production of experimental buildings (Pejanović, 1967).

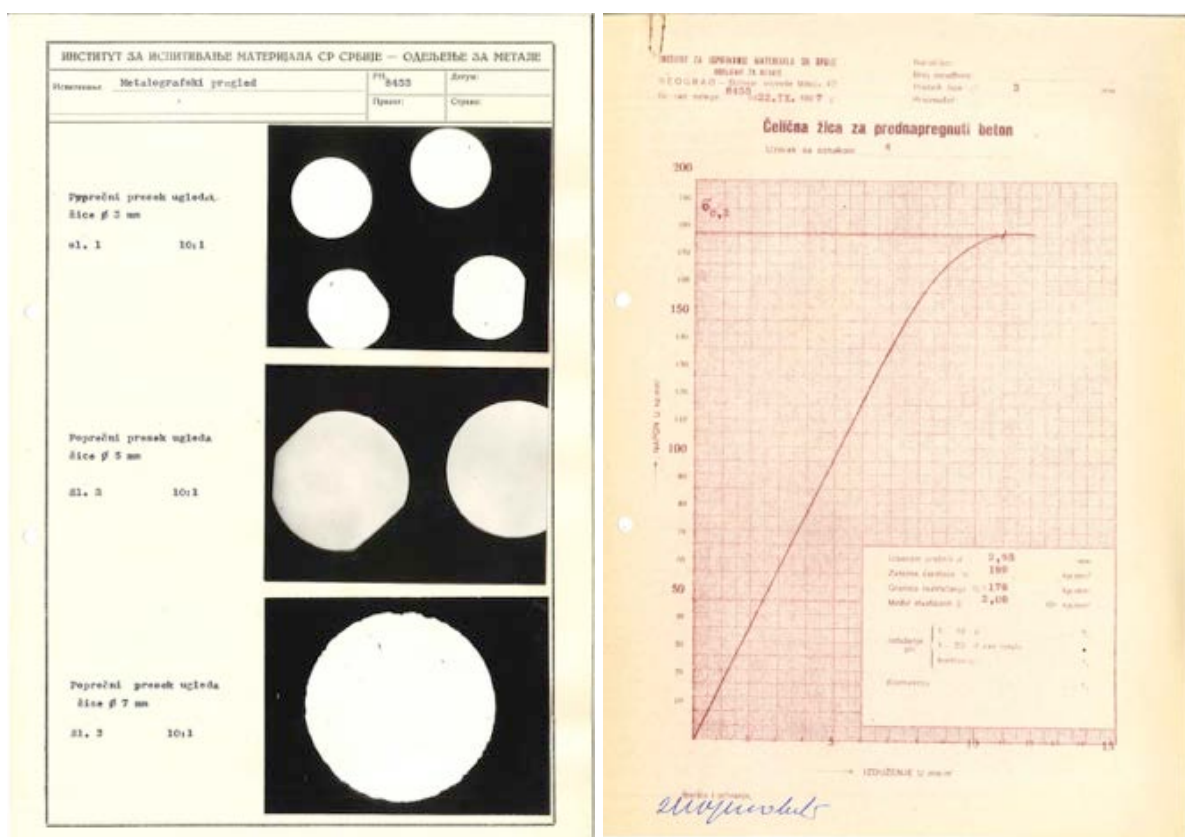


Fig. 7. Study of steel wire for prestressed concrete, Department V: Metals, IMS, Sep 1967.
IMS Archive.



Fig. 8 and 9. Newspaper article, *El Granma*, 6 April 1976 (left). Publication *Microdistrito. Plaza de la Revolución. La Habana* (right). Grupo Nacional de Viviendas y Urbanismo DESA, November 1975.

From the Cuban perspective, faced with intensive housing construction, the Institute for Housing within the Cuban Ministry of Construction underwent significant research into prefabricated systems worldwide. Groups of researchers studied the systems in order to select a group of ten. Delegations were sent to various countries in order to learn about the technology, do field trips and discuss projects. The process ended with the selection of 6 prefabricated systems: 3 with large-scale panels, 2 with movable moulds and one skeletal system from the IMS. These were further compared based on projects for experimental buildings assigned to each to offer data on the possible involvement of workers and materials. From 1968 to 1969, experimental buildings were built based on detailed projects created to drive practical decisions (Grujić, 1970: 179). From 1971, the Cuban administration accepted the IMS system being seen as the best in competition with other system for prefabrication (Grujić, 1974: 41). Subsequently the IMS and the Cuban Ministry started an intensive collaboration with over 20 years of field construction. In 1974-1979 alone, three precast plants for the annual production of 4500 flats were delivered from Yugoslavia to Cuba together with equipment, documentation and technical assistance. Known as PVYC: *Plantas de Vivienda Yugoslavia-Cuba* and located in Havana, Cienfuegos and Santiago de Cuba, these produced flats on site, using micro-brigades made up of 33 initially unskilled builders (Campos, 2010: 217; Campos, Temes, 1975: 3-7) [fig. 8, 9].

The IMS work at the Experimental housing travelled a long way, adopting the heritage of unspecialized work in the post-war period. Starting from solely the experience of making, the IMS recognized the trade value that makers and society were striving for in the process of constructing the city as a place of inhabitation. Thus, work on Experimental housing involved the further development of the Institute as a producer of flats *in situ*. This practice evolved in

the special X Department of Buildings founded in 1957, tasked with achieving unique solutions using experimental prefabrication, afterwards known as one of the most original contributions of the IMS (Čanak, 1970: 9). All of the paths the IMS took from New Belgrade were gathered as a *transfer of technology* by which the Institute exported precast parts for making housing in Italy, Austria, Hungary, Cuba, Ethiopia, Angola, Egypt, the USSR and China. These were based on the involvement and education of local people and materials, aiming at an open system within the experimental testing of materials.

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CHAPTER 3

The Urban Morphology of Post Socialism

Since urban form mirrors the life of society, the proposed session aims to explore relations of society and space as a synthesis of material and immaterial structures which are both witnesses of change and also the determinants of possible development. Since socialism emerged, both as a political and ideological system, it greatly affected the way cities are shaped and the way they function, thus making it necessary to research urban form in the time of post-socialism. Political, social and cultural changes have received much attention, but problems of urban design have not been considered to the same extent.

Research in urban form derives from a wide spectrum of disciplines - geography, urban history, architecture, urban planning and urban design. An interdisciplinary approach is therefore necessary and it is intended that this will be the result of a wide variety of individual contributions. The intention is to present detailed images of the changes of urban form ranging in scale from the city through to its component elements as a result of the major changes in urban law and regulation, standards, economies, land ownership, societal needs, and change of habits. The inherited patterns and culture of planning of different states suggests that these changes are not homogenous and vary from country to country.

The intention is through an understanding of the changes brought about in the built environment through social and economic processes to maintain, improve and guide further development.

Anna Agata Kantarek, Faculty of Architecture, Cracow University of Technology

Ivor Samuels, Urban Morphology Research Group, School of Geography, Birmingham University

Aleksandra Djordjevic, Faculty of Architecture, University of Belgrade

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Post-socialist or global capitalist? Recent urban form in Belgrade and Krakow compared with developments in the UK

Abstract: *Based on recently published work (Djordjevic & Milojevic, 2018; Kantarek, Kwiatkowski & Samuels, 2018) and current studies work at Belgrade University and Cracow University of Technology, recent developments in these cities are compared with UK projects, mainly in Oxford. The projects are located on an urban transect from city centre to urban periphery. Some projects in Belgrade and Krakow e.g. new central area shopping malls, and gated housing communities, are immediately comparable to those in the UK since their form does not only depend on their regulatory contexts but on land ownership, finance and the structure of the development industry. Individual houses on the urban periphery are different as are attitudes towards post war housing estates. It is suggested that these differences depend on the traditions of planning and development, which have been carried across major changes in political and economic circumstances.*

Keywords: *urban form, post-socialist, comparison, Western Europe.*

Introduction

Cities take a long time to change – their rate of change is much slower than that of the economic or political context, which drives these changes. A decade since Hirt's and Stanilov (2009) ground breaking work is therefore an appropriate time to review a representative sample of these changes in two CCE cities and compare and contrast these with changes in a western European context.

Parallel with the political and economic changes in the CEE countries, Western European states have experienced the rise of globalisation with market driven economies and extensive privatisation. In particular the withdrawal of the public sector from housing has had important implications for urban form. (Fig. 1).

¹ Honorary Senior Research Fellow, Urban Morphology Research Group, School of Geography, University of Birmingham. E-Mail: ivor.samuels@googlegmail.com

² Associate Professor, Faculty of Architecture, Cracow University of Technology. E-Mail: akanta@poczta.onet.pl

³ Teaching Assistant, Faculty of Architecture, University of Belgrade. E-Mail: aleksandra.dj@arh.bg.ac.rs

Chart 2: New housing supply in England 1950 to 2011

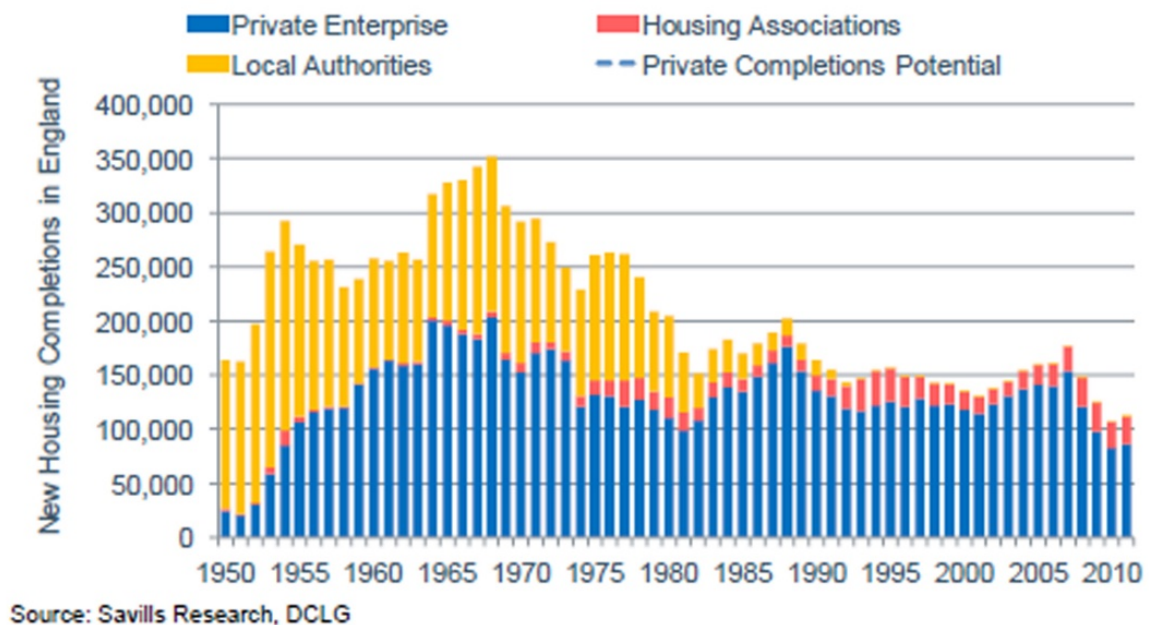


Fig. 1. The privatisation of new house building in the UK

Research

The case studies of recent developments are predominantly from three cities in which the authors are based: Belgrade, Krakow and Oxford. These cities vary in size from Belgrade with 1.23 million inhabitants, Krakow with 765,000 and 150,000 in Oxford. Because of these differences two case studies have been taken from London since Oxford does not offer examples of comparable development.

In spite of their different sizes and functions they are all historic centres of relative economic vitality compared with other settlements in Serbia, Poland or the UK. This has resulted in more investment being attracted to these cities than other locations and they therefore offer examples of recently implemented urban projects which may not yet have been realised elsewhere.

The projects are located on the rural to urban Transect, a concept developed by the Congress for the New Urbanism (CNU) (Centre for Applied Transect Studies, 2019). They range from recently constructed City Centre Shopping malls through new Gated Communities and Post World War 2 Modernist Estates, to Urban Peripheral Housing. The Transect was developed for North America and there are inevitable contradictions with European and particularly Central and Eastern European (CEE) practice. For example, in comparison with the original transect diagram, there is sometimes a relatively high density of development at the urban edge where modernist apartment blocks have been erected.

City Centre Malls

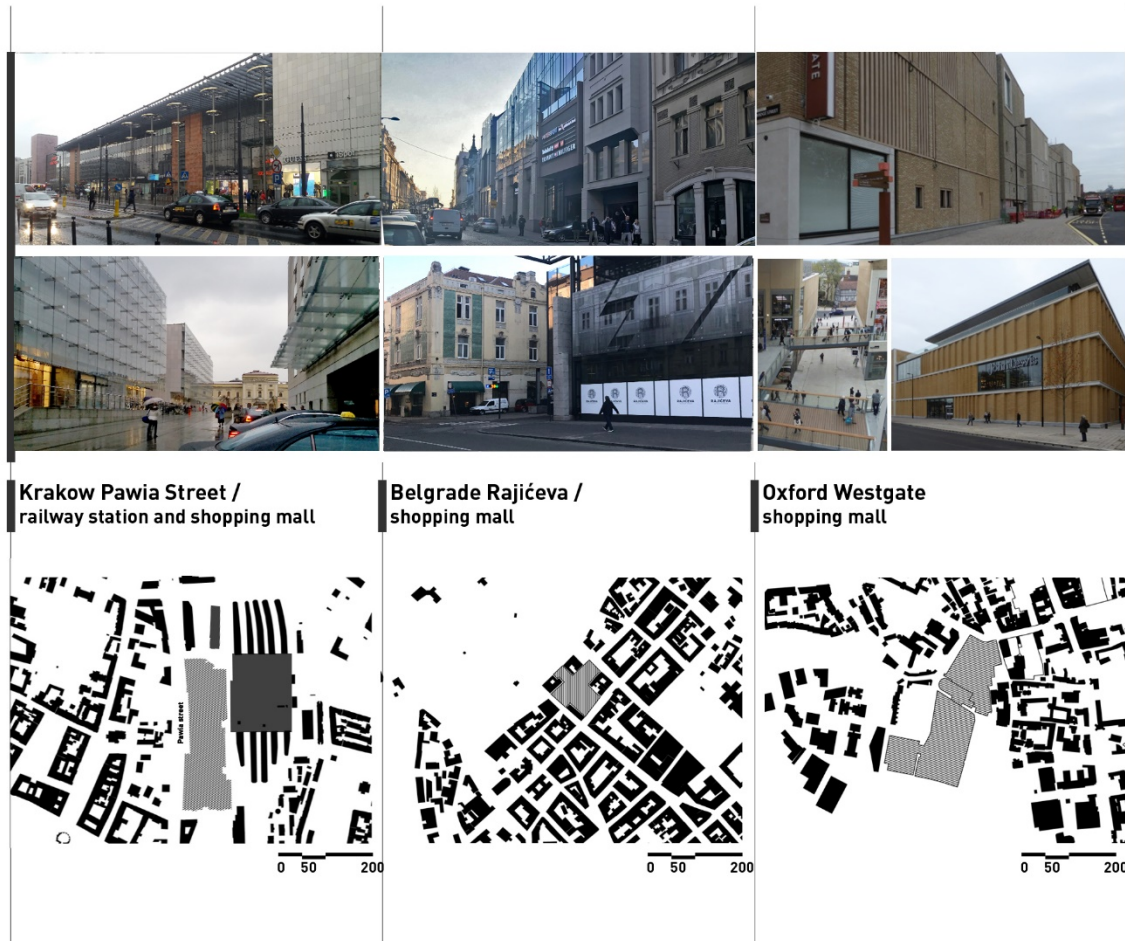


Fig. 2. City Centre Malls

Krakow

The area of Pawia Street is a central area associated with Krakow's main train station. The building of shopping gallery was a part of the remodelling of the train station. Pawia Street became the main arterial for traffic serving the train station from the city centre and built-up with large buildings (Galeria Krakowska, hotels, office buildings), while its western section is based on a traditional division into tenement lots. The area does not have a local plan in effect.

Galeria Krakowska was built in 2004-2006 (four floors, 129 000 m² of total surface, 1400 parking lots) with a connection to underground railway and bus station passages (Galeria Krakowska, 2019).

Belgrade

The 15300 square meters shopping mall with a hotel and 450 parking lots was completed in 2017 by the investors from Israel. It was built in the Belgrade city core, on an archaeological site that was previously occupied by the City Library depo. During the design stage, architect tried to create a contemporary resemblance to the buildings that were demolished during World War II, to present archaeological heritage and establish a connection to all four streets

with placing four entrances. Yet, it is possible to observe inactive fronts facing the Kalemegdan Fortress and two remaining streets.

Oxford

The current Westgate Shopping Centre was completed in 2017 following the remodelling of an earlier covered shopping centre which had been completed in 1972. It is the result of a joint venture between two major developers The Crown Estates and Land Securities. It has 74,000 sq. metres of retail, eating and leisure space and includes an anchor department store John Lewis. There are 59 new apartments and a 1,000-space underground car park which was heavily criticised for having destroyed the remains of a mediaeval friar. It has also been criticised for the way it presents windowless and inactive fronts to the surrounding streets.

Gated Communities



Fig. 3. Gated Communities

Krakow

Two gated communities – *Moje Eldorado* and *Eldorado* are located next to historical fortification areas converted to park and Krakow Museum of Aviation (former first Krakow airport). Nine apartments buildings (5-6 floors) have also small amount of services. It is divided by fences in two separate communities and accessible from different streets.

Built in 2006-2011 they are considered one of the more expensive places to live in Krakow.

Additionally, the building at the corner of Jana Pawła II St. with the ground floor services opened to the street and fenced at the back could be considered as another small gated community.

Belgrade

Gated communities and physical enclosure in Belgrade, as researched by Hirt and Petrović (2011) has much to do with asserting private ownership and territoriality – spatial behaviours that were suppressed during socialism. Gating, on the scale from single plot to large residential groupings, is even more evident in present days. New 70 000 m² housing estate “The Duke’s gates” is promoted as the first condominium in Belgrade with the biggest private park. This housing estate is financed by Israel investors on the land of former factory “Novi Dom”. The seven hundred new units are arranged to enclose the inner part, restricting and controlling the entrance into the so-called park.

England

Gated communities in England are predominantly of two types; large (by UK standards) developments on single, often walled sites such as former dockyards or hospitals in city centres or the suburbs. Developers find it relatively easy to enclose these since the land was never accessible to the public. In 2007 a survey found that only four local authorities had developments of this type larger than 300 houses. The other type is the small enclosure of around six houses of the traditional British detached, semi-detached or terraced type which again are built by developers. One of these is shown being marketed as a traditional street.

Post World War 2 Modernist Estates

Krakow

The construction of Nowa Huta steelworks complex was the most important investment in post-war Kraków. Initially planned as a separate town, in 1951 it became one of the districts of the city. The classicizing urban layout of the new district was associated with the social-realist ideology promoted by Russia.

Today, this complex is considered to be an important heritage of Polish urbanism (with the neighbourhood units programming) and conserved⁴. This protects Nowa Huta from disordered modern investments.

2 Pułku Lotniczego Estate in Krakow was built (1978-1989) as one of two estates (with Dywizjonu 303 Estate) on area of previous Krakow Airport. Airstrip was preserved and previewed as a compositional axis of the site and a division of housing complexes. The program of neighbourhood unit was never accomplished (the lack of schools, sport facilities, greenery, shops).

As the area has no local plan, from 1989 on, different plots were built up with freestanding apartment buildings.

The next area, called Nowe Czyżyny, started in 2011, is a new housing complex with high-density (3500 apartments) and no Local Plan. It focused on the construction of apartments almost without basic services (schools, kindergartens). A very dense structure is based on orthogonal grid with buildings up to 17 floors.

⁴ The decision of the LittlePoland Provincial Conservator of 30.12.2004 regarding the entry of the monument (urban layout of Nowa Huta) into the register of immovable monuments (Miasto Krakow, 2004)

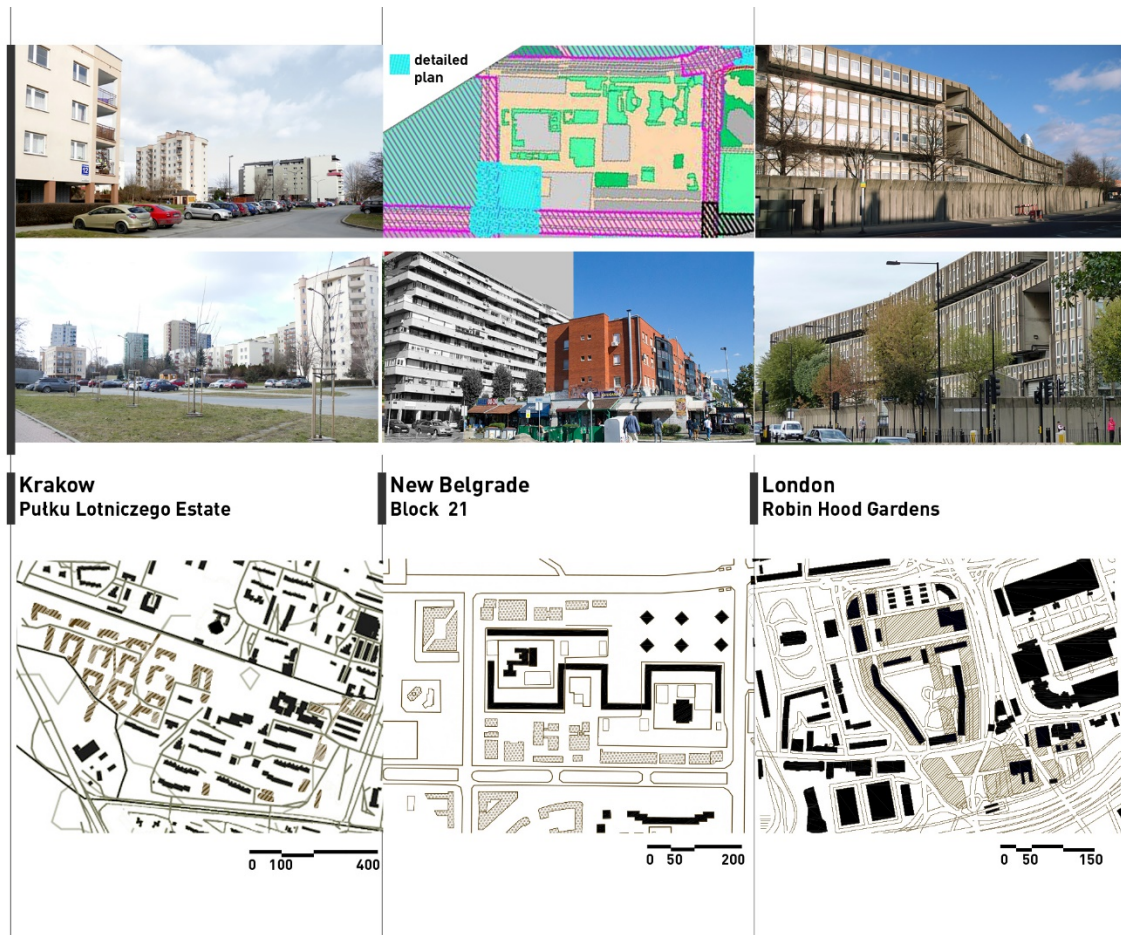


Fig. 4. Post-World War 2 Modernist Estates

(source for Robin Hood Gardens: upper figure: Stevecadman - Flickrtik hartua, CC BY-SA 2.0, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=3946512>, lower figure: By Stephen Richards, CC BY-SA 2.0, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=14264205>)

Belgrade

Centrally positioned super block - Block 21, as one of the most iconic modernistic housing setting on New Belgrade, has been exposed to drastic increase of floor area ration by adding business and a mix of commercial and housing facilities on edges. These changes must be observed by changes of land ownership, where after 1990s land privatisation, residents became owners of the land underneath the building, while previously commonly owned land in the rest of the superblock became public ownership, opened for further subdivision and selling. Planning scope from the completely new part of the city were reduced to a single intersection or section of the block.

London

Robin Hood Gardens was completed in 1972 in the East End of London by Alison and Peter Smithson, pioneer architects of Brutalism. Following its structural and social deterioration proposals were made to redevelop the site and replace the 252 apartments with more than 1,500. This would re-orientate and integrate the new buildings with the surrounding streets and reduce the area of the central green space. After an unsuccessful campaign to list the buildings and prevent their removal, demolition started in 2017. A three storey of the original building will be reconstructed in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Urban Periphery Housing

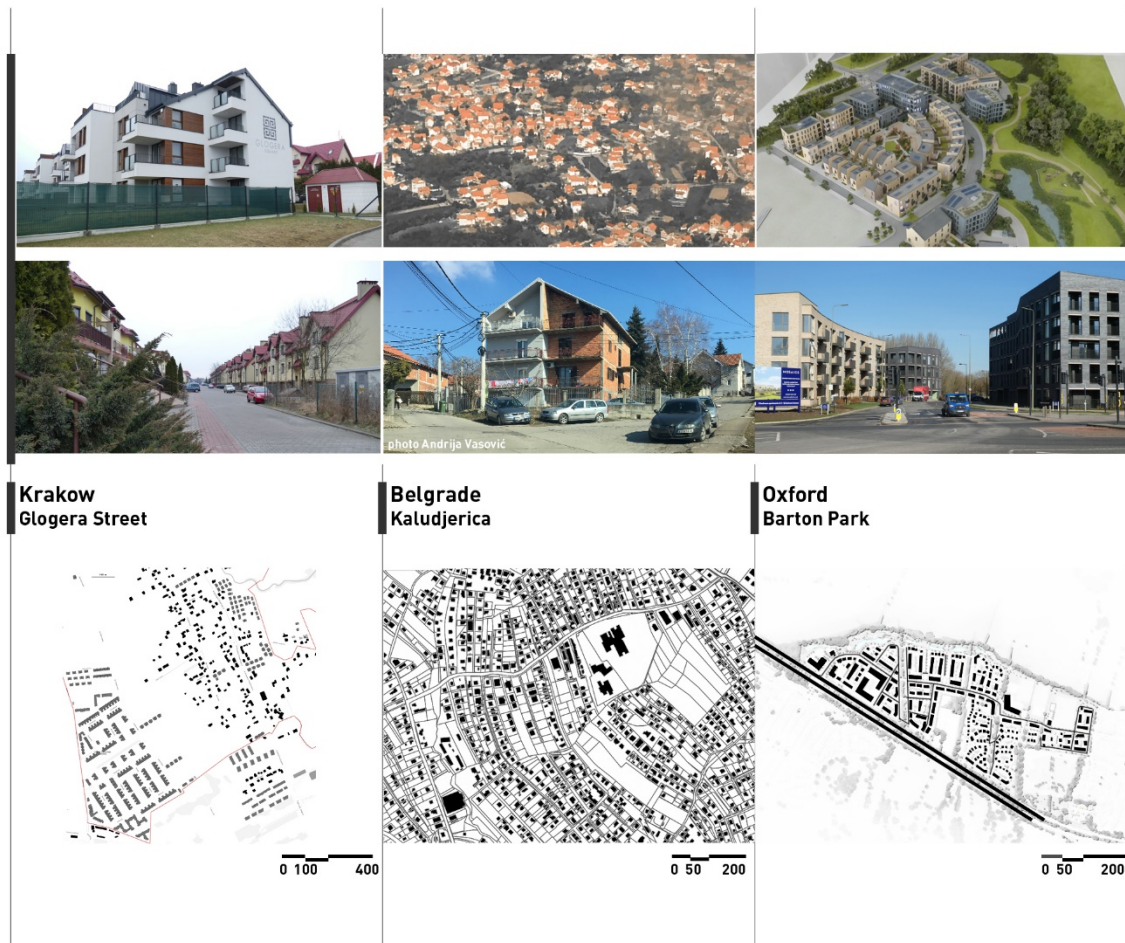


Fig. 5. Urban Periphery Housing

Krakow

Glogera St. leads out from the city towards the village called Zielonki. It is interesting to observe that an investment in the city limits is less dense than on the periphery (Kucharczyk, 2012). It is a *plot by plot urbanism* without Local Plan.

We can see different pieces of rural land merged and built up mainly on the basis of new local perpendicular paths (Caniggia & Maffei, 2001; Kantarek, 2019). Some of complexes are open, some gated.

Belgrade

Serbia has more than 1.000.000 illegal structures (Zekovic & Maričić, 2008), which affected the agricultural and green area along the major roads. Kaludjerica, as the most evident example, is settlement that lacks infrastructure, sidewalks, public spaces and public facilities, has small plots and thus small distance between buildings with no firmly defined street matrix (Simeunčević Radulović et al., 2013). Additionally, most of the buildings, that are two to three stories high, as witnessed by Blagojevic and Kušić (2013), are left in the construction phase without façade cladding to avoid taxation. The current state is not very promising since new

Legalization Law by whom legalization of those illegally built buildings has been proclaimed as a public interest (Sl. Glasnik RS, 2015).

Oxford

The expansion of Oxford is severely constrained by its greenbelt boundaries which the adjoining districts vigorously defend to prevent its expansion. Given the cost and shortage of housing in the city, one of the few sites available which lies beyond its outer ring road is being developed as a partnership between Oxford City Council and Grosvenor Developments to provide 885 new homes in apartments and houses ranging from 2-5 storeys in height, a primary school and local shops all following a design code (Barton Park, 2019).

Conclusions

Given the ubiquity of contemporary processes of globalization the similarity of recent developments in Serbia, Poland and the United Kingdom is not surprising even if the temporal sequence varies. Planning has been replaced by the interest of land ownership and finance with a subsequent reduction in the influence of local interests. In the case studies the attraction of the urban centre for these actors is demonstrated by the transect which shows the reduction of globalization impacts towards the periphery (Fig. 6).

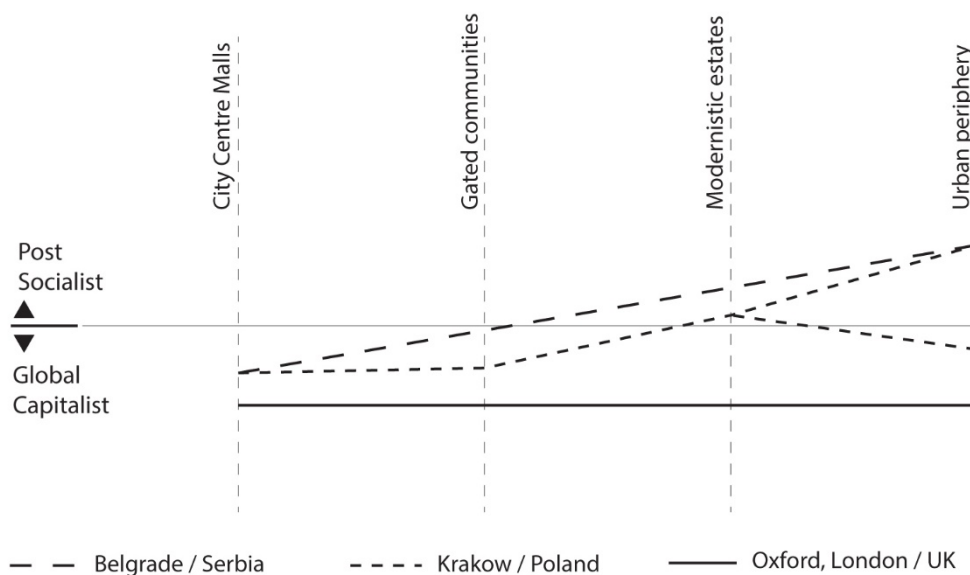


Fig. 6. Post-socialist versus Global-capitalist in urban space of Belgrade, Krakow and UK

At the Polish and Serbian urban edges, the housing types are part of an inherited rural tradition, which predated and survived the socialist period and is based on agricultural land ownership patterns. The problem with this dispersed pattern of development is its car reliance and the difficulty of servicing. In the UK in spite of the dominance of large house builders the traditional suburban house and garden dominates, but the greenbelt has prevented the same degree of dispersal.

The difficulty of integrating shopping malls into urban centres has been noted above and recently in the UK these enclosed malls have begun to suck retail activities from town centre streets. This problem has been exacerbated by the growth of online shopping so that in some parts of the UK 14 % of town centre shops are empty (Clarence-Smith, 2019).

Although there are strong local precedents gated communities are widely promoted globally as a lifestyle choice and while perceived security is certainly a motivation for living in these developments it is suggested that purchasers believe that this type of property will maintain its value better than one in a more conventional location. The relative security of gated communities is debatable and they may be no more secure than traditional streets (Blakely and Snyder, 1998). However, it is certain that they reduce the safety of the public street by reducing the opportunities for surveillance.

Some post war modernist estates are extremely popular (e.g. the Barbican, City of London) and some are protected as architectural heritage (e.g. Nowa Huta.) but many demonstrate physical and social problems and are undergoing programmes of redevelopment. In the UK this being done on the basis of new street networks which increase the number of dwellings whose sale finances the whole operation (Savills, 2016). This scale of work requires large contractors and /or housing associations and would be impossible on a plot by plot basis as in Belgrade. These are just a few of the lessons which the CEE countries could use to avoid the problems of modern urbanism which have been exhaustively documented since Jane Jacobs, but are still being repeated.

Acknowledgements

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Alienation, appropriation, autogestion... territoriale: urban artefacts as carriers of spatial self-management

Abstract: “Alienation, Appropriation, Autogestion” looks at (post-)socialist urban spaces and the sociopolitical roles they carried in order to identify their contemporary pertinence and potentiality towards a re-appropriation of open, urban spaces by its users. This essay will notably focus on a parallel reading of two threads of Lefebvrian** theory — the right to the city and autogestion, including his 1986 proposal for the Competition for the Urban Restructuring of New Belgrade — as well as the mechanisms of organization of city life and the role of urban spaces in Yugoslav self-managed socialism, especially the notion of ‘patial’ communities (*mesne zajednice*). The essay will rely on analyses of the theoretical and practical implications and instances of self-management in the everyday life and urban spaces in the (post-)Yugoslav region, but focus on New Belgrade, which was ‘born’ the same year — 1948 — as the Yugoslav, self-managed way in socialism, and where the country’s first patial community was founded in 1963. Besides these analyses, the essay will include a series of conversations with current and former inhabitants of New Belgrade, born and raised in this part of the once capital of Yugoslavia both during and after the country’s existence. Through a proposal for a deepening of this notion of patiality, the essay will look at and try to offer possibilities for exploring notions of citizenship, right to the city, using and consuming the urban, looking at and learning from, as well as reclaiming and activating socialist heritage and principles in urban space.

* The term self-management is a rough English translation of Serbo-Croatian *самоуправљање/samoupravljanje* or French *autogestion*. The words *upravljanje* and *gestion*, besides management, also imply the meanings of directing, determination, administration, organization, etc.

** Henri Lefebvre (1901-1991) was a French Marxist sociologist and philosopher, who dealt extensively with space the city, and the everyday.

Keywords: self-management, right to the city, socialist heritage, citizenship, patiality.

“Enter Yugoslavia by taking the road from Graz to Maribor, travel through Slovenia and descend towards the sea. Coming from industrial areas, you’re now headed towards developing regions, from Central Europe towards the Hellenic Mediterranean and the Muslim East. At the same time, you traverse from capitalism into Yugoslav socialism. The road is good to look at, and to reflect: a triple traverse. What meets the eye doesn’t always make it easy to discern what comes from industrial development, what from ancient Mediterranean civilization,

¹ E-mail: urospajovic@gmail.com

and what from socialism in the real sense of the word. This analysis would demand as much attention as chess or bridge. [...] How to explain self-management and its decisive importance in Yugoslavia? With the Greek-Latin tradition of the city-state? Or, with the Slavic tradition of familial communities and cooperatives? Or rather, with the great fight for freedom of one people capable of assimilating the best in the so-called Western culture? Shouldn't we speak of the fortunate encounter and fusion of all these elements?" (Lefebvre, 1964).

Despite being a communist country, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was, largely due to its President Josip Broz Tito's tendencies toward autonomy, expelled from the Cominform in 1948, breaking diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and, consequently, all of its satellites. Abruptly suspended between other Eastern European socialist systems that it had now virtually cut ties with – economic, defence, and otherwise, Western European countries (with whom it had closer cultural connections, but who regarded Yugoslavia as a second-class society dependent on their aid), and the non-aligned 'others', Yugoslavia had to pave its new way in socialism: the Communist Party began to officially renounce the centralist—State—socialism and in 1950 established *samoupravljanje* or (workers') self-management as the official principle of industrial organization.

Samoupravljanje as the main principle of industrial (and social) organization was designed as a system of relations that were based on socially (rather than state-)owned means of production. In other words, *samoupravljanje* represented a system in which the means of production and the management thereof were returned to the subjects of labour – the workers themselves. Furthermore, besides control over the means of production, another crucial aspect of self-management as an official paradigm (though only reached later, and not to a full extent) was control over decision-making, or, in more proverbial terms: *presence over representation*, which meant worker's collectives were to become sovereign bodies within factories (enterprises), able to vote and debate crucial issues regarding the operations of the enterprises employing them and their own conditions of labour. Here, a paradigmatic contradiction of self-management in Yugoslavia: in itself and in the way, it was conceptually envisioned in Yugoslavia, *samoupravljanje* presupposes the *withering away of the State* (in the Marxist sense), albeit the very State that proclaims it.

Following several iterations of changes, with the 1965 reforms the influence on decision-making of the League of Communists, the country's ruling party, was legally limited. The liberation of industrial, economic and social life was also evident through the opening of discussions on inequalities within the Yugoslav socialist system, culminating with the demonstrations and events which were part of the global worker and student protests in 1968. The aftermath of 1968 ushered in a new set of reforms, which are by many scholars of *samoupravljanje*² correctly identified as the beginning of the end of a system of integral self-management, the period of the dismantling of a socialist market economy and return to a conservative form of socialism under the guise of a better and improved *samoupravljanje*: the new legislation resuscitated the State that had been withering away, turning its apparatuses into intermediaries of any-and-all kinds of social exchange and (re)introducing the powerful managerial figures into factories and enterprises, which would directly convey the decisions made within the Party into the day-to-day operation of a nominally self-managed factory

² See, among others, B. Jakovljević's *Alienation Effects*, G. Music's essay in *Ours to Master and to Own* and Catherine Samary's *A Crisis of Self-Management — or of the Political System?*.

(Jakovljević 2016: 196). These changes were supported through a hyper-regulation of social relations – by the early 1980s some 2.5 million ‘self-managing general regulations’ were introduced, along with almost 2 million ‘self-management agreements’ (Jovanov 1983).

As emphasized by sociologist Neca Jovanov, this extreme regulation of behaviour destroyed any real social space for any action of self-managing workers: trying to legislate the deep crisis brought into light in 1968, the country’s last Constitution in 1974 removed the worker from the position of Yugoslavia’s foundational political subject (Jakovljević 2016: 197-200). It is also significant that the 1974 Constitution actually responded to the demands and ambitions of various national movements throughout the country, transforming the republics into the primary political spaces within the Federation, further strengthening the once again conservative role of the State, and erasing the possibility for the development of a class politics, as “national interests”—based on property, rather than labour, and on geographical, rather than class belonging—took precedence, ultimately leading to the country’s bloody, fratricidal dissolution, as well as that of self-management.

In the middle of this dissolution of the country and its self-managed socialism, an urban design competition was organized for the restructuring of New Belgrade, the country’s once capital-to-be, in which French sociologist and urban theorist Henri Lefebvre took part, along with architects Pierre Guilbaud and Serge Renaudie. The theoretical basis of the proposal from Lefebvre, Guilbaud and Renaudie, detailed in the introduction of the submission, is one of Lefebvre’s many writings on self-management (*autogestion*).³ Anchored in his previous writings on space—especially *The Right to The City* (1968), but also *The Production of Space* (1974)—this detailed essay is considered to be one of the most concrete instances of making his theory of the production of space viable to architecture. With the concept of ‘New Citizenship’ elaborated in the competition proposal, Lefebvre reiterates and expands on aspects of the *right to the city* he conceptualized in the late sixties, in the aftermath of the 1968 Paris protests. This text envisions the right to freedom, to individualization in socialization, to habitat and to inhabit, to the *œuvre*, to participation and appropriation, and the right to urban life, to be continuously transformed and renewed (Stanek 2011: 234). Furthermore, it establishes an understanding of the urban life and the urban society, which to a great extent connects with Lefebvre’s concurrent writings on *autogestion*. This connection goes well beyond and much deeper than his direct call for *autogestion* and “an urbanism oriented towards social needs as part of an economic, political, and cultural revolution” (Lefebvre 1996: 147) in the final chapter of *The Right to the City*. Just precedent to it, Lefebvre writes:

For the working class, rejected from the centers towards the peripheries, dispossessed of the city, expropriated thus from the best outcomes of its activity, this right [to the city] has a particular bearing and significance. It represents for it at one and the same time a means and an end, a way and a horizon: but this virtual action of the working class also represents the general interests of civilization and the particular interests of all social groups of ‘inhabitants,’ for whom integration and participation become obsessional [sic] without making their obsession effective (Lefebvre 1996: 179).

³ According to an email message from Serge Renaudie to Łukasz Stanek dated 2008, Lefebvre was the author of the theoretical introduction whereas main architectural and urban ideas were Renaudie’s (Stanek 2011: 234).

Only some years earlier, in “Theoretical Problems of Autogestion”, Lefebvre describes self-management as a means of struggle and a means of reorganization of society, i.e. the goal of that very struggle (Lefebvre 2009a: 149). If, for Lefebvre, the right to the city—both a cry and a demand—wasn’t a right to the basic needs, but rather a specific urban quality, encompassing access to the resources of the city for all its inhabitants, and the possibility of experimenting with and realizing alternative ways of life (Schmid 2012: 49), it was very closely connected to his conceptualizations of *autogestion* at the time, even though the latter was, in the texts of 1966 and 1968, still almost exclusively pertinent to socio-economic principles. Indeed, Lefebvre would soon, in *The Urban Revolution* (1970), reiterate the revolutionary potentiality of this intertwining of the struggle for the right to the city and the principle of *autogestion*, describing a political strategy based around a generalized self-management [*autogestion généralisée*], and examining the conditions of its possible translation into the sphere of urban space. In 1986, with the Proposal for New Belgrade, he would go on to further expand on such a potentiality: in the project proposal for the new urban plan in the capital of Yugoslavia, Lefebvre, via *autogestion*—which, for him, also represented the possibility of the self-production of an individual within the community, but beyond the state (Stanek 2011: 240)—extends both the concepts of the right to the city and the production of space through a juxtaposition with the concept of citizen-*citadin* [*citoyen-citadin*], and towards not only a restructuring of the urban tissue of New Belgrade, but also the society as a whole. For Lefebvre, Yugoslavia represented a ‘political laboratory’ whose importance was anchored in resistance to fascism and Stalinism alike, and in which he hoped to discover the possibility of a “democratic planning” in opposition to the Soviet and French models, with self-management as an alternative to bureaucracy in both West and East (Stanek, 2011: 240). In the opening remarks of the submission for the urban restructuring of New Belgrade, Lefebvre describes such potentiality of Belgrade—and Yugoslavia—in the concrete positing of the problematic of a ‘New Urban’:

The right to the city comes as a complement to the rights of the citizen: who is not only a member of a “political community” whose conception remains indecisive and conflictual, but of a more precise grouping which poses multiple questions: the modern city, the urban. This right leads to active participation of the citizen-citadin in the control of the territory, and in its management, whose modalities remain to be specified. It leads also to the participation of the citizen-citadin in the social life linked to the urban; it proposes to forbid the dislocation of that urban culture, to prohibit the dispersion, not by piling the ‘inhabitants’ and ‘users’ one on top of another, but by inventing, in the domains and levels of the architectural, urbanistic, and territorial (Lefebvre et. al, 2009b: 2).

As someone who had, at the time the Competition for the New Belgrade Urban Structure Improvement took place in 1986, been writing on and researching self-management for at least twenty years, Lefebvre was well aware of the contradictions and inconsistencies of Yugoslav *samoupravljanje*. Indeed, in a 1978 interview with Catherine Régulier, he says: “I am talking about the failure of centralized planning in the Soviet Union as well as the failures of *autogestion* in Yugoslavia [...] The movement comes from below or it does not come at all. The example of Yugoslavia leads us [as well to that] conclusion. A state that proclaims *autogestion*

from above paralyzes it by this mere fact and converts it into its opposite.”⁴ Still, in the competition proposal, he bases the potentiality of the urban revolution and New Belgrade in the very concept of self-management. This, of course, was not due to some naïveté: it was, perhaps, in order to (re)establish a utopian vision of self-management, as writes Łukasz Stanek (2011: 244); or rather, because Lefebvre—who had closely followed the changes in Yugoslavia ever since at least the early sixties—recognized that, even though often employed as a top-down tool by instances of power, *samoupravljanje* still, at some scale, existed as a truly lived (everyday) practice.

With the Yugoslav Constitution of 1974, which introduced self-management into all levels of society, the country’s population was divided into three groups: the ‘working class’ (the carriers of power in socialism, in accordance with Marxist theory), the ‘working people’ (employees in state-owned companies and institutions) and everyone else, labelled ‘citizens’ – *građani* (Erić 2009: 140). In order to be able to actively take part in the self-management system, writes historian Zoran Erić, “the citizen[*-građanin*] could act only on the level of their local territorial unit, while the other ‘sociopolitical’ organizations were reserved for working people only” (Erić 2009: 140). There are several factors explaining why this, smallest territorial level of self-management is where we actually encounter the most immediate, truly felt implementation of the theoretical implications of *samoupravljanje*. Firstly, the affected inhabitants and their interests were present, rather than represented; secondly, all strata of Yugoslav society were implied and involved in this level of self-management; thirdly, and similarly to cultural institutions (as opposed to, for example, economic activities), there was arguably less interest from the ruling apparatus to assert its control over them. The ‘local territorial units’ in the narrowest sense were *platial*⁵ communities (*mesne zajednice*). According to the law, these were associations of people (working class, working people, and citizen-*građanins* alike) living in the same area, who made decisions regarding the settlement organization, housing, communal utilities, child and social care, culture, physculture, consumer protection, environmental protection, defense, etc.⁶ Conceived as the basic constitutive units of a self-managed society, they reflected the reality of self-management in working organizations in Yugoslavia, where the lower levels saw real workers’ self-management, while, on the upper level, among the administrative cadres and the political elites in the League of Communists, there was far less democracy (Erić 2009: 140). Similarly, as self-managed entities defined by the State, platial communities as well were met with problems symptomatic of the Yugoslav self-management in general — roughly, increased bureaucratization of the practice, the positioning of the workers’ organizations, internal distribution, and deviation from limits on the role of the League of Communists (Erić 2009: 142).

Borrowing one final time from Lefebvre’s trialectic system of fields of space (physical-mental-social)⁷, what is the pertinence of these platial communities, and the memory of them, today? If the perceived, or physical, space of Yugoslavia included bridges, roads, towns and cities... from the Triglav Mountains to the Vardar River, the physical post-Yugoslav space is a fractured, dissociated collection of border crossings between predominantly third-grade nation-states on the edges of Europe. If the conceived, or mental, space of Yugoslavia was one riddled with contradictions stemming from the ‘proto-paradox’ of a top-down self-

⁴ English translation by Helen Ferguson in Klaus Ronneberger, “Henri Lefebvre and the Question of *Autogestion*,” Bitter and Weber, *Lefebvre in New Belgrade*, 98.

⁵ *Platial* here being introduced as an adjective derived from place, similarly as spatial is from space.

⁶ *Encyclopedia of Self-Management*, 813.

⁷ See Lefebvre’s *The Production of Space*.

management system which, however, still reinforced principles of brotherhood and unity, non-alignment and anti-colonialism, direct democracy and self-determination, women's rights, social and national egalitarian rights (some more consistently than others), the mental post-Yugoslav space is that of forced separation of identities, a maelstrom of "them"s and "us"es, and dominant revisionism from centres of nation-state powers reinforced via an *a priori* refusal of socialist principles, concepts, and history of the region. If, finally, the lived, social, everyday space of Yugoslavia was that of struggle for a fully self-managed society, albeit one suffocated by the (incomplete) recognition coming from the paradoxes of state power, only occasionally disrupted so that it bursts into its fully realized form (self-management as means and goal of struggle, simultaneously; for example, during the first days of '68 protests when students organized into committees; the self-managed institutions of arts and culture that came thereafter, working towards establishing a critique of the concept's official employment; the everyday life of *platial* communities all over the country, where citizens from all strata of the Yugoslav society gathered to decide and act on different aspects of spaces they inhabited), the everyday post-Yugoslav space is that of, on one hand, romanticized nostalgia waiting to be politically activated, and, on the other, scattered instances of struggle waiting to be organized, brought together, and unified. Following closely, New Belgrade—perpetually developed according to different ideological-urbanistic concepts—has deteriorated into a generic example of *carte blanche* investor-first land privatizations, business developments, and the construction of inevitable shopping malls and other places of consumption, and the *platial* communities did not survive the transitions from a socialist to a post-socialist system as a political entity — today, they exist as mere administrative practicalities or often dysfunctional and repurposed architectures.

However: there remains a memory, loaded with potentiality not towards the bringing back of times past, but learning from them and using them to create spaces, communities, and societies for days to come. This, a memory of *platial* communities, permeated with different modalities of self-management, crucial to drawing (provisional) conclusions on what self-management means today, i.e. how it is to be read, observed, and employed.

Self-management is—at the same time—a form, a means, and a goal of socio-political struggle, where the power of decision-making and control over resources and means of production are brought back to the subject of that struggle. As a form of struggle, it is a way of organizing which, within the contemporary political landscape, transforms the principles of communities across society from self-organization into a politically much more potent self-management. As a means of struggle, it is never predefined, or prescribed; it is employed and experienced, developed and defined *during* that struggle, at different scales, and towards a reorganization of society based on that struggle. As a goal of struggle, it is, during every instance of self-managed action, constantly the horizon of struggle; a vision of an entirely self-managed society, which isn't a sum of units managing themselves, but an ensemble of overlapping and interconnected self-managed instances.

Self-management is not about erasing and forgetting the existing modes of everyday life and gathering, the mechanisms of community, the architectural and urbanistic practices, but about adjoining to them, about enriching them—transforming them to include the principles of self-management, completing them for the given, contemporary conditions, and maintaining them throughout time, constantly re-examining and improving its principles.

Self-management is not the management of self! It is only through such constant reworking, questioning, and interaction of instances of self-management that a self-managed society is

preserved. Never predefined, or prescribed, true self-management can only be lived if born and established—“happened”—in the low, bottom, every day, or, to quote Lefebvre, *weak points of society*, and then brought to the top, encompassing all conditions and spheres of life. True self-management is never “top-down” because it must have previously ‘climbed’ “bottom-up.”

Self-management is inseparable from space—as perpetual struggle, it questions, re-appropriates, and ultimately does away with the reproductions of space coming from Power; simultaneously, it supports and follows closely the production of social space. Disrupting principles of self-management—access to recourses, decision-making, self-production, solidarity and inspiration, and more—leads to the destruction of social space, that of struggle, control, self-determination.

Self-management, therefore, applies to any and all points of society and assumes various forms accordingly, but always to (re)appropriate alienated space: physical, mental, and social alike.

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Post-socialist housing in Novi Sad, Serbia

Abstract: *The death of Yugoslav leader Josip Broz Tito in 1980 unofficially marked the beginning of the decomposition of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as well as the “transitional” period. The period of political and economic crisis between 1980 and 1990, culminated with the armed conflicts during the 90s, which lead to the official disintegration of SFRY. Under Tito’s regime, during which socialist paradigms were present in every-day life, architectural and urban developments were funded by the state itself. Mass migrations of people from rural to urban areas were provoked by the rapid industrial development of SFRY, hence these residential developments were often large multi-storey buildings. However, even if they were meant for large numbers of people, the residential blocks were designed bearing in mind the “human scale”, with sufficient space between buildings, creating public spaces with greenery in the courtyards. After 1990, architectural and urban developments are designed in a completely different context. The armed conflicts along with their political and economic consequences led to a large number of war refugees fleeing to Serbia and the city of Novi Sad. This meant that there was a vast need for housing, and the investors took full advantage of that fact. Residential buildings built in the beginning of the 90s were designed so as to create the most usable space as possible (to maximize profit), the lots were completely used, leaving the residents with no public space. This way of investment-led urban development is still at large in Novi Sad. The aim of this research is to, by comparing and analysing housing blocks and residential buildings from these two periods, summarise the positive and negative characteristics of these two types of urban development in order to gain insight and research potential approaches for the further development of the city.*

Keywords: *Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Novi Sad, Serbia, Post-socialist housing*

Introduction

Architectural and urban development is always influenced by the current political, social and the overall economic settings of the city, allowing for observation of Novi Sad’s rapid changes through its urban fabric. Both the socialist and post-socialist residential blocks were influenced by an increase in urban population, yet the ideological contexts were very different, engraving it in their morphologies.

Government-led thoroughly planned large scale socialist housing estate projects on the previously uninhabited land, allowed for the integration with the surrounding natural

¹ Faculty of Technical Sciences, University of Novi Sad, Serbia. E-Mail: violeta.stefanovic@live.com

² Faculty of Technical Sciences, University of Novi Sad, Serbia. E-Mail: zagorajkovic@gmail.com

landscape. However, the 1990s sudden war-caused housing crisis met with the up-until-then state-owned construction industry privatisation - the private constructors started rapidly buying off land and raising multi-storey housing estates often neglecting previous urban and architectural plans.

This paper aims to, through analysing and comparing two residential blocks of similar size, but different in approaches to urban planning - a socialist one from the late 1970s and a 1990s' post-socialist one, conclude their main differences, deliberate on the everyday life conditions they produce and identify the lifestyles that can be carried out in both.

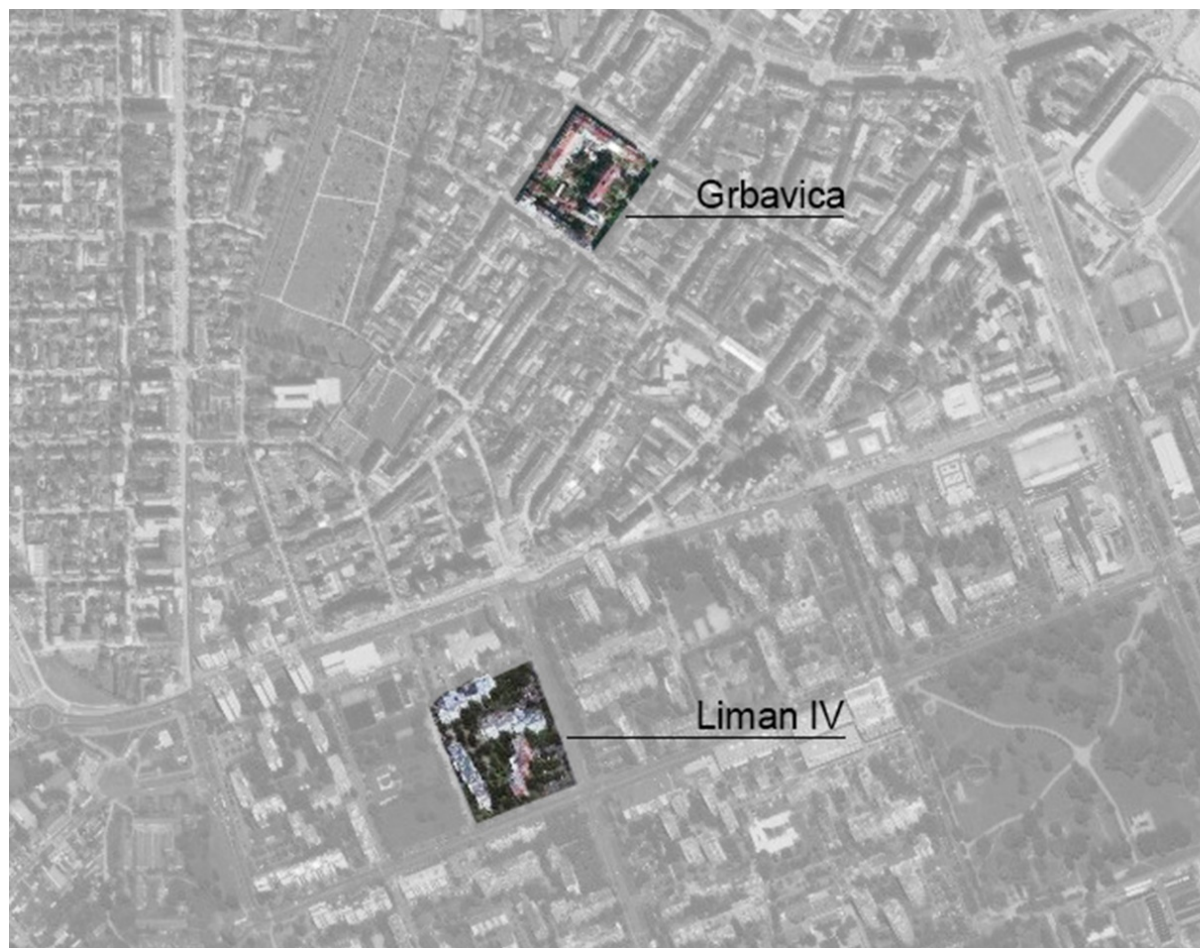


Fig. 1: Block disposition, source: Google Maps

Socialist housing in Novi Sad, Serbia

Building activity in the SFRY

Characteristics of socialist housing correspond with the socialist paradigms of the everyday life in the SFRY - its post-war economic and technical development, the 1980s' economic crises, along with the conflicts which foresaw the Federation's disintegration.

"The socialist city was first and foremost an industrial city - a city dominated by mass industrial production, organised by large state or social firms. It was

characterised by state-ownership of the building land and a large amount of the housing stock, as well as the rejection of market-mechanisms in some of the strategic spheres. The development of social infrastructure was significant; functionalism and social aims were often valued more than profit-led logic or aesthetic principles which resulted in a higher level of social security and a lower level of residential segregation and a lower degree of urban diversification and suburbanisation” (Jadžić, 2011: 72).

The building activity that made a huge impact on the country and the Yugoslavs' lives, included infrastructure, public, industrial and residential typologies, the last of which was [...] one of the leading themes in the 1970s. The Athens Charter, as a codex of modern architecture was especially accepted and applied in countries with communist-socialist state regulation because it met the need for a massive production of flats (Miletić Abramović, 2007: 31).

Characteristics of socialist housing in Novi Sad, Serbia

War-torn, financially drained and divided, mid-century Europe had struggled with mass civil migrations. The increasing urban population sparked a housing crisis, resulting in large collective housing estates, with every country having their model.

Yugoslavia adopted the USSR's prefabricated concrete panel system, cheaper and faster than in situ concrete or individual mid-rise traditional construction techniques.

Although single family housing removal preconditioned some new projects, massive government-led collective housing construction developed previously uninhabited city areas introducing the residential blocks' distinctive architectural aesthetic, scale and urban disposition making them stand out in the city's urban fabric. The residents of the said estates were, however, not the owners - workers were granted the so-called “housing right”, assigning them a state-owned flat for a symbolic rent. It was only later, through the process of privatisation that the residents were allowed to buy off their flats.

Le Corbusier's visions of urban planning were introduced, surrounding buildings with green and public spaces, leaving sufficient distance between them.

Ultimately, the end of socialist housing production corresponded with the State's economic and political change – with the decline of its role in the building sector and the rise of privatisation.

Urban analysis of a residential block in Liman IV

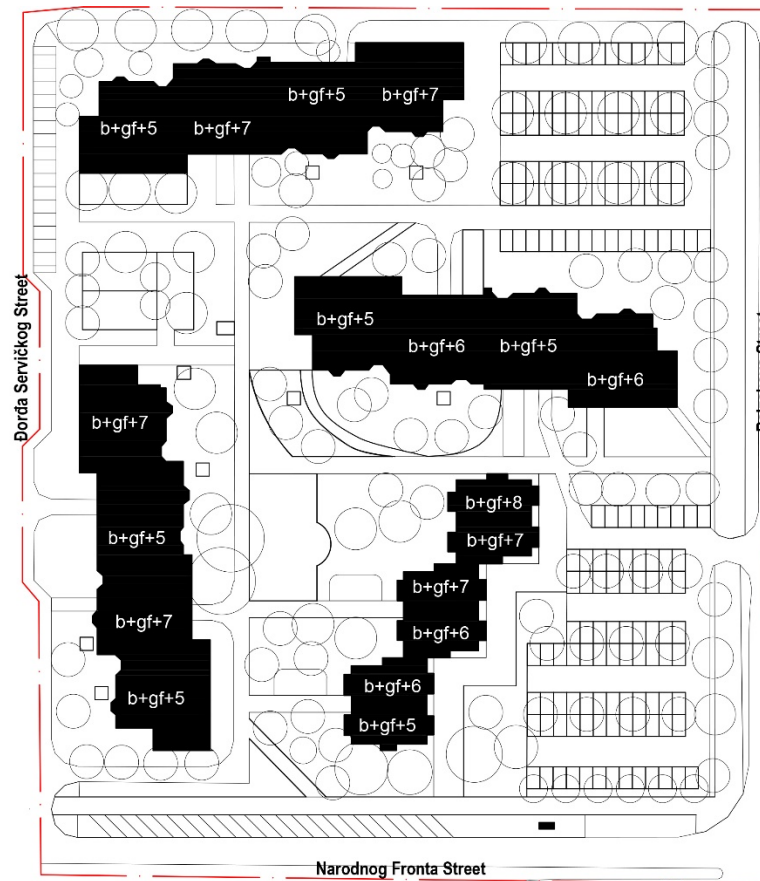
Liman is an urban neighbourhood of the city of Novi Sad, located south of the city centre, along the Danube river and divided into four parts: Liman I through IV, with the names matching the chronology of its development - built between the early 1960s and the late 1980s.

Built on the previously uninhabited marshes, there are only mid and high-rise socialist housing estates in the neighbourhood, developed following a well-calculated and precise long-term urban plan based on modernist regulations.

For the purpose of this study, a residential block of Liman IV was chosen as a prime example of socialist residential blocks of Novi Sad, as well as being, chronologically, constructed the latest.

Morphology

The buildings' spatial connection shows four building complexes in the block, three of which are similar to each other. The fourth one is perceived as three individual buildings, due to their variable heights ranging (from 6 to 9 stories) and much smaller area of their spatial contact.



Drawing 1. Liman IV: Block morphology and building storeys

Their distribution isn't aligned with the surrounding streets, identifying it as open, allowing noise reduction while the sufficient distance between them provides adequate sunlight and privacy. Each building is accessible not only on foot but by narrow pathways for the short stay of personal and emergency vehicles, efficiently connecting buildings and surrounding streets.

Open Spaces

An abundance of open spaces was included in the urban plan and was thoroughly envisioned providing preconditions for outdoor socialisation, its entirety being filled with various forms of vegetation.

The spaces in direct contact with the more prominent bordering streets are paved parking lots, providing enough parking places for all of the residents.

The open space was in part intended for sporting activities featuring a basketball and a futsal court, divided by rows of benches. Users of different ages actively participate in games or socialising throughout the year.



Fig. 2. Liman IV: Spaces for sporting activities, source: Violeta Stefanović (author)
Another prominent open space contains a number of concrete urban furniture, including a sandpit for children to play in.



Fig. SEQ Picture * ARABIC 3. Liman IV: Open space, source: Violeta Stefanović (author)
Overall, the block's open spaces invite people to spend time outdoors, enriching the everyday lives of the residents and passers-by, with the vegetation providing a soothing micro-climate, with lots of spots designed for activity and relaxation.

Architecture

The overall architectural expression of the buildings is completely defined by their structure and the technologies used - modular systems of prefabricated concrete elements, based on modernist principles, form follows function.

This architecture, although leading to uniformity and repetitiveness, can be regarded as empty frames allowing for residents' interventions relating to the facades' openings - windows and loggias.

The buildings' image, however, is strong in its brutalist expression, remaining intact despite changes executed throughout their exploitation.



Fig. 3. Liman IV: Typical facade, source: Violeta Stefanović (author)

Privatisation and the outline of post-socialist housing in Yugoslavia

The period of political and economic crisis in the 1980s, culminated with the 90s' armed conflicts, leading to the official disintegration of SFRY. The country's overall instability was a precondition for privatisation, reducing the role of the state, enabling for private investors negligence to permanently influence the urban fabrics of Yugoslav cities.

"The transformation of the state-socialist order towards the one in which every aspect of life is characterised by an open and cruel competition [...], was marked, logically, by the domination of private interest over the public and a new organisation of production of the life in cities which is now more clearly directed at the interest of people belonging to the governing class. The first years of post-socialist transformation brought a neglect of urban planning, and even the rejection of the long-term defining of city development, with the aim of securing extra sources for the survival of the newly formed regimes" (Jadžić, 2011: 73).

“Just like in the West [...], so did the privatisation of state flats in countries of the former “realistic socialism”, contribute to the deepening of class differences in the long-term, which were “legalised” in this new system” (Jadžić, 2011: 73).

“Although privatisation in housing should have symbolised the starting success of the economic transformation, enabling all of its participants (the state and all of its citizens) to perceive themselves as the winners of this process, quickly the problem of destroying the state residential stock started to materialise itself in a more and more serious form, primarily through the lack of available flats” (Jadžić, 2011: 73).

However, not every citizen was able to acquire the ownership of a certain flat, building or building land, yet some had enough funds and preconditions, adding up to the rising inequality in financial status.

Post-socialist architecture in Novi Sad, Serbia

Due to the disintegration of the Federation, a large number of war refugees fled to Serbia and particularly to Novi Sad causing, in the already unstable economic and political situation, an immense need for additional housing units. Citizens who gained assets through privatisation and owned individual building lots, initiated, through their investments, the production of new residential buildings, selling the realised flats to turn a profit.

In the midst of high flats' demand, the investors of the newly opened market often overlooked the regulations on flat sizes, used materials, outdoor spaces and other elements of architectural practice. The buildings of the period were usually erected on lots previously occupied by single-family houses, meaning the new buildings had roughly the same footprint, but numerous floors, leading to the overcrowding and lack of outdoor public spaces. The materials used were chosen to lower the cost of construction, resulting in problems later on during the exploitation of the built space.

The buildings' distribution, being built on individual adjacent plots, leaves almost no room between them, eliminating areas for public space. The majority of Novi Sad's buildings constructed today have similar approaches, leading to question whether the transitional period ever actually ended?

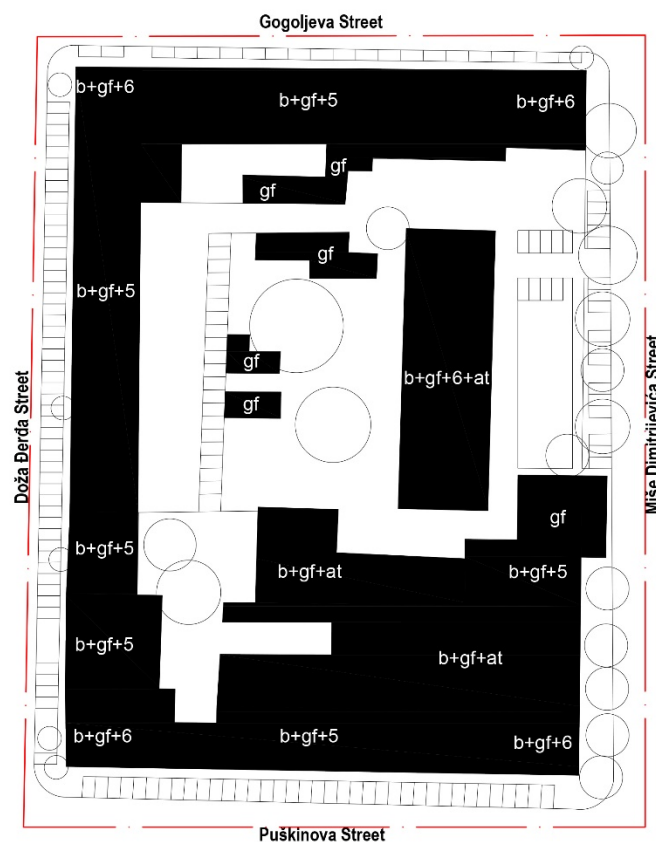
Urban analysis of a residential block in Grbavica, Novi Sad

Grbavica is one of the older urban neighbourhoods of Novi Sad, predating the XIX century. However, the neighbourhood, as it is today, was developed relatively late. The five-storey mid-rise buildings in a row, that are the typical architectural typology of Grbavica have been influenced by an increasing demand for housing in the early 1960s. In order to bypass the time needed to design structures appropriate for the area they would be built in, the city's urban planners at the time simply applied the building plans from the Grbavica neighbourhood in Sarajevo, hence the name. These actions as well as the lack of in-depth research and urban planning at the time have indirectly shaped the way this part of Novi Sad would develop later on.

In order to compare it to the socialist Liman block, the chosen post-socialist residential block in Grbavica was selected as an above-average example, in terms of density and open spaces within the block. The block has, in comparison to the neighbouring ones, less built surface, more greenery and is more open towards the bordering streets.

Morphology

Grbavica's blocks are similar to one another - they are closed off, with the residential buildings, erected next to each other, aligned to the very edges of the lot, walling off the block's residents from the passers-by. The inadequate buildings' height to the width of the streets ratio results in violation of the residents' privacy as well as lack of direct sunlight.



Drawing 2. Grbavica: Block morphology and building storeys

The buildings are all aligned, with even five-storey height, with only corner buildings exceeding the norm by one storey. The block's inner space, initially left open for the residents, contains remaining ground floor houses that have not yet been replaced with multi-storey ones, a five-storey socialist housing estate (extended during the 90s by another storey) and improvised ground floor garages and shacks.



Fig. 4. Grbavica: Inner block space, source: Igor Rajković (author)

Open Spaces

The Grbavica blocks have developed from individual lots being bought off separately and transformed into the multi-storey housing estates. Without a clear norm to follow, and trying to profit as much as possible from one parcel as well as the five-storey height regulation, the private investors have usually excluded underground garages or backyards, leading to a lack of planned and organised open spaces or parking places.

In coping with this, residents turned to streets and sidewalks as well as the insides of blocks, resulting in often unpaved and muddy ad hoc parking spaces with pop-up garages.



Fig. 5. Grbavica: Improvised parking space, source: Igor Rajković (author)

This demeanour has left residents and passers-by without open public spaces for recreation and socialisation, urging them to commute to other parts of the city that do accommodate these functions.

Architecture

While the architectural language of Grbavica's blocks isn't uniform, as the buildings were built over a span just short of sixty years, the majority of construction in this neighbourhood was done over the course of last twenty-five years giving it somewhat of a recognisable visual trait - brightly painted demit facades aligned with the building line construct a single plain, with a few exceptions of bay windows or narrow loggias.



Fig. 6. Grbavica: Block exterior, source: Igor Rajković (author)

In contradiction to the socialist praise of ribbon windows, post-socialist residential architecture of Grbavica has abandoned the principle, shaping the fenestration into a greed of single openings - whether windows, loggias or French balcony doors.

Due to the relatively small lots in regard to the number of flats built, private-led individual constructions directly influenced densely designed floor plans.

Evaluation of the analysed socialist and post-socialist blocks

Applying the same criteria - morphology, open spaces and architecture, it is possible to gain insight into differences and similarities of the examined blocks.

The blocks have almost opposite logics of the distribution of buildings - the openness of the Liman block is a stark contrast to Grbavica, whose building alignment completely closes off the surrounding streets. Furthermore, the socialist approach to open spaces was through plan and design whilst in the post-socialist block, they are only leftovers of the unbuilt lots area.

While the socialist block has used up 25.52% of the available construction surface, the one in Grbavica used 60%. Compared to the carefully designed socialist block, post-socialist individual-investment approach, regardless to the urban plans left residents seeking adequate public spaces further from their homes.

Liman IV block - urban parameters		Grbavica block - urban parameters	
Total block surface area (m ²)	24924	Total block surface area (m ²)	17797
Built block surface area (m ²)	6360	Built block surface area (m ²)	10679
Unbuilt block surface area (m ²)	18564	Unbuilt block surface area (m ²)	7118
Total floor built area (m ²)	48565	Total floor built area (m ²)	63223
Block surface area coverage (%)	25.52	Block surface area coverage (%)	60.00
Floor area ratio	1.95	Floor area ratio	3.55
Number of tenants (according to the standard)	1943	Number of tenants (according to the standard)	2529

Table 1. Urban parameters

Floor-to-area ratios evidently show the Grbavica's block is more densely built not only regarding the buildings' footprints but also their storeys and heights, resulting in cast shadows on one another and deprivation of their residents' privacy.

Conclusion

Whilst Liman IV and Grbavica are relatively close to one another in the city's fabric, having been built under different circumstances, the residential blocks they are comprised of follow conflicting urban planning logics. Their stark differences in ideological contexts relieve us of a simple judgment of which approach was better as they reflect different times.

That being said, keeping in mind the many benefits Liman blocks offer its residents as well as Grbavica's evident lack of these preconditions, we can definitely say that the urban planning related to the Liman blocks provides a larger range of possibilities for its residents.

The main issue Novi Sad is facing today is the fact that newly developed housing is being built in correspondence to the manner in which Grbavica was constructed. Private investors still possess extensive power and possibility to guide and influence today's and, therefore, the future structure of the city. With lifestyles constantly becoming faster, more and more households now have not one but two vehicles, yet parking places are still not being planned as parts of residential blocks. This leads to overcrowded and unsafe streets and public spaces. Apart from that, there is a general lack of green areas in the city, due to the fact that investors are still interested in maximising the built area of their lots with no regard for providing outdoor and public (green) spaces. In addition, Novi Sad has been attracting a large number of new residents. Consequently, the demand for housing is rising, as well as the real-estate prices, which in turn, gives the investors more cause for building and a rise in profit. All of these factors are constantly contributing to the decline of living conditions in Novi Sad, and it seems as though we have entered a vicious circle.

"Does it matter who the specific private investor is or does the problem lie in the fact that a private investor is in play at all, with his public interests which in a structural sense can never align with the interests of the widest social community? It is not only about the disregard of the law and lawful procedures but about the characteristics of fundamental laws and the logic they enforce! Simply put, all of the possibilities of changing the law are trapped by the general economic-legal

frame which, just like always and everywhere, represents the will of the people highest in the social scale and almost nothing else” (Jadžić, 2011: 75).

Although public-private partnership is encouraged, more often than not this way of cooperation gives private investors an immense amount of power over the whole process - allowing them to bypass or neglect certain regulations or even laws. People employed in the city council or urban planning departments aren't oblivious to the state of the city and the problems of its citizens, but the lack of strictness of institutions that would control the city's development as well as deflection of responsibility of the governing bodies keeps this way of development and construction afloat and, unfortunately, shows no signs of stopping.

In order to improve the living conditions, we must improve the way urban planning and development is being executed. Only by ensuring that each new building or block is built and designed in a way that provides healthy living conditions for its residents (as it was done when building socialist architecture) can we say that the development of the city is being planned in a way that will ensure not only that the present needs of the citizens are met, but the future ones as well.

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Morphological development of the microdistricts under the pressure of the post-socialist transformations: case studies of Siberian cities³

Abstract: *The analyses of the morphological transformations of the micro districts in the Siberian cities that have occurred so far showed from the one side the micro districts concept vitality, from the other side confirmed the immutability of the laws of urban morphology. Fundamentally important is the study of the changes in private and public relationship on the residential territories due to the different types of land tenure, land use and home ownership. The second block of study presents the consequences of the technological revolution that changed the idea of employment of the population and about the areas of distribution of places of employment. The other goal of the study is investigation of the different types of the population mobility: physical, social, economic. The latter have multiplied as a result of same technological revolution, political and economic transformations that took place in the country. Requirements to the ecological quality of the residential environment increased both within the civil and professional societies as well. All of the above led to the transformations in the lifestyle of the Russian citizens and, to the development of an urban form of micro districts. The analyses of the morphological transformations of the micro districts in the Siberian cities showed: there was a land survey in the past monographic territory; there is an increase in the integration of labour activity in the residential environment in connection with the development of small and medium businesses and localization of the social communities; market and recreational areas are localizing. The tendency of the exacerbation of the micro districts self-sufficiency increased in the whole. They are becoming more and more like “towns within the towns” with the individual morphological and social structure. These phenomena require other management and planning of the micro district development including participation of all interested parties on a par with the local community. Micro district as the residential unit becoming an element of the flexible city development, which is able to respond to the changing needs of society, while remaining the most optimal and rational model of a comfortable living.*

Keywords: *urban form, micro district, post-socialist city*

In the early 21st century, the change of functional processes led to the structural development of residential planning units – microdistrict (Russia, Eastern Europe), neighborhood (USA),

¹ Institute of Architecture and Design, Siberian Federal University, Krasnoyarsk, Russian Federation. E-mail: ikukina@inbox.ru

² Institute of Architecture and Design, Siberian Federal University, Krasnoyarsk, Russian Federation. E-mail: ifedchenk@inbox.ru

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community (United Kingdom, European countries). Such evolution resulted in densification and expansion of residential development archetypes, differentiation of public spaces, unforeseen construction of new objects in the residential environment, and, generally, in changes in the spatial and planning characteristics of urban development. Microdistricts were assumed as self-sufficient city planning units, inseparable by the nature of their general structure, and morphologically identical as medieval cities. The self-sufficiency and viability of their structure is reinforced by the presence of planning boundaries, social institutions in the form of schools, kindergartens, and a public core – market or square, as well as division into lower-order entities – residential groups. The concept of the Soviet microdistrict was adopted in the CIS countries, the USSR, and also in a number of CMEA countries, and China. In the early 21 century, the post-Soviet microdistrict witnessed the emergence of change in the functional characteristics of residential buildings. Attitudes towards the environmental quality of the living environment change, ideas about private and public interests change as well. Yet, microdistrict retains its role as an object of social guarantees (Kukina 2005).

This report will discuss the milestones of the morphological transformation in Soviet microdistricts within the post-Soviet environment (based on the field survey of Siberian microdistricts).

Changes in Spatial and Planning Characteristics of Urban Development

The discontinuity of residential development in microdistricts, which is a sign of modernist urban planning of the mid-20th – early 21st centuries, is criticized in the professional community of architects (Kosenkova, 2008). By the late 20th-early 21st century, there was a shift from functionalist modernism in urban planning, characteristic for mid-20th century that focused on a rigid model of “work-domestic routine-rest.” The change was due to commencement of unforeseen processes throughout residential areas: dissolution of a layer-based service system and the formation of professional activity, social activity, and the use of territories that were uncharacteristic for residential environment. The field survey revealed that the functioning of the minimalist spatial structure of microdistricts led to the development of unanticipated functions: small and medium-sized trading enterprises and service firms. The microdistrict became a multifunctional organism, independent of large-scale industrial objects. There formed a mixed multi-functionality of the living environment, where the lower floors of a residential building were considered as a structural value-adding segment of social, economic, and functional relations. The processes of architectural and spatial transformation led to the sophistication of the morphological structure of a microdistrict in connection with the development of a commercially active zone formed by the market. There intensified problems of coherence of territories with different functional affiliations, the ratio of public spaces and closeness, the isolation of small residential groups, the permeability of internal residential spaces in the structure of a microdistrict [fig.1].



Fig. 1. Microdistrict Innokentevsky, Krasnoyarsk

Since the early 21 century, there has been an increase in the number of scientific articles and projects that sought for ideas of combining discontinued and perimeter forms of the post-Soviet microdistrict:

- The integrated type "microdistrict quarter". There occurs a densification of development, the formation of fine-meshed planning structure consisting of residential groups of different configurations, such as in the microdistrict "City" in Krasnoyarsk. In the microdistrict "Malye Kvartaly" in Krasnoyarsk, was built with an idea of division by the principle of the external and internal contour of a residential building: the internal contour is the semi-private space of a residential yard, and the external contour is a shopping street [fig.2]. The planning structure of the Akademichesky district in Yekaterinburg is based on the concept of "consolidation of quarters", which involves the creation of development perimeters, and the division of residential areas into blocks with isolated internal spaces that form an orthogonal street system;
- "Discontinuous type" of combining various morphological types of development within the microdistrict plan. In the planning structure of the modern microdistrict "Yevropeyskiy Bereg" in Novosibirsk, located at Sverdlovskaya Street in Krasnoyarsk is built with the idea of freely located residential groups with a combination of different areas of residential development: a closed cell, high-

density infill development, open plan middle-rise buildings merged into residential groups (Kukina & Fedchenko, 2016).



Fig. 2. The microdistrict "Malye Kvartaly" in Krasnoyarsk.

Changes in the structural components of public spaces

In connection with the development of small and medium-sized businesses, pedestrian streets and public cores with various objects of attraction are formed on the territory of microdistricts. The active integration of small and medium-sized businesses in public spaces contributes to the formation of commercially active zones. The field survey shows that the concentration of functions occurs in accordance with centripetal (gravitation of basic functions towards the geometric centre of a microdistrict) and centrifugal (concentration of functions along the perimeter) principles. An example of a centripetal concentration of functions and pedestrian traffic is transit-oriented districts (TOD), when a transport interchange and service hub is located in the centre.

Modern projects of Siberian microdistricts redefine the meaning of public areas, and emphasize the creation of a system with different hierarchically coordinated types of public spaces (Engel, 2007). Sociologists recognize that the behavioural environment, observed as a set of acts, is inseparable from urban morphology serves an area where individual actions are being formed. The basis for changing the morphology of open spaces in residential units is an array of human behavioural patterns, rather than a set of uncoordinated functional spaces with specific dimensions and equipment. The combination of barriers in the open spaces of microdistricts depends on the degree of accessibility of these spaces. Private one is for the unconstrained self-realization of an occupant isolated from physical and visual penetration. Semi-private remains under control of the owner, but visually or physically accessible to other people. Semi-social space is controlled by various groups of inhabitants and owners (the courtyards of residential groups). Finally, the public space to which everyone has access. The field survey showed that microdistricts in Siberia incorporate a hierarchic system of public

territories. There are clearly differentiated public spaces, which are characterized by certain social and individual processes: personal spaces of small residential gardens, courtyards of residential groups, a public square in a cluster, a publicly accessible continuous system of green recreational spaces. At the apex of the hierarchy of public spaces are the areas where mass events take place (fairs, festivals, street competitions) (Fedchenko, 2012) [fig.3].

1) private space being under the control of the inhabitants, for example an inner open space: yards of multifamily houses (this is space of "every day using": play ground for children, communication of neighbors) ; yard of school and kindergardens

2) public inner space, controlled by various groups of inhabitants and the owners, for example square of microdistrict, microdistrict park, there going activity of community (festivals, celebrate), parking place, smal microdistrict garden

3) public outside space, for example, business activity zone of microdistrict, space of public transport station.



Fig. 3. Public space system of microdistrict Innokentevsky, Krasnoyarsk

Changes in the Functional Characteristics of Residential Development

The repeated increase in the number of service enterprises and their functional content, the development of alternative forms of employment, and the change of production focus indicate that the minimalist approach, expressed in building only the necessary trade and service enterprises of primarily domestic importance, led to a spontaneous formation of social, business, and trade institutions in public spaces. Microdistricts formed pedestrian streets with diverse objects of attraction. Among them are shops, kiosks, household workshops, catering enterprises, offices of lawyers and real estate agents, small medical clinics, and other service facilities. The social cores are formed due to the accumulation of building extensions, new freestanding structures, and the allocation of lower floors of buildings for non-residential purposes, which substantially expands the array of architectural typologies of a residential house in a microdistrict (Krainya, 2009) [Fig.4].



Fig. 4. Commercial active zones in microdistrict Aeroport in Krasnoyarsk

A Sociologist named Manuel Castells defines the flexibility of small business development as a powerful trend in the evolution of labour relations. According to his research, large corporations are being substituted by small firms with greater manoeuvrability and sensitivity to market and technological innovations. The percentage of home-based employment in the population increases. In connection with the development of new forms of employment of the population and the emergence of home-based labour, there forms a type of home office, designed for companies consisting of one to ten people. The newest microdistrict projects embody the concept of “home-work”, where the production process takes place in the area within a residential apartment and building. Such spaces of various sizes have a horizontal or vertical connection to a dwelling unit. Researchers identify several usage types of the lower floors of residential buildings: 1) commercial type; 2) social type of spatial organization and development of cultural, leisure, household, and industrial activities of families and neighbors in a residential environment (organization of kindergartens, resident clubs, co-working centers, public libraries, areas for public rest and recreation, as well as workplaces); 3) development of yard spaces, at the expense of adjacent territories of residential buildings where issues of social humanization of the living environment are resolved; 4) private use of the palisade territory of the first floor residents (Kiyanenko, 2009).

Preservation of a Microdistrict as an Object of Social Guarantees

In the planning and construction of microdistricts in the post-Soviet space, provision of guaranteed objects of social significance in safe walking distance is retained. Under current legislation of the Russian Federation, places in schools and kindergartens are allocated in accordance with residents' place of registration, which guarantees the provision of education

at the place of residence, i.e. in the microdistricts. In modern domestic microdistrict projects, educational facilities are located within territorial boundaries, as a rule, in the geometric center. In many projects, socially significant territories are merged into a public core. In addition, the design presupposes variable use of school territories: collective sports games, Sunday fairs and other public events designed for the whole microdistrict (Sloboda Vesny, City, and Novoostrovsky microdistricts in Krasnoyarsk, and Soyuz microdistrict in Irkutsk) [fig.5].



Fig. 5. Microdistrict Sloboda Vesny, Krasnoyarsk

Changes in Attitudes towards the Environmental Quality of the Living Environment

At present, the mere linking of socially significant facilities, recreational, service enterprises, and residential groups with a single system of well-maintained pedestrian paths is insufficient. “Green ways” are created for migrations of native biological species (if possible), channels of small rivers and other fragments of the natural complex are restored not only within the residential planning units, but they are also integrated into continuous city and the regional systems as a whole. Continuous green recreational and transitional structures are being created, where each resident has the opportunity to access any object in the city within the walking distance of his or her house, while remaining in a parallel landscape-park environment, practically staying outside of the urbanized environment.

The morphological development of microdistricts is accompanied by the formation of a unified system of greenery that include green corridors, squares, microdistrict gardens, courtyard space nodes, linear parks, and waterfronts. The canals of small rivers, water reservoirs and streams are being restored. The drainage systems are being improved and correctly

integrated into the natural environment. Thus, in the early 21st century, ecologically oriented approach to planning of microdistricts gains momentum. Essentially, it ensures a healthy lifestyle through the rational use of the physical and geographical features of the area, preservation of natural aquatic systems, native plant species, and the ecological niches of animal kingdom (Unagaeva, 2014).

Changes in Private and Public Relations within Residential Areas

Changes in private and public relations in residential areas in the post-Soviet environment gain fundamental importance for the transformation of microdistrict because of the different types of land tenure and use. Since the introduction of the Urban Planning Code of the Russian Federation, city territories are subject to compulsory surveying, and listing at the city auction. The allocation of land parcels according to the rules of land surveying and easements, as well as the "sale" by "lots" break up the holistic perception of the microdistrict, both in the plan and in reality. As field survey of Siberian microdistricts demonstrated, in a residential environment, there is a "patchwork" demarcation of territories based on property relations that subdivide space into private ownership spaces (groups of residential buildings, less often – quarters) and public spaces. The policy of land surveying significantly reduces the percentage of public and green spaces. Thus, for example, in the project of the Innokentyevsky microdistrict in Krasnoyarsk, the land survey plan divided the microdistrict territory into residential group zones, an area for a large multifunctional complex, two office centers, a mosque, hospital complex, and a number of communal facilities. As a result, despite all the multifunctionality of the microdistrict, the territory is deprived of accessible open spaces that would compositionally and functionally link public institutions and visually please residents. Residential groups are surrounded by fences, restricting access to the "outsiders", that their own micro space. The high-rise living environment has lost the ability to sustain public and residential spaces in psychologically comfortable proportions. Extensive, amorphous inter-house territories belong simultaneously to all houses and, at the same time, to none of them, making families and individuals also disconnected from them. A person is unable to visually correlate and identify in his consciousness any part of this poorly differentiated inert space with his own place of residence (Fedchenko, 2017) [fig.6].



Fig. 6 Land use map of Microdistrict "Innokentevsky", 2007 Krasnoyarsk

In the post-Soviet Russian microdistricts, there develops an institution of self-government that creates the possibility of coordinating the activities of a variety of subjects and adaptive processes control in order to harmonize the multidirectional development initiatives aimed at living environment. In the Russian Federation, social and administrative actions of the residents of a microdistrict are usually limited to resolving issues of maintaining individual residential buildings and adjacent territories, and embodied in Territorial Self-Government and HOA. Microdistrict planning technologies begin to include methods of adaptive planning, as a rule, in projects of reconstruction or renovation of existing territories. There is a change in the content of the activity process – the objective description of the planning subject is replaced by the analysis and description of social action forms.

Conclusion

The emergence of unanticipated processes within the territory of the post-Soviet microdistricts leads to the transformation of their planning structure. Buildings and open spaces of residential planning units are subject to morphological changes. There forms a tendency for internal structuring and development of a fine-meshed pattern of a plan. There is also a differentiation of public spaces depending on social action. In the structure of a microdistrict socially significant objects are preserved. A single system of green planting is being incorporated into the structure of microdistricts in accordance with the natural environment functioning.

The analysis of morphological transformations of microdistricts in Siberian cities showed the following:

- the previously monographic territory underwent a land-survey;
- there is an acceleration of integration of labor activity into the residential environment due to the development of small and medium-sized businesses;
- there shapes a spatial localization of social communities, market, and recreational territories.

In general, there is an intensification of tendencies to radicalize the self-sufficiency of microdistricts, which further resemble cities within cities with their own individual structure and social organization. This phenomenon requires a change in the organizational form of development management for microdistricts that would account for all interested parties as well as the local community. The post-Soviet microdistrict becomes an element of the flexible city development that is able to respond to the changing needs of society, while remaining the most optimal and rational model of comfortable living.

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Morphological pattern of outer fringe belts of socialist city in post-socialist period

Abstract: *Distinctive features of urban planning in socialist period had an impact to the modern urban fabric of Russian Post-socialist cities. At the beginning of the 20th century the urban expansion and urban population growth identified the impact of cities to the adjacent areas. In the Soviet period a potential of outer fringe belts for planned development were investigated, methods for their analysis and design were developed, attempts to regulate their size and zoning have been undertaken. In the period from 1917 to early 2000s the abolition of private ownership of urban land and immovable property and state planning of national economy were focused on the rational land use in cities to deal with the housing crisis, industrialization and location of industry. Nevertheless, unplanned entities also arising at the existing cities periphery near the city border, despite of the town planning schemes and expected development. Large-scale industry and adjacent residential buildings, green spaces emerged spontaneously in the outer fringe belt. Partial cancellation of state ownership of urban land aggravated this situation. By the beginning of the 21th century the outer fringe belts became embedded to the modern structure of Post-socialist cities in the form of distinctive morphological areas, creating new tasks for organizing the spatial connectivity of urban areas, economic, environmental and social problems of cities as a whole. The article presents a comparative analysis of the formation of urban fabric of modern Post-socialist cities since of the 20th century. The characteristic morphological areas of the socialist period are highlighted, their distinctive features from the morphological pattern of the city and their transformation under the influence of modern conditions are analysed.*

Keywords: *outer fringe belt, Soviet period, urban morphology*

One of the main objectives of the policies in urban planning of the post-socialist period is land use efficiency in urban area and land use regulations that limit urban sprawl. Urban area is considered primarily in terms of functional zoning and land use in the process of urban planning. Urban planners rarely turn to the historic-geographical development of cities, the methodology of which based to the theory of urban morphology and the urban fringe belts concept in particular (Whitehand & Morton, 2003).

The fringe belts concept demonstrates the stages and processes of formation of urban form and urban periphery. The fringe belt is the territory that was previously located on the edge of the urban area, but during following urban growth became deeply entered within urban structure and retained original characteristics (Whitehand & Morton, 2004). From the end of the Eighteenth century to the middle of the Twentieth century the residential development

¹ Siberian Federal University, School of Architecture and Design. E-mail: el.lgnv@yandex.ru

"leapfrogged" the fringe belt in the process of urban growth which later was clearly recognizable in urban area for many centuries. Fringe belts characterized by peripheral land use: warehouses, industrial and transport facilities, cemeteries, green spaces (Louis, 1936; Conzen, 1960). Chaotic and unplanned development, distinctive street pattern, a large number of green spaces and low-density building are specific features of fringe belts (Whitehand & Gu, 2017). A special feature of these territories is the fact that large public institutions and ensembles such as monasteries, palace complexes, were often located to the edge of the city, since it was impossible to find suitable territories in dense land-use pattern. Researchers confirm the presence of such specific zones in various cities of the world and emphasize the need for attention to these areas during the reconstruction and renovation processes of urban areas (Barke, 1990; Whitehand, 2003; Kukina, 2006; Gu 2010; Hopkins, 2012; Hazar & Kubat, 2015). Urban morphologists hitherto focused within cities of Europe, China, New Zealand and Brazil, where evolution of fringe belts has been studied in detail. From this point of view the urban fringe belts development of Siberian cities represents a fruitful research area due to the scarcity of studies.

In the socialist period the urban planning policy of Soviet Russia had a significant impact on the morphological city structure formation in general and urban fringe belts in particular. As a result of industrialization, the location of large industrial enterprises and residential buildings for the working class took place in the peripheral territories of cities without regard to long-term urban growth. Consequently, the fringe belts emerged during this period reflects its specificity and has distinctive physical texture and pattern of land-use mainly consists of a system of industrial, storage and transportation facilities. The transition to the post-socialist period the abolition of state land ownership and the emergence of land market in addition to the loss of functioning by industry or their removal to the edge of the built-up area provoked dramatic transformations in the morphological structure of fringe belts. The question of management of development and reorganization of fringe belts becomes relevant. These territories are an internal resource for the renovation of urban fabric and have significant potential due to their characteristics. At the same time, the influence of the context of the socialist period on the land use formation in fringe belts is relevant in Siberian cities.

The formation of the urban structure of Krasnoyarsk in the Twentieth century illustrates the characteristics of large Siberian cities development in the socialist period, as well as the emergence and subsequent changes in the territories of the fringe belts.

By the beginning of the socialist period Krasnoyarsk had a compact spatial structure on the left bank of the Yenisei. The construction of the railway bridge in 1899, which connected the left and right banks of the Yenisei River contributed to overcoming the powerful natural fixation line. The line of the railway stretching from west to east along the right bank divided it into two parts. Since then Krasnoyarsk has acquired a segregated spatial structure, which is actively developing at the present time.

The beginning of the 1930s was marked by the adoption by the state authorities of a decree on the Krasnoyarsk industrial development, which served to establish the city as an industrial centre of the Krasnoyarsk region and acquired new urban and social forms. According to the General Plan of the city in 1934 the main industrial enterprises of heavy industry were supposed to be located on the edge of the right bank at the foot of the mountains, which provided for the transfer of the railway line [fig. 1]. At the same time residential areas were planned as a single undivided territory with free access to the Yenisei and its coastal zone was designed as a wide strip of gardens and parks. As practice has shown, the combination of

the existing factors led to inconsistencies in the implementation of the general plan of the city from the design provisions and the backlog of a number of accepted principles. The result was the emergence of spontaneously arising, contrary to the general plan of the city, unplanned land uses that made up fringe territories of a linear nature that had a significant impact on the entire urban structure of the right bank of Krasnoyarsk.

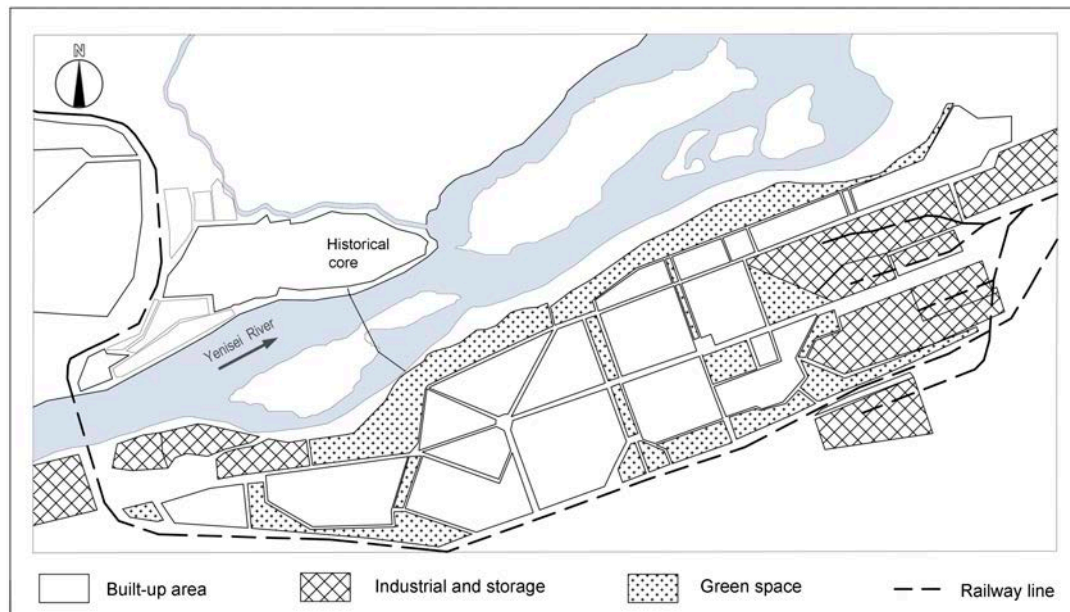


Fig. 1. The proposed development plan for the Yenisei right bank in Krasnoyarsk in 1934
(Based principally on the author's archive surveys).

Due to the gap of design work with the right bank development of Krasnoyarsk large industrial enterprises were unplanned located along the railway tracks that remained at their former location and the Yenisei. Industrial enterprises included the Krasnoyarsk Machine-Building Plant, a pulp and paper mill, a cement plant, the timber industry, manufacturing and warehousing enterprises. Industrial complexes provoked the formation of residential areas and workers' settlements associated with them, which have been separated from the river in spite of the adopted design decisions. By the 1950s the emergence of new industry areas along the transport and water arteries occurred as a result of the industrial enterprises evacuation during the Second World War and the next wave of industrialization. Dispersed arrangement of industrial enterprises had made it difficult for the placement of residential areas, which were designed separately in vacant areas between industrial enterprises. For several years the new linear city with alternation of residential areas and extensive areas of fringe belts formed on the right bank. In the post-socialist period, the linear industrial fringe belts of the 20th century on the right bank of the Yenisei separates the urban fabric into several loosely connected territories presenting a serious problem for the functioning and reconstruction projects of the modern city [fig. 2]. Industrial and storage areas maintain their extensive character along the railway line. Sites of the fringe belt along the Yenisei coast have now undergone dramatic morphological transformations. Residential areas, sports facilities and transport infrastructure facilities appeared at the site of industrial areas. In this case, the design and arrangement of residential areas develops largely site-by-site.

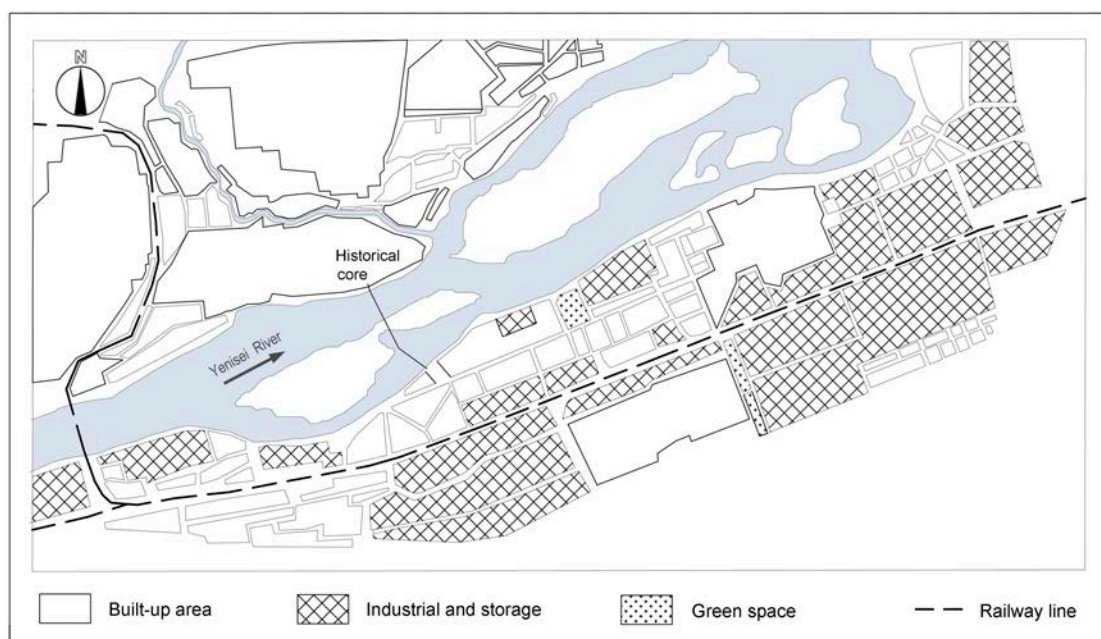


Fig. 2. Plan of the existing morphological structure of the Yenisei right bank and the pattern of the industrial fringe belt in 2018
(Based principally on the author' field surveys).

At the same time in the late 1930s cartographically fixed the occurrence of peripheral land use at the extensive territories of the northern edge of the city. It was formed by the military town, the city airfield and the tracing of the railway branch from the Trans-Siberian Railway stretching from west to east away from the existing buildings of Krasnoyarsk [fig. 3].

Project plans proposed in a short time to bring the airfield outside the city due to the fact that the territory along the left bank of the Yenisei formed as the basis for the perspective development of Krasnoyarsk. Nevertheless, by the 1960s – 1970s, Krasnoyarsk Airport was actively developing, retaining its fringe position in spite of the rapid expansion of residential accretion along the Yenisei coast. The terminal building, hangars and related transport infrastructure appeared and the length of the runways was increased. Increase in the number of storage and production facilities is recorded along the railway line in the north of the city. In the late 1980s the airport has lost the perspective of territorial development in the structure of a fast-growing city and urban development forced it out of Krasnoyarsk built-up area. From this point on the processes of morphological and functional transformations of the northern fringe belt begin. By the beginning of the Twenty first century active expansion of residential accretion and changes in the functional purpose of a significant part of the peripheral territories are observed. However, the signs of the former fringe are preserved in the layout of the residential area that arose at the site of the airfield. The street pattern of residential development has inherited the directions of the airstrips. The building of the airport and aircraft hangars entered the urban fabric of new urban areas.

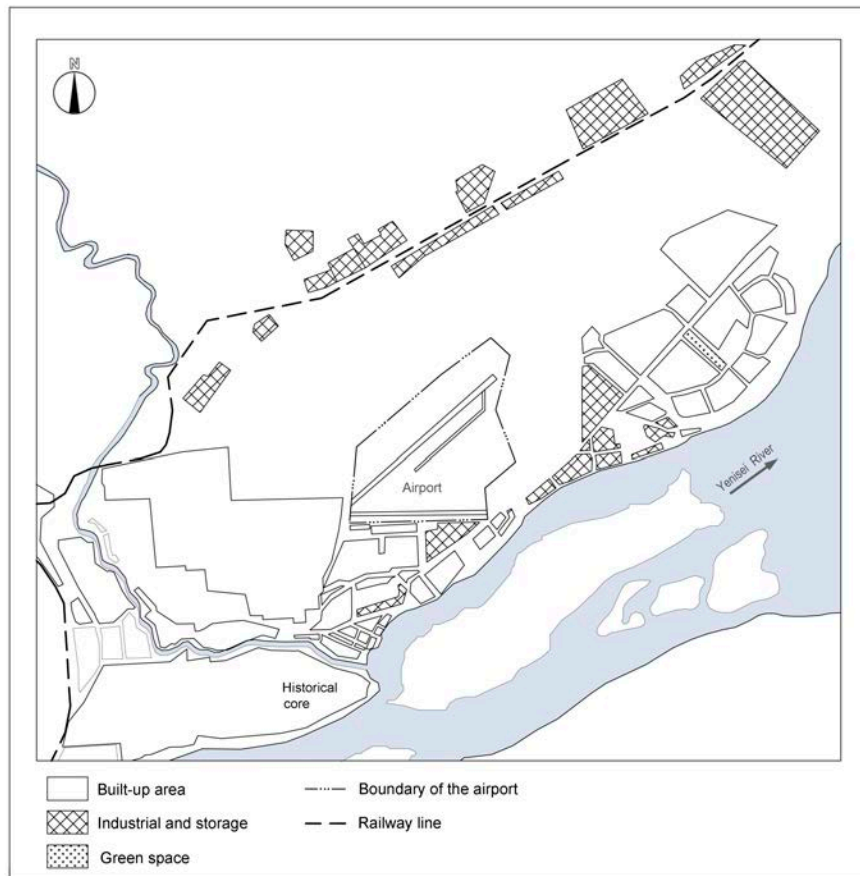


Fig. 3. The northern outer fringe belt associated with the railway line and the location of the airport in the city structure in the 1970s
(Based on the author' field surveys).

In the first decade of the Twenty first century part of the northern fringe belt along the railway line has entered the stage of functional consolidation and physical growth retaining in its structure vacant sections. Also increased density of industrial and storage facilities and public institutions occurred. In connection with the absence in the urban structure of the relevant vacant sites for such types of land use as large shopping malls and sports and health institutions of regional significance they are located in the northern fringe belt of Krasnoyarsk. By 2015 due to the phase of active residential development the zone of the northern fringe belt undergoes numerous morphological transformations. Undeveloped areas of the fringe belt become the perspective territory for the further residential development due to the lack of free sites in urban structure. As a result, house-builders "leapfrogged" large public institutions and located within the boundaries of the fringe belt. Residential development reached the territory of a chaotically-shaped building at the railway line which previously served as a mark of the edge of the city. Thus, actively developing buildings during the post-socialist period replaces the peripheral land uses that took shape in the socialist period as sizeable part of northern fringe territories of Krasnoyarsk. The new residential accretion at the previously peripheral territories became a new centre of business and trade activity of the city. Resistance to transformations of fringe land use along the railway line allows preserving characteristics in the modern structure of the city [fig.4].

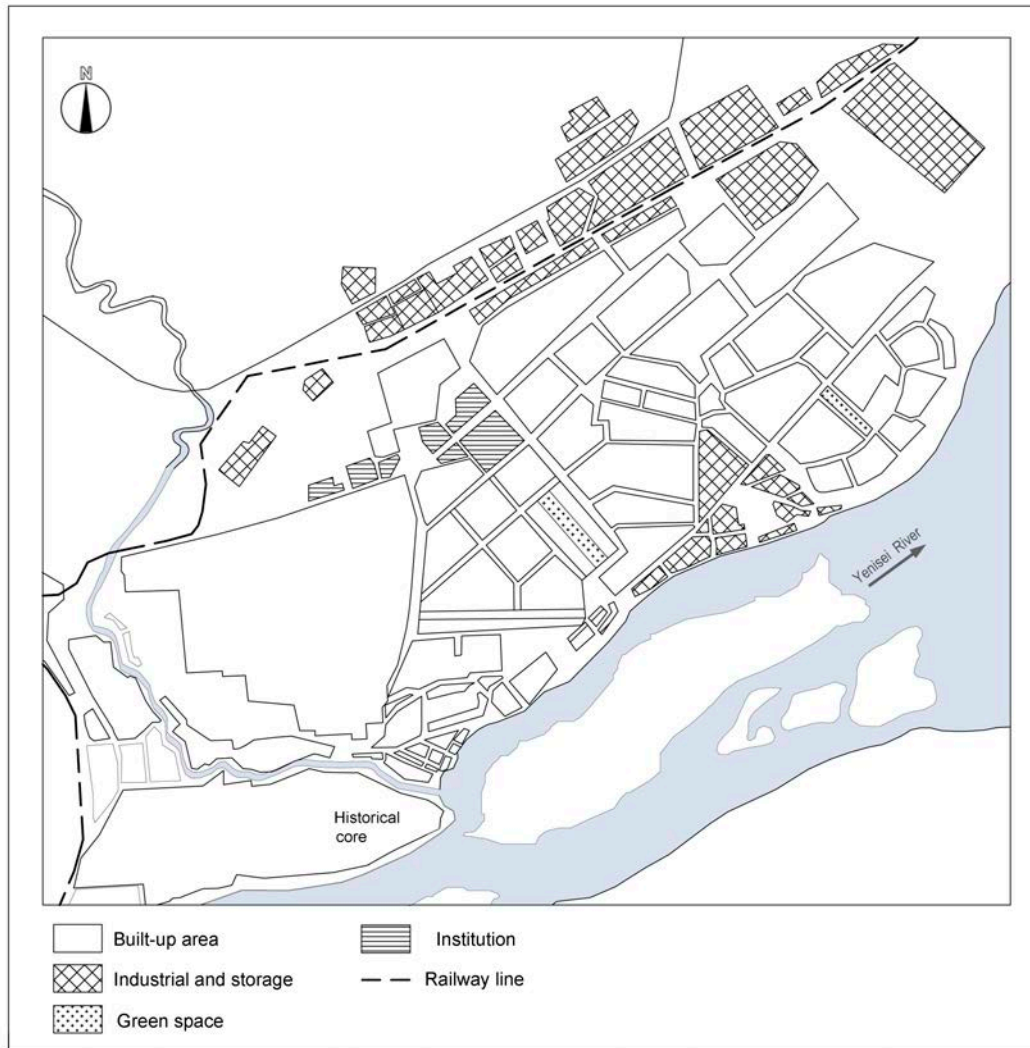


Fig. 4. Present-day plan of the morphological city structure at the Yenisei left bank and the pattern of the northern outer fringe belt
(Based on the author' field surveys).

The need for selecting a suitable location for the buildings of the State University in the 1970s has resulted to the formation of the south-western fringe belt of the left bank of Krasnoyarsk as a point of attraction for the residents. By this time, allotment gardens formed the south-western fringe territory. The lack of territories in the existing structure of the city for a large institution provoked a searching for appropriate sites on the adjacent periphery. In this regard, by the 1980s unplanned formation of educational institution is fixed on the site of the south-western edge of Krasnoyarsk. At the moment the formation of low intensity land use of educational institutions consisting of educational and administrative buildings and dormitories is observed in this area. Thus, the functionality of the existing fringe belt increases its importance in the structure of urban areas and provokes daily transport migrations of the population.

The features of the socialist period are reflected in the planning structure of Krasnoyarsk in general and in the land use pattern of fringe belts in particular. The period of socialism and industrialization was reflected in the development and the existing pattern of the outer fringe belt of Krasnoyarsk, which is preserved in the modern structure of the city. The greatest

influence was made by man-made fixation lines - railway lines, which throughout the century provoked the formation of fringe belts, giving them distinctive parameters and influencing the character of settlement. Low building density, spontaneously occurrence at the edge of built-up area and specific types of land use characterized the fringe belts of Krasnoyarsk of the Twentieth century. It confirmed the concept of urban fringe belts in various cultural contexts. The transfer of large public institutions to the edge of the city and the inheritance of peripheral characteristics by new built-up area emphasizes the importance of fringe belt territories in the life of a post-socialist city. In the accordance with socialist economy urban fringe belts have shown the sustainability to planned development. In the post-socialist period the problem of integrating the former fringe territories into the existing functional structure of the city and the rational land use is enhanced after the abolition of total state land ownership.

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Transformation of public spaces in post-socialist city

Abstract: *The public spaces formed as a result of centralized urban planning activity are very typical for Russia and Central and Eastern Europe (CMEA) as well. It considered as territories of demonstrations or conducting mass marches, parades, therefore, it is characterized by a ceremonial character as a response to the ideological task of the development of society. Main streets and squares were accompanied by are presentational architecture. Changing socio-economic and political conditions have led to a rethinking of not only the appearance, but also the values in the city. Today the urban planning problem of these spaces is that it has lost their original functions and, in many cases, empty. While public life in the city is becoming increasingly active and requires multifunctional open public spaces. In turn, multifunctionality implies a variety of public-private partnerships, different levels of business, increased demands on the quality of urban spaces. The wide range of the requirements indicates the need to improve methods of planning renew them. In this context becomes relevant the study the main social, -planning transformations which have occurred in open public spaces, which lead to change urban form of open public spaces. An analysis of their transformation shows that their formation is directly dependent on integration into public spaces of the small and medium-sized businesses and increasing social public activity. Basic directions of their spatial transformation should be outlined: preservation and renovation of the historic morphology of open public space; adaptation to contemporary conditions and requirements; preservation as a symbol of historical heritage.*

Keywords: *open public space, socialist public spaces, spatial transformation open public space.*

Introduction

Open public spaces that were formed as a result of centralized urban planning were characteristic of Russia and the CMEA member countries. They were regarded as territories of demonstrations or mass processions, which is why they are imbued with a ceremonial character as a response to the ideological tasks of social development. The main streets and squares were shaped by the ceremonial architecture. Changes in the socio-economic and political conditions led to rethinking of not only the appearance, but also values in the city. Today, the problem of these spaces is that they have lost their original functions and in many cases are empty and uninhabited, while public life in the city is becoming more active and requires multifunctional open public spaces. In turn, multifunctionality implies a variety of private partnerships, different levels of business, increased demands to the quality of urban spaces. A

¹ Siberian Federal University, Krasnoyarsk, Russia. E-mail: yanachuy@mail.ru

wide range of requirements indicates the need to improve methods for updating them. In light of this, it becomes relevant to study the social and planning transformations that have occurred in open public spaces, which lead to a change in their planning structure.

The architectural and planning organization of the socialist city was subordinated to the managerial paradigm. Therefore, a radical reassessment of the use of public spaces took place in the Soviet city: only the events organized by the authorities (parades, demonstrations, official carnivals, etc.) or sanctioned by the authorities were considered public. The main squares were formed as ideologically meaningful public spaces by the buildings of Soviet, trade union, party organizations; these were the places for large political gatherings, holidays, performances, for the “urban community”. The main street was a linear public space, used as a place for festive parades and organized folk marches (Nevzorov, 2007; Khmel'nitsky, 2006). It housed the core trading enterprises — a department store, a grocery store — and also the main leisure facilities: the central park, main cinemas and theatres. Recreation function and celebration of ideological events in the city centre were to be separated. The traditional understanding of a street as a freely forming multifunctional public space has been lost (Khmel'nitsky, 2006).

In the second half of the 1940s, in the USSR appeared closed monocities, the development of which largely depended on the decisions made by a factory administration. Requirements for their development remained within the framework “City as an ensemble”, which is characterized by regular planning and compositional design of the city centre with predominantly pedestrian movement. Their planning structure was characterized by one main street or an intersection of two, with the central square as the fundamental core in a city centre composition. Square planning is designed traditionally with perimeter buildings and an emphasis on the main building in the centre. The focus of the square is often given not to the building of the administration, as it was typical for most cities (such as Yekaterinburg, Krasnoyarsk) but to buildings of culture and mass events: cinemas, houses and palaces of culture, and theatres. In Zheleznogorsk town, a decision was made to create a square at the intersection of the main streets - Lenina and Stalina street. Its placement was justified functionally by convenient pedestrian connections between the town centre and the train station, from which workers were transported to the factory. In the peripheral latitudinal axis of the central square, the club was located. In Seversk town, the main compositional planning idea was to design the main longitudinal artery of the town as an enfilade square, where accented buildings were placed. In the main square, formed at the intersection of the Kommunisticheskiy Prospekt and Kurchatov street-boulevard, there was a musical theatre (Yamaletdinov, 2012).

In the post-war period, with the restoration of the urban space of Soviet cities, there intensifies a tendency of creating ensembles of monumental administrative public spaces in the central part, not for an individual, but for a person inseparable from society. There emerges large-scale implementations of unified universal neo-classical architecture and urban development model. For example, in Stalingrad they planned behaviour models and lifestyle of the population. Bright avenues and roads were meant for triumphal processions and demonstrations, squares - for meetings, waterfronts - for walking (Yamaletdinov, 2012). The structure of the public spaces of the city was not so much subject to the requirements of functional integrity, as it carried the ideological and semantic load. The key point in the centre of the city was the main square, which closed the plan (or visual) axis or axes. Streets were designed as densely built parade corridors (Kosenkova, 2014).

Similar urban planning decisions were made during the post-war reconstruction in the CMEA countries. On June 27, 1950, in the GDR, they adopted the document called "16 principles of urban construction"², which included the following basic requirements: the core of the city is the political centre, where the most important political, administrative and cultural objects are to be located; the city needs to be hierarchical and divided into residential areas with district centres including the necessary service complex for addressing daily needs of citizens; public spaces should be formed by public buildings, and their architecture should create a unique individual image of a city. In Berlin, there was created one of the most ambitious street projects, as it was thought at that time, Stalin Allee: 90-meter wide street, formed by neoclassical buildings with shops on the first floors, that served not only arterial traffic, but also annual parades in the framework of the celebration of the GDR founding. The boulevard was supposed to reflect the new socialist order. At the crossroads of Frankfurt Tor and Strausberger Platz, squares were formed by buildings with dominant architectural elements in the form of towers. Alexanderplatz square was reconstructed into being the centre of East Berlin for the exhibition of achievements. To carry out large-scale public events, the transportation system was changed: the flow was diverted to the perimeter, and the tram tracks were disassembled, due to which the square's territory increased 4 times (Madanipour et al. 2014). In Dresden, the lifestyle of the old market square Altmarkt was revised - it had to correspond to the tasks of a socialist city and organize political and cultural life. As a result, the square received a large demonstration space without clearly defined boundaries due to clearing the ruins around it. Buildings forming area on the west and east sides had been architecturally designed with Baroque decorative elements: bay windows, arches, sculptures, columns, piers, and so forth. In the northern part, the square has been bound by the Palace of Culture that was designed with modernist facades, characteristic of the early 60s not corresponding to historical buildings (Andrä, 1990).

Forming process

By the late 20th century, the socioeconomic changes and the return to market relations led to a socio-spatial transformation of open public spaces, planned and created as a result of centralized urban planning activities.

An analysis of the practice of transforming open public spaces in a socialist city showed that their transformation was largely subject to global trends: the search for a rationally dense city, increased commercialization and consumer interests, increased mobility of society, individual and public self-expression of the population.

By the end of the 20th century, in the planning sphere there was a return to the general urban development trend of searching for a rational dense city. There was also an awareness that amorphous public spaces should be returned to their traditional morphology. This tendency is characteristic for Eastern Europe cities and consists in the restoration of the traditional medieval European morphology of high-density public spaces. During the reconstruction process, the socialist spaces are transformed into democratic public spaces attractive for investors and residents. An example of such transformation is the Old Market Square, Altmarkt in Dresden. As part of the urban development program, the medieval planning structure with division into quarters was restored. The original size of the square was resurrected by building

² Translation from German "16 Grundsätze des Städtebaus".

its southern part with commercial and office buildings. On the east side, there were arranged five fountains, which mark the old border of the square, repeating the outlines of the foundations and residential buildings destroyed during the war that were found during archaeological excavations in 2007 (Madanipour et al. 2014). As a complementary reminder of the environment of the pre-war period, a specific material for facing the fountains was chosen that resembled the colour of polished sandstone, traditionally used in the construction of the Saxon Baroque ensembles in the historical centre of the city. According to the planners, the democratic nature of this space is in its freedom from various political and symbolic signs. The area has received a neutral space that is flexible in its use and is ready to accommodate a variety of functions. In addition to the fact that the square was returned to its original function - the market, it has also become a multifunctional public space, where the major city events were held: festivals, concerts, sports broadcasts, Christmas market and so forth. During the reconstruction, attention was paid to the creation of the engineering infrastructure. An underground parking area with access to the surface was arranged with a space for placement of engineering network outlets (electricity, plumbing and sewage) in the paving for comfortable market functioning (Figure 1).

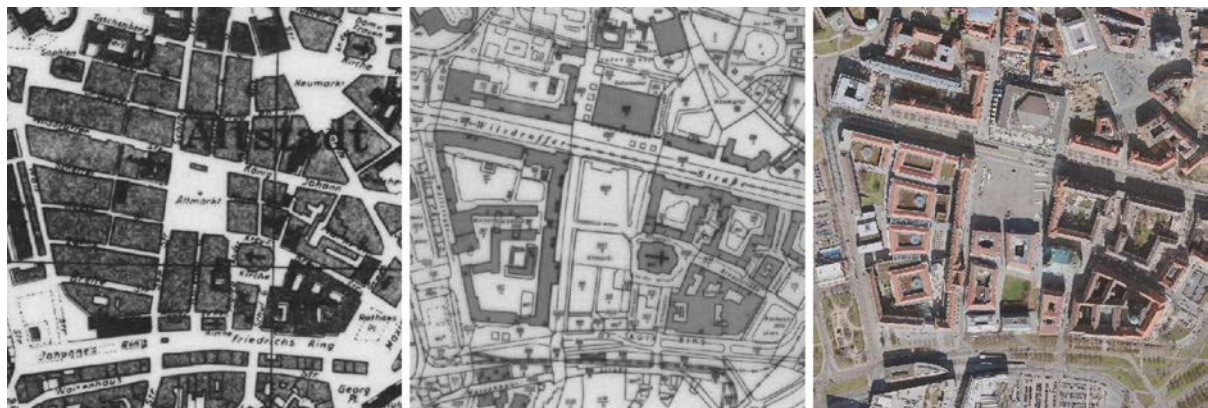


Fig. 1. Altmarkt in Dresden. 1941, 1994, 2016.

Source: Dresden. Themenstadtplan [<http://stadtplan2.dresden.de>]

The structure of open public spaces was radically changed by the introduction of small and medium-sized businesses, which led, firstly, to a change in their scale, planning structure and, accordingly, the increase in the flow of users. In the post-Soviet period, public spaces were transformed into consumption spaces. Investors demanded to re-plan the Alexanderplatz square in Berlin and its environment. The core task was to rearrange the empty, wasted space. In 2000, they adopted a plan of its development as a multi-functional city hub which would follow the basic principles of functional separation and transport accessibility. Tram lines were returned to the square, underground stations were restored and underground parking was organized. During reconstruction, much attention was paid to strengthening the trade function, which led to the densification of open space development through the expansion of the central department store and building of new shopping centres. The square became more isolated with clearly fixed boundaries, thereby reducing the previously hypertrophied scale (Figure 2).



Fig. 2. Alexanderplatz in Berlin. 2000, 2015, design solution for 2025.

Source: GoogleMap, WES LandschaftsArchitektur HAMBURG [<http://www.wes-la.de/de/>]

The transformation of the existing spaces built under the socialist system occurs by changing their functional content and the associated "de-sacralization" (Ptichnikova, 2008; Nevzorov, 2007; Antufeeva, 2008). The principle of erasing socialist symbols from public spaces and the adaptation of the latter to modern needs can be seen in the example of the reconstruction of the Prager Strasse street in Dresden. The street was built in accordance with the 1960s GDR planning techniques, where large fountains along the boulevard were built over a huge area. Prager Strasse was to be perceived as a collective meeting place. After reconstruction, the new structure of the street communicated a different logic to the open space that transformed into a popular shopping street - Shopping Mall (Figure 3). On the north and south sides of the street, new commercial buildings were built, forming the square in its central part, where were fountain, rest areas, and so on (Madanipour et al. 2014).

The increase in traffic has led to the development of linear public spaces as transport arteries of a modern city. June 17th Street became one of the important highways of Berlin with 6-8 lane traffic and a wide roadside. Carriageways were separated by a parking lane. Despite this innovation, the street continues to be a venue for mass processions and events. Here take place Loveparade, live concerts, Turkish-European festival of culture, and so forth.

Public spaces become a symbol of the re-establishment of the socialist order through the preservation and maintenance of the original form. Karl-Marx-Allee (Stalin Allee) in Berlin, a monument to socialist classicism, where it was decided to preserve the proportions and the architectural design. This street is now a six-lane highway divided in the middle by a wide lawn space. During the reconstruction of Karl-Marx-Alley, exits from the underground parking and metro stations were arranged to a dividing strip in order not to disturb the perception of the ensemble. Despite the preservation of the presentation context of the environment, the sensation of emptiness and lack of function persists. The territory from the roadway to the facade of the building is a wide empty sidewalk and a lawn. The street did not develop as a trading space. Shops in the first floors are usually empty. Residents of the city are in favour of revitalizing the street with the involvement of investors. The former proposes to use the sidewalk and the lawn for outdoor events and make the street into an avenue of art, culture and gastronomy.



Fig. 3. Prager Straße in Dresden. 1994, 2017.

Source: Dresden. Themenstadtplan [<http://stadtplan2.dresden.de>]

Another example of an empty space is the Ploshad' Revolutsiy (Revolution Square) in Krasnoyarsk city (Russia). Its reconstruction was directly related to the preservation of the town-planning ensemble and the strengthening of the recreational function.

Conclusion

Public spaces under the paradigm of centralized urban planning in the modern context of the city, as a rule, retain their uniqueness as places for mass gatherings and events, but the nature of their use changes. The analysis of their transformation demonstrates that their formation directly depends on the integration of small and medium-sized businesses and the growth of social activity of the population into a public space. Previously ideological public spaces become democratic and open to new uses. Change of function leads to the transformation of their planning structure. It becomes vital to find a balance between the various uses of their territory in order to prevent their loss as important open public spaces of a modern city.

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Housing construction and spatial forms of the development of Moscow agglomeration

Abstract: *The aim of the study is to identify the spatial forms of development of the Moscow agglomeration under the impact of housing construction. A concentric-sectoral model of the Moscow agglomeration includes six concentric rings tied to price barriers in the housing market and eight sectors. The spatial forms of the Moscow agglomeration growth are determined by the proportion of extensive and intensive modes of development of the territory. In 2015-2017, the extensive development mode prevailed in sharp contrast with the experience of European global cities: 50% of new housing was built in greenfield projects.*

Spatial forms of the development of Moscow agglomeration only very generally could be interpreted as urban sprawl. In fact, the mechanisms of urban growth are of different nature in different zones. The most intensive processes of sprawling occur in the north-western and southwestern sectors of the nearest suburbs, which leads to the formation of a continuous urban fabric. As the distance from the Moscow Ring Road increases, the sprawling is replaced by the strengthening of the axes of the urban growth along the highways, primarily in the north-eastern and south-eastern sectors. 70% of housing construction is concentrated in the 30-km zone behind the Moscow Ring Road.

Keywords: *housing construction, Moscow agglomeration, spatial transformation.*

Introduction

The Moscow agglomeration (metropolitan area) experienced a complex spatial transformation in the post-socialist period. One of the important factors of the Moscow agglomeration evolution is housing construction. The annual new housing supply since 2004 amounted 10-13 mln sq. m (Kurichev & Kuricheva, 2018). Housing construction causes the growth of urban areas and population increase. Many scientific works are devoted to the study of the Moscow agglomeration development. However, there are many blind spots in the study of the Moscow agglomeration. One of these gaps is the spatial structure of the Moscow agglomeration, which influence interaction with other regions of Russia. This paper is devoted to the study of concentric and sectoral heterogeneity of the Moscow agglomeration growth and to the identification of the spatial forms of the Moscow agglomeration development.

¹ Institute of Geography, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, Russia. E-mail: nk.kurichev@gmail.com

² KB Strelka, Moscow, Russia. E-mail: kuricheva@gmail.com

Overview of previous studies

The theoretical analysis of the Moscow agglomeration evolution is based on the classical model of concentric zones in the city (Burgess, 1967). A modern review of the development of such models is presented in the paper of G. Duranton and D. Puga (Duranton & Puga, 2015). More realistic are multi-core models of the city (Lucas & Rossi-Hansberg, 2002; Berliant & Wang, 2008). Based on microeconomic modelling for a given distribution of jobs in a polycentric urban structure, the localization of the population, housing prices, and pendulum travel directions in Paris was modelled (Viguié, 2015). For Paris and for Barcelona the development of sub-centres is determined by the transport infrastructure, first of all, rail transport (García-López, et al., 2016). The polycentric structure of urban agglomeration has significant positive effect on economic growth (Meijers & Burger, 2010) and is the optimal form of spatial organization, allowing to benefit from the agglomeration economies and to minimize the negative effects of congestion. Largest cities in both developed countries (Glaeser & Kahn, 2001) and emerging markets are characterized by a shift from a monocentric structure to a polycentric one. In Beijing, several trends are quite similar to the Moscow agglomeration: the expansion of the core area, the rapid growth of subcentres in the suburban area while maintaining the dominance of the core (Huang et al., 2015).

Various empirical aspects of the spatial evolution of the Moscow agglomeration under the influence of housing construction were analysed in the scientific literature: the interrelationship between migration to the Moscow agglomeration and housing construction (Kurichev & Kuricheva, 2018), changes in the structure of sales in the market of new buildings by Moscow agglomeration zones (Popov, 2018), proportion of intensive and extensive ways of development of the Moscow agglomeration in the course of housing construction (Kuricheva & Kurichev, 2018), the sprawling of urban development into the suburbs (Makhrova et al., 2012). Unfortunately, there is no comparative analysis of the Moscow agglomeration development by different sectors and axes. This study is an attempt to fill this gap.

Methodology

The analysis of the spatial development of the Moscow agglomeration is based on the results of monitoring of all housing projects under development as of 2015. Database of all Moscow agglomeration multi-storey housing projects is formed on the basis of information from development and real estate companies. On the primary housing market there were 877 multi-storey housing projects in 2015 with a total housing area of 37.5 mln sq. m. Projects of single-family house construction were not the subject of this study. Despite the significant role of this market segment in the change of land use in Moscow oblast, its contribution to the change of location of population is much less than the contribution of multi-storey housing construction.

The analysed parameters were the area of new housing, size class, land type, price of the minimum lot of housing – single-bedroom flat (Kuricheva & Kurichev, 2018). Housing projects under construction and sale are divided into types by size class: (1) a single house with housing area up to 50,000 sq. m; (2) a residential complex (30,000-150,000 sq. m); (3) a quarter (50,000 – 200,000 sq. m); (4) a district (more than 200,000 sq. m). Reason for overlapping is that projects are classified considering number of buildings, as well as commercial and social real estate in the project. Housing projects are classified by land types according to the

location of the construction site: (1) on industrial lands; (2) on residential lands (infill development); (3) on residential lands (demolition and reconstruction); (4) on non-urbanized land (greenfield projects).

The study is based on the modification of the concentric model with the allocation of six concentric rings (by three both in the core and in the suburb zone of the Moscow agglomeration) (Kuricheva & Kurichev, 2018). At the core of the Moscow agglomeration, these are the Central Business District within the Garden Ring, the Residential and Business Ring on the sites of the former industrial zones (the outer boundary of the ring is 3 km away from the Third Ring Road), the Residential Ring bounded by the Moscow Ring Road. In the suburban zone, these are the Ring of Edge Cities (the outer border is 10 km away from the Moscow Ring Road), the Suburban Ring (the outer border is Moscow Small Ring Road A 107), the Peripheral Ring located between the Moscow Small Ring Road and the border of the Moscow oblast.

For the study of sectoral heterogeneity, all 6 concentric rings of the Moscow agglomeration were divided into 8 sectors. 48 segments were used as spatial units of the Moscow agglomeration analysis. The comparative analysis of the housing construction parameters was carried out both between the sectors and between the segments of each ring. In the conditions of the high centre-peripheral gradient in spatial differentiation of land use and development, the comparison of segments from different rings is incorrect.

Results

Spatial distribution of housing construction is characterized by centre-peripheral heterogeneity [Fig. 1]. Highest intensity of housing construction is observed in the Central Business District, where construction is carried out mainly on residential lands with the demolition of old housing and reconstruction of residential units. In the Residential and Business Ring, construction is focused on redevelopment of the former industrial zones. In the Residential Ring prevail infill development in residential zones and redevelopment of industrial zones.

Half of new housing in Moscow agglomeration is built in the greenfield projects behind the Moscow Ring Road, and 30% of new housing – in large-scale projects of new districts. Large-scale greenfield provide supply of low-price of housing. Seventy percent of housing construction is concentrated in the 30-km zone behind the Moscow Ring Road.

Along with the central-peripheral differentiation, housing construction in the Moscow agglomeration is characterized by sectoral heterogeneity. In 2015, the southwestern segment, where the most expensive new housing is located, was the leader by the area of new housing in the Central Business District. The shortage of available land parcels leads to the construction of mostly single houses on residential lands with demolition of old housing and reconstruction (57% of the area of new housing) [Fig. 2]. The price of all apartments in new buildings of the Central Business District exceeds RUR 12 mln.

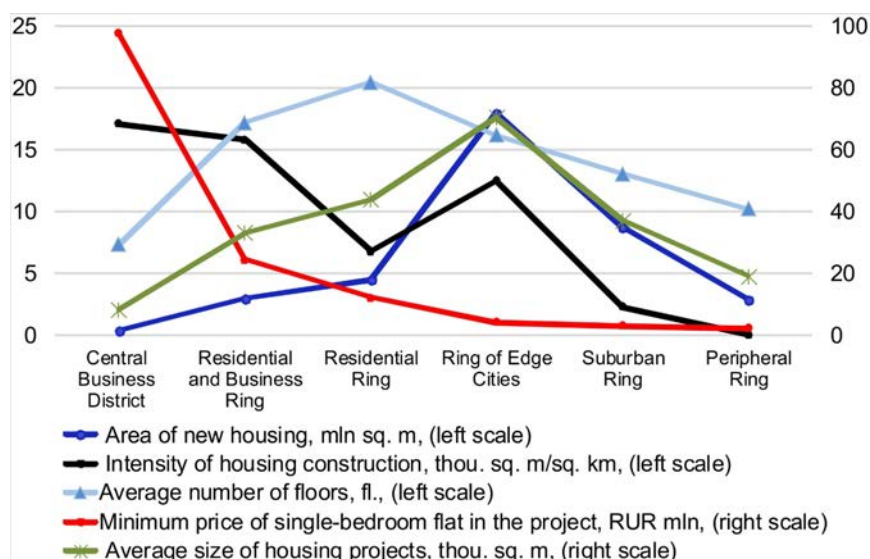


Fig. 1. Change of the housing construction parameters by the rings of Moscow agglomeration.
Source: authors

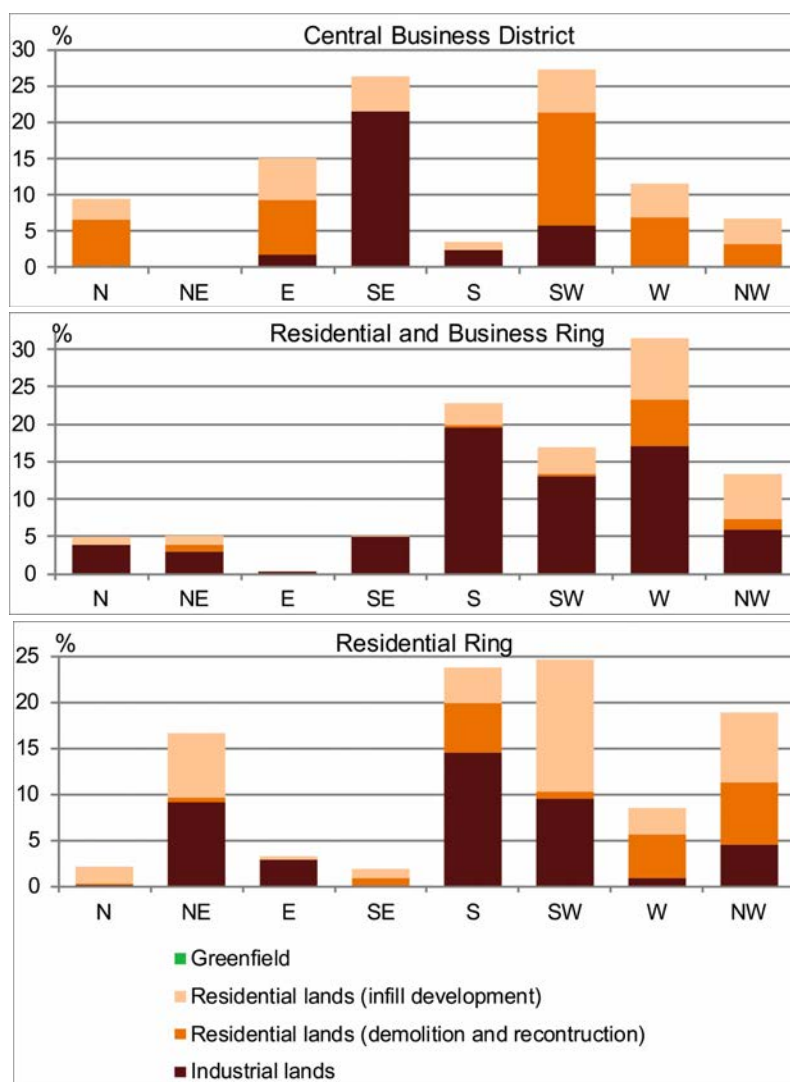


Fig. 2. Structure of housing construction by land type by sectors in the core of Moscow agglomeration (a,b,c – rings of Moscow agglomeration), %. Source: authors.

In the Residential and Business Ring redevelopment of industrial zones provides 54% of the area of new housing. The western segment was the leader by the area of new housing. However, in 2015, large-scale projects on industrial lands entered the market in the eastern and south-eastern segments. The historical west-east price differentiation in the capital, when prestigious housing was concentrated in the west and southwest, and affordable housing – in the southeast of Moscow, is changing. In the future, this trend may spread to the peripheral areas of the city.

In the Residential Ring, the leadership of the southwestern segment is caused by the combination of infill development on residential lands (59% of new housing) and redevelopment of industrial lands (39%). In all zones of the old Moscow (in pre-2012 boundaries), expensive housing is concentrated in the segment with the highest housing area under construction.

The peculiarity of the Ring of Edge Cities is high share of greenfield projects, up to 93% and 83% in the southern and southwestern segments, respectively [Fig. 3], as well as high share of large projects of districts. A half of the new housing in the north-western segment (leader by housing construction in this ring) is being built in large projects of districts. Active housing construction in the north-western segment is stimulated by huge traffic between Moscow and St. Petersburg, the second-largest city of the country and large Baltic port. High concentration of warehouses, malls and offices creates many jobs and increases demand for housing, especially in Khimki, the best-known edge city in Moscow agglomeration (Golubchikov & Phelps, 2011). Similarly, the main trend in the development of the southwestern segment is the transformation of the last low-urbanized part of the Moscow agglomeration into a part of a single urban fabric in the 10-km zone beyond the Moscow Ring Road, mostly through greenfield projects.

By contrast, for the eastern segment of the Ring of Edge Cities, the share of housing construction on residential lands exceeds 30%. The consequence of the compaction of the urban territory is the concentration of projects near highways. However, highway capacity lags behind population increase. The poor transport accessibility of the Moscow labour market paradoxically stimulates housing construction. There is a positive feedback: poor transport accessibility – low price – high demand – intensive construction – further compaction of residential development.

The combination of greenfield projects and infill development with new buildings leads to the expansion of the core of the agglomeration (urban sprawl) and the transformation of the Ring of Edge Cities into a continuous ring of urban fabric.

The Suburban Ring is characterized by a high share of infill development on residential lands. Construction is concentrated in the suburban cities near the highways. Transit-oriented development of the Moscow agglomeration in the Suburban Ring along main axes of settlement pattern (i.e., railways and highways) is especially expressed in the north-eastern, eastern and south-eastern segments with dense urban net. In the north-eastern segment (there are of new housing is highest in the ring), the share of infill development on residential land reaches 50%.

In the Peripheral Ring, housing construction is concentrated in cities, primarily, in the western, northern and north-eastern segments. Housing projects in the Peripheral Ring are scaled down in comparison with other sectors. Highest area of new housing is located in the western segment, characterized by a small number of multi-storey residential buildings, recreational attractors, better environment, and traditional prestige.

In general, the north-western, southern, southwestern and eastern sectors, where large-scale greenfield projects prevail, provide 66% of the area of housing under construction in the Moscow agglomeration.

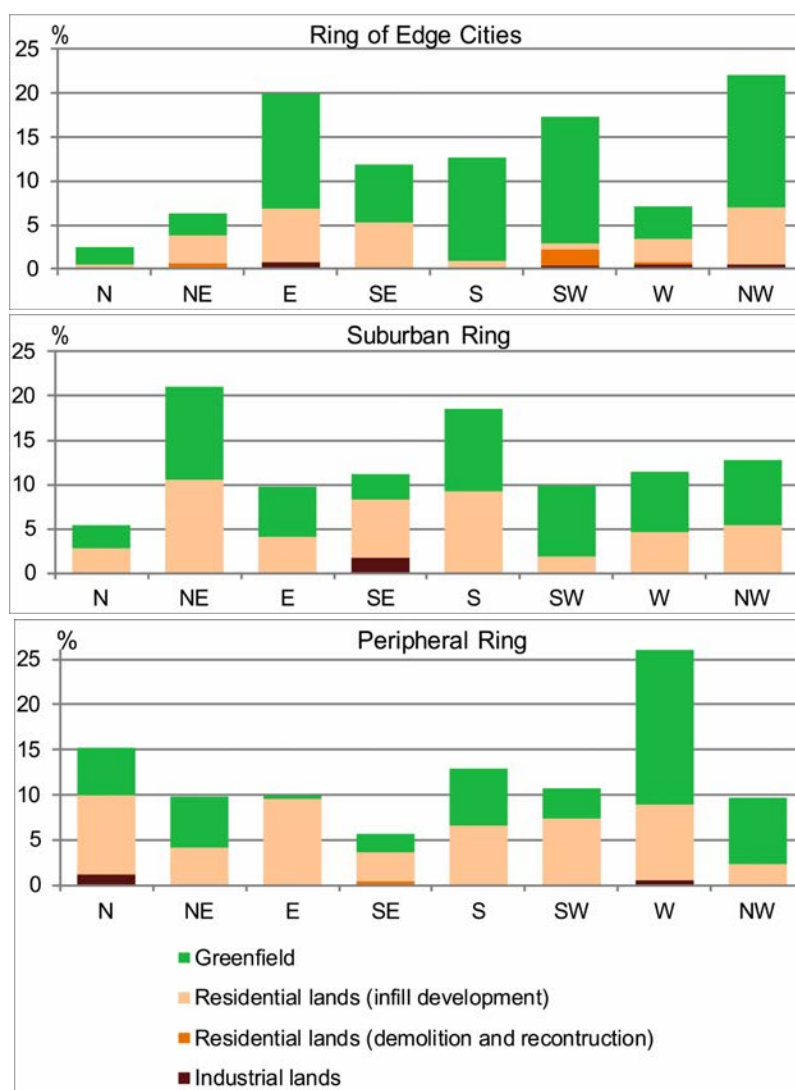


Fig. 3. Structure of housing construction by land type by sectors in the suburban zone of Moscow agglomeration (a,b,c – rings of Moscow agglomeration), %.

Source: authors.

The leadership of the north-western sector is due to the combination of greenfield projects (60% of new housing) with the infill development on residential lands (35%). Another 5% of housing is built in industrial lands. The development of territories of different genesis is reflected in the diversification of projects by the size class.

The peculiarities of the southwestern sector are associated with the accession of new territories to the city of Moscow in 2012. A distinctive feature of the sector is the highest share of greenfield projects – 80%, as well as large projects of districts (60% of new housing). The presence of the axis of high price of housing is due to the traditional prestige and the official status of the territory as part of Moscow.

The southern sector is characterized by the relatively even distribution of housing construction by rings. The western sector is distinguished by the concentration of elite housing projects with a focus on high-income buyers.

In the north-eastern, eastern and south-eastern sectors, housing construction is concentrated in the historical chain of suburban cities. Half of the new housing in these sectors is located on residential lands (infill development). In these sectors, housing construction is concentrated near main roads. The peculiarity of the north-eastern sector is the highest intensity of housing construction not in the Ring of Edge Cities (as in other sectors), but in the Suburban Ring.

Conclusions

The main trend of transformation of the Moscow agglomeration is extensive development of territories due to large-scale greenfield projects of low-price housing in 30-km zone between the Moscow Ring Road and the Moscow Small Ring Road (70% of housing construction of the Moscow agglomeration). The intensity of housing construction in this zone depresses housing prices and provides additional incentives for annual migration to the Moscow region – 230,000-250,000 people (Kurichev & Kuricheva, 2018). Regulation of the intensity of housing construction in this zone makes it possible to control the development of the national settlement system.

The core of the Moscow agglomeration evenly sprawls to the nearest suburbs in Moscow oblast (oil-spot type of growth) with the filling of inter-highway areas. The expansion of the borders of the city of Moscow in 2012 involved in the urban sprawl the last low-urbanized area of the southwestern segment. The ring of continuous urban development is formed in the near Moscow suburbs, edge cities in 10-km zone away from Moscow Ring Road are merging. With growing distance from the Moscow Ring Road, the relatively even sprawling is replaced by the strengthening of the axes of the settlement pattern along the highways, especially in the north-eastern, eastern and south-eastern segments of the Suburban Ring. In the Peripheral Ring, projects are concentrated in existing cities. Thus, the mechanisms of urban sprawl are of different nature in different rings, sectors and segments of Moscow agglomeration, reflecting the complexity of the agglomeration development.

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Lost identities of transformed urban spaces in East Germany's post-socialist cities

Abstract: After 1989, the former GDR underwent significant social, political and economic transitions that led to a shift in both the needs and the evaluation of large settlements from the 1960s and 1970s. The conditions of the transformation in east Germany were unique compared to other CEE countries: some settlements lost almost 50% of their inhabitants, and a centralized and well-endowed funding system financed the spatial transformations that have occurred over the past 30 years. In this paper, I will discuss which spatial elements were transformed, how these transformations altered the spatial identities of the settlements, and whether the spatial identities were considered during the processes of transformation. I will show how the destruction of buildings has changed the spatial configurations, highlight the structural consequences of re-zoning and privatization and show the spatial impacts technical upgrading had on the appearance and identity of the buildings and open spaces. The planning model of the "European City" has altered the settlements dramatically. I will debate whether the resulting transformations worked deliberately against modernist ideals or if external restrictions such as norms and market requirements triggered the negation of socialist modernist cities' heritage. I will draw primarily from my own research conducted over the past three years. The chair of international urban design at the KIT in Karlsruhe has worked during this time extensively on the heritage of socialist cities. We have researched the transformation of large settlements, focusing on built structures, function and density, transportation and open spaces. I will also work with existing literature on specific case studies. With comparative drawings from before and after the transformation, I will highlight structural changes, determine how significant the transformations were and how they altered the logic of the settlements.

Keywords: spatial structural transformation, East Germany, spatial identity

Background and Context

During the past decades all 171 large settlements with originally more than 2500 housing units in East Germany underwent significant transformation and although the transformation enhanced many aspects of the estates – including upgrading spatial element of the estates and beautifying public spaces and buildings -- many unique characteristics of the settlements weren't considered. Despite their similarities, they vary on many accounts in both their pre- and post-transformation iterations. They differ in size, position within the city, density, and morphology. Additionally, they exhibit significant differentiation in development patterns:

¹ KIT, Fakultät für Architektur, Fachgebiet Internationaler Städtebau und Entwerfen. E-Mail: nikolas.rogge@kit.edu

some are still shrinking while others, especially close to large cities, are relatively stable or register minor population increases. The inhabitants of some consist of relatively homogenous age groups while others have developed into relatively heterogenous districts (Nico Grunze, 2017). All have their regression in the first years of transition in common, some of the multi faced causes are described below.

Before the conversion the physical state of the settlements was in an overall poor condition. Nearby factories were closed due to consolidation processes resulting from changed ownership. The loss of workplaces led to migration within Germany. Other housing options such as single-family houses, renovated *Grunderzeit* style buildings and new subsidized apartment buildings offered alternatives to the settlements. These became more attractive partly because funding programs favoured them over the large settlements (Pfeiffer et al., 2001). Integrated development concepts focused on the renovation of inner-city quarters, and although funds also flowed into large settlements, the approaches didn't appropriately tackle settlements' problems and major parts of the large housing estates were neglected. Consequently, some settlements lost almost 50% of their inhabitants and many vacant buildings were demolished or heavily transformed (Nico Grunze, 2017: 63–64).

During the first years of transition, the initial approaches pursued a more or less non-reflective upgrading of the estates to try and overcome the many shortcomings of the still developing and omnipresent settlements, but this trend changed quickly (Wolfgang Kunz in Giseke, 2007: 136–138). Sustainable urban planning models dominated the discourse in the 1990s in West Germany. After the functional-spatial dominated models of the 1960s and the structuralist, density-oriented ideals from 1980s, these models represented a different understanding of the city that promoted integrated approaches and organic developments (Hahn, 1994). Together with the ideal of the "European City," the resulting development concepts altered the large settlements fundamentally. Paired with the soon desolate economic situation in East Germany, external and biased evaluations worsened the perception of many identifying characteristics and specifics of the GDR. Large settlements became almost synonymous with the failure of socialism and the consequences of a planned economy (Pfeiffer et al., 2001). Although the monotony critique wasn't a new phenomenon it reached in the 1990s a level that didn't allow for a neutral evaluation of the qualities and deficits of the settlements (Hannemann, 2005; Richter, 2006). In his dissertation, Richter summarized in a brief but enlightening overview the reception of the large settlements between 1990 and 2005, illustrating how they were never allowed to age but were considered areas that called for immediate action. Against this background, programs aimed to consolidate the settlements, to compensate for existing urban deficits, and to maintain and preserve the built-up fabric (Deutscher Bundestag, 1994; Liebmann, 2006).

Working in shrinking urban environments posed obvious challenges. Where built structures once formed the cityscape, voids had to be planned, giving landscape concepts an important role in the planning process (Giseke, 2007: 142). Additionally, funding programs were tied to integrated development concepts (Liebmann, 2006). These complex plans work mostly on large-scale solutions, but the overall and superordinate views didn't point to spatial solutions. Although the different specific qualities and spatial differences of the micro-districts of the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s were noted and described, the proposals vary concerning their sensitivity and consideration and often aren't specific enough to actually tackle and develop underlying spatial identities. While in many urban concepts various spatial elements were discussed, the results often ignore or even contradict the existing urban context. The high-rises

in Halle Neustadt are an excellent example of the difficulties of the debate. Although there was a differentiated discussion about architectural value and urban importance, the decision about further development was mostly dependent on economic factors. The buildings are still waiting for future development (Stadt Halle (Saale) Der Oberbürgermeister, 2017). Looking at the urban development concept of Hoyerswerda it is striking to see how the borders of the *Kernzone*, the central zone, cut right through the large settlements without consideration for spatial configurations (Stadt Hoyerswerda, 2008: 16–18).

This discrepancy between formulated goals on the one hand and elaborated integrated development concepts and implemented action on the other hand can be observed in many other examples.

Transformation Morphology and Identity

To evaluate the consequences of the transformation, underlying original principles have to be understood. Modernist planning ideals of the early districts were almost directly adopted from CIAM. Buildings were placed in a fluent, large and connected green open space. Functions that polluted or disturbed housing were isolated from the core of the settlement, and different modes of transportation were separated (Schmidt and Flierl, 1965). Later settlements were denser and more often formed from relatively closed blocks. They still reflected elements of the modernist city. Prefabrication of houses led to a strict grid, and the repetitiveness of units lent themselves often to an overall homogenous appearance. The development and use of buildings and urban typologies gave the settlements a unique cohesive character, but this was often only the result of restrictive conditions and less of urban principles.

Still, together with the societal ideals of socialism, strong neighbourhoods were formed. Micro-districts as a defining unit, with their evenly-distributed social infrastructure, are an essential characteristic of large settlements. Schools and kindergartens were usually accessible by foot and no major streets interrupted these units. At the same time, the micro-districts were relatively separate from each other, forming independent units. Given the lack of a market economy together with the basically planned allocation of people into assigned flats, the settlement had a diverse mix of inhabitants, resulting in neighbourhood structures with high levels of social cohesion and sense of belonging.

Different texts assign different attributes to the role of the orientation of buildings, the rhythm of façades, or the mix of uses and so on (Gehl & Rogers, 2013; Jacobs, 1992; Lynch, 2005; Oliveira, 2016; Quinan & Alexander, 1981). Theoretical differences notwithstanding, the significance of spatial elements for the identity, appropriation and use of the space, is common. The transformation of the urban morphology can be investigated on different scales and with different level of detail (Kropf, 1996; Oliveira, 2016). Spatial elements accentuate environments with the physical form - a high-rise can be seen from far away, for example, while a long horizontal building can guide the way. Physical barriers such as buildings and walls shield one part of the city from another; they separate calm zones from busy streets and allow different functions to be in proximity without being disrupted. The zoning of urban fabric into functionally similar areas and incremental or sudden shifts in privacy are crucial elements to generate identity within spatial environments.

Different spatial configurations that were transformed can be found on all scales. They affected entire settlements, singular micro-districts, yards and buildings. The formations can be categorized in relation to the city they are in, their position in the settlements and in relation to

the buildings they are assigned to. The later described categories and relations are only a fraction of the various and diverse configurations and can only give a glimpse into the topic. I am not following a specific framework or working systematically through all spatial elements, nor do I investigate all affected scales. Through several case studies, I will illuminate specific elements in chosen scales that are typical for the large settlements and have been significantly transformed and therefore give an insight into the gravity of the transformation. When assessing transformations, I try to refer to their original logic without projecting an external evaluation.

Spatial Formations and Elements in Transformation

A consideration of an entire settlement illustrates certain facets of its transformation, but many spatial aspects only reveal themselves on a smaller scale. Demolitions, shown in red [fig.1, fig. 2], were spread over entire settlements. The focus on the towers in Leipzig stems from their economical evaluation, they seemed unattractive at the time as they showed high vacancy rates and were expensive in renovations and maintenance, yet their demolition causes today a further lack of orientation within the settlement.

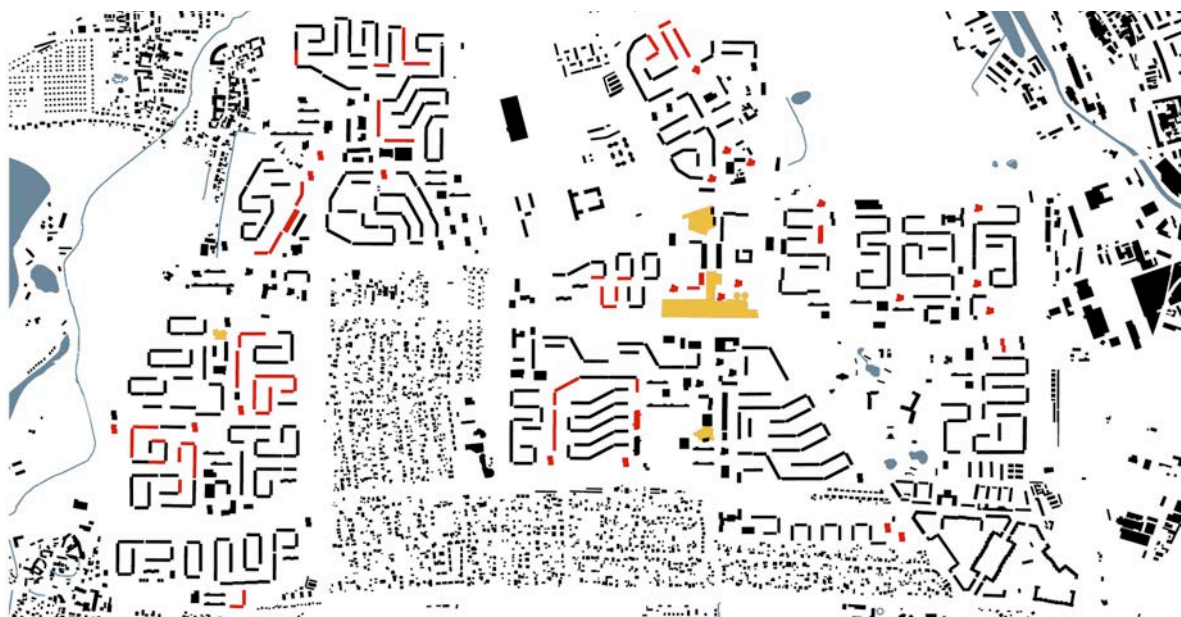


Fig. 1. Demolition and construction in Leipzig Grünau

In Chemnitz the settlement is structurally falling apart at the edges and countless gaps in the tissue make it difficult to identify the settlement as a whole. New centres with wide arrays of shopping functions (in yellow) pose a strong competition to the subcentres of outer micro-districts. Centralization, exacerbated by new public transportation lines, changed the logic of the districts and, as a result, the character of the settlement [fig.1, fig 2].



Fig. 2. Building height (left) and destruction and new construction in Fritz-Heckert Chemnitz

Streetscapes are a key spatial element to understanding the transformation of large settlements. Often, arterial roads and local streets were clearly separated and dead-ends and multiple hierarchized street systems dominated. As a result, most housing streets weren't used by through-traffic and traffic density was generally low. Only footpaths connected different dead-end streets. In contrast to common inner-city block structures, where streets form an important public space, their role in the large settlements was mostly used for transportation and served few activities aside from circulation and parking. As the settlements were not conceived from a large scale but from the orientation of the flats, houses were accessed in many cases either entirely or partly from internal yards and they didn't necessarily have a representative façade toward the surrounding streets [fig.3, fig 4].



Fig. 3. Street system in Dresden Zschernitz

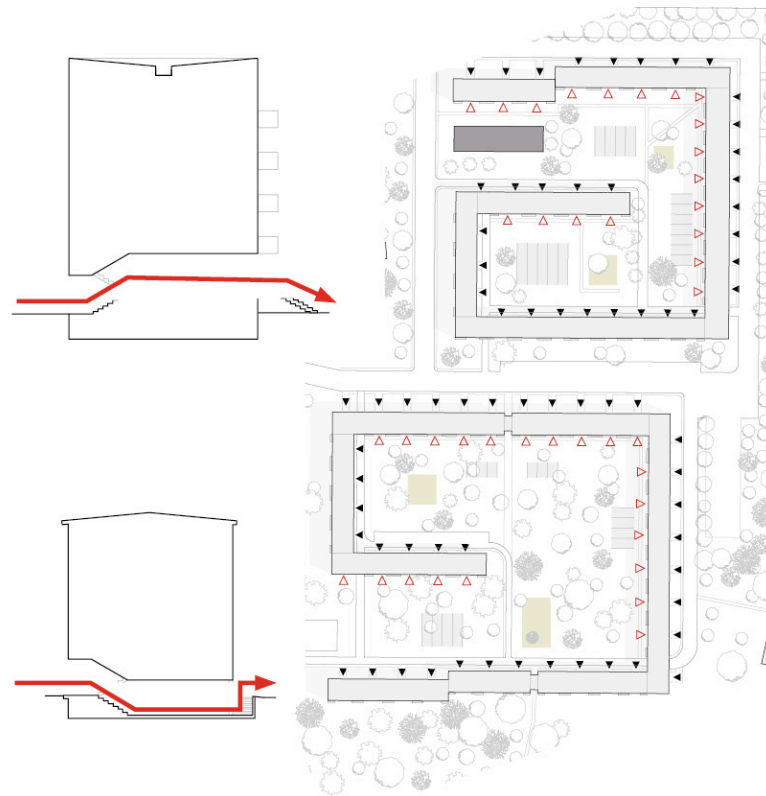


Fig. 4. Access to the yards in Dresden Zschertnitz

Perhaps the clearest identifying element of large settlements are the various yards [fig.3-8]. Depending on their accessibility, the yards were more or less actively used for drying laundry and recreational activities by the entire building. In contrast, yards without designated use and easy access were often neglected and rundown. All yards could be commonly accessed and were also open to the general public. This omni-space included side yards and the zones at the gable end of the buildings, which, without natural designation and belonging formed an important structural zone of the large settlements. They invited people into adjacent yards and allowed for shortcuts throughout. Different agreements clearly regulated the share of each party's responsibility in maintaining the spaces. Active user engagement, combined with different communal uses such as youth clubs, laundry facilities, community centres, playgrounds and sport facilities, placed in open spaces of large settlements, led to frequent use of yards. The quality of different zones depended on how they were formed, including whether building faces met each other, were closed or open at the corners, whether buildings were aligned, offset or perpendicular, etc. The complex relation of different yards to each other formed the most important characteristic of the settlements – the fluidity of these continuous open spaces being simultaneously the biggest asset and the biggest weakness of the settlements. They were strongly affected by the transformation.

After the transformation, a new spatial entity appeared: brownfield where buildings once stood. These are not a natural part of the settlements, but they are an important element of transformed sites. As a newly occurring element, their place within the structural framework of settlements isn't predefined, but their integration in the spatial system depends on the efforts made through design [fig. 5].

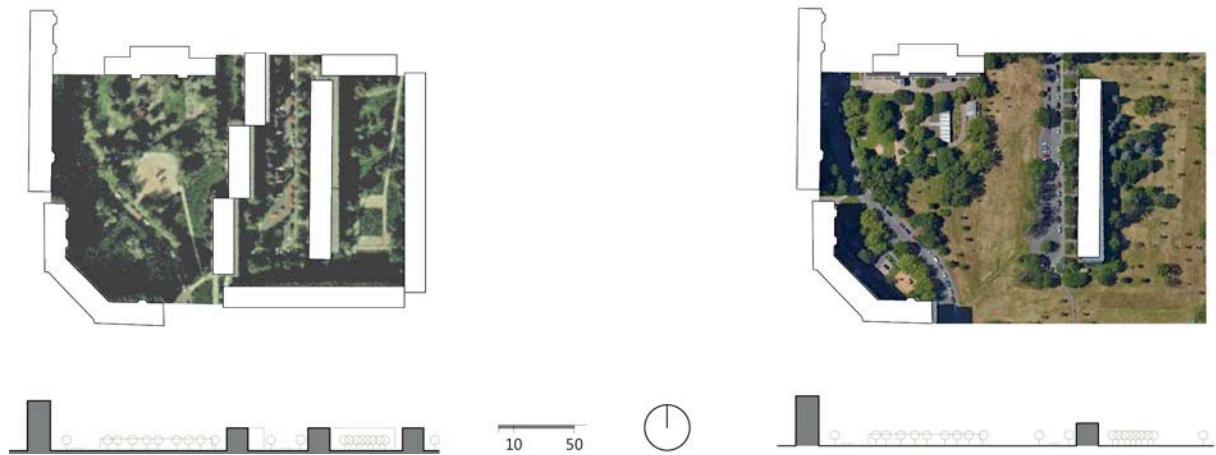


Fig. 5. Yard structure before and after demolition in Erfurt Nord

As a result of the transformations two contradicting developments can be noticed concerning the yards. On the one hand, due to the demolitions unbalanced dimension of buildings and vast open space lead to a further lack of orientation [fig.5]. On the other hand, the yards are fragmented by borders.

If entire buildings were demolished, it changed the quality of the urban tissue.

Despite municipal attempts, decisions about whether buildings were maintained or demolished depended largely on the strategy of housing association. Despite concepts that promoted shrinking from settlement borders or thinning specific urban fabric throughout the settlement (Stadt Halle (Saale) Der Oberbürgermeister, 2017, pp. 301–309), spaces that were once well-defined became vast and without orientation [fig.5, fig 7]. Since decisions about which building to demolish were highly dependent on economic value and typology and were not developed through design concepts the demolishment weakened the quality of the yards [fig.2, fig.6].



Fig. 6. Ownership and demolition in Magdeburg Neu-Reform

High-rises and buildings close to large streets often showed the least-promising economic prospects and were therefore identified for destruction, leaving yards without signifiers and open to traffic [fig. 1, fig 2, fig. 6, fig. 7]. Areas that were once shielded are no longer protected from street noise and pollution, and already large open spaces often became vast and empty fields. Instead of improving the already difficult spatial continuum, demolitions have sometimes worsened the situation [fig.7].

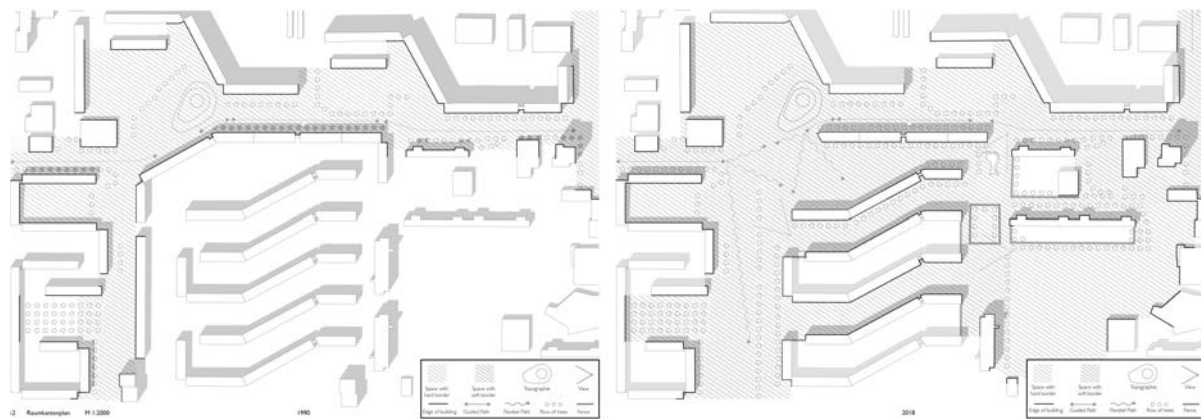


Fig. 7. Spatial configuration before and after transformation in Leipzig Grunau

At other sites, former openness was interrupted by fences. Shifts in social norms were often not properly understood and addressed, and new ownership and privatization led to a perforated urban fabric. Additionally, yards are after the transformation still often under-used, especially when they are no longer easily accessible or if a discrepancy between users and usages has not been dealt with. Closed yards, disruptive boundaries, newly constructed fences, walls and hedges have subdivided territory along borders of ownership or around public areas like schools. Despite the qualities of private gardens and courtyards for individuals, they have negative effects on entire settlements if consequences aren't considered and addressed. Difficulties of orientation stem partially from the labyrinth-like structure these settlements have developed. Communication between buildings and open spaces is disturbed and it is no longer possible to move freely through neighbourhoods. The resulting longer routes for pedestrians and bicyclists are a practical sign of the decline [fig.7, fig.8].



Fig. 8. Ownership and Borders in Magdeburg Neu-Reform

Morphologically, the most obvious transformations are the various demolitions and alterations of the buildings. In some cases, buildings were reduced in height. More often, sections were taken out, and if levels were reduced, often a terraced structure or even a slanted roof were created [fig.9].

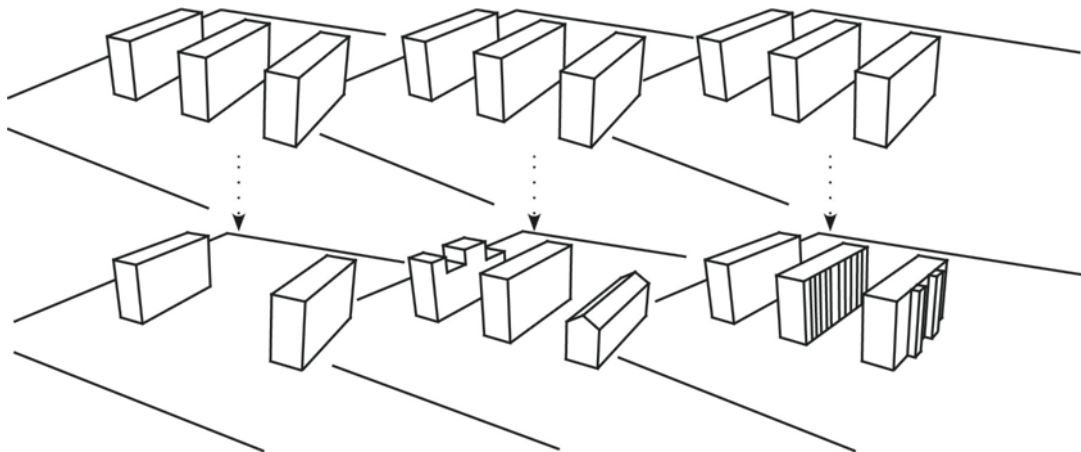


Fig. 9. Variation of Building Transformation

Even if their shape stayed the same, buildings were transformed in other ways: façades were painted, insulated and restructured; roofs were mostly technically upgraded and, for aesthetical reasons, tiled roofs were painted on or imitated by structural foils or real tiles that were attached to the upper floors. Elevators and balconies were attached to the outside of the buildings, erected both on the backsides and the entrance sides of buildings. Their vertical linearity changed the rhythm of the settlements [fig.10].



Fig. 10. Painted and Accentuated Buildings in Dresden Zscherntitz

Where horizontal lines were the dominating direction on building scale, post-transformation additions, including painting façades and adding insulation, changed the character of the buildings. These changes often masked the underlying construction, and the structural identity of the buildings was lost. In most transformation, the identifying grid of panels disappeared entirely or it was dissolved in formats that ignored the underlying structure [fig.9, fig 10].

Conclusion

Transformations of the built-up environment have altered the spatial identity of settlements, but changes in use, accessibility, greenery and social and ownership structure are also important factors. These examples of transformation explain alterations in how and by whom spaces can be used, and how they are perceived sometimes still as continuous, but more often as sequenced or separated. While many transformations have helped to create a better sense of ownership and, in some cases, of belonging, they have also led to areas without defined edges or designations. Additionally, changed ownership paired with a shifting social structure led to a lack of sense of belonging when former common places could no longer be used communally. Furthermore, neighbourhoods were separated and striped of their cohesion, points of orientation such as high-rises disappeared and the introduction of new functions such as shopping malls shifted the centre of gravity within the settlements. Fences and signs designating use, directing different groups on or off property are both cause and effect of a transformed sense of affiliation and are a symptom of inadequate approaches to post-socialist environments. The transformation of large settlements has resulted in much more than just the reduction of the housing stock or the beautification of the urban environment. It has also either coincidentally or deliberately altered spatial configurations and consequently the identity of residential environments for thousands of homes. Even if the situation in East Germany was unique I believe that many of the described consequences also occur in settlements that are growing and although transformations weren't always directed against original settlement principles – and have, in many cases, also upgraded the overall spatial quality of the settlements – they have caused a loss of identity that cannot be retrieved and should be considered for transformations to come.

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“Three-digit blocks”—the socialist imprint on the housing strategies in Eastern Europe and the Middle East

Abstract: *With the increasing spread of socialism, housing policies went through a crunch point during the middle of the twentieth century. Many cities at that time were under the control of totalitarian regimes and were forced to follow specific developmental strategies during times of low levels of economy and limited industrialisation resources. It was a dominant model that has defined the socio-political and economic movements of the countries that followed it. In that regard, this paper looks closely at two pioneering housing projects built in the 1960s, one in East Germany ‘Halle Neustadt’ and the other in Egypt ‘Ein El-Sira’. Both prototypes were established to provide identical living spaces for a large number of families of workers employed in the nearby industrial centres. They also went through phases of metamorphization along three generations after their establishment due to social and economic changes post socialist times. The German case witnessed enormous diminution in its population, which led the state to remove empty pre-fab units and renovate the facades of remaining blocks. A solution that has improved the physical condition, but not the social aspects which continue to make it a tough place to live. The Egyptian case, however, is a good example of ‘informalization’ of a formal planned project since the 1990s, where housing is no longer regarded as a human need, but rather as a profitable commodity. It is now an over-populated district with deteriorating blocks surrounded by inhuman living conditions of relapsing infrastructure and crime outbreak. The paper will identify the dominant characteristics and similarities in the performance of the socialist housing systems in both cases, while shedding the light on the reasons that led to the current condition. The objective is to find an approach that would prevent other areas from becoming a social-problem zone which might eventually lead to a politically explosive situation.*

Keywords: socialist housing, Egypt, Germany.

Introduction

“It is possible, first of all, to distinguish between buildings belonging to the grand design tradition and those of the folk tradition.” (Rapoport, 1969)

Appropriate housing policies should not be only confined to the physical, political or economic attributes, but mainly to the users’ culture, their manners, and the way they perceive their built-environment. For those policies to succeed, there is a pressing need to fulfil and support

¹ Jan Braker Architekt. E-mail: bedour.braker@janbraker.de

particular spiritual and socio-cultural needs of the users. In most cases, individuals and their communities pay the psychic and social consequences of ill-fitting environments. (Sanoff, 1988). Rapoport claims in his books that we need to have a better understanding of the complex societal issues through reflecting on preceding experiences. (Rapoport, 1969) Such rumination is imperative when it comes to reassessing former housing policies and the way they would shape our existence within our societies. In the past century, Socialism prevailed over many aspects of life and most importantly, housing policies and urban planning.

“In practice, socialism didn’t work. But socialism could never have worked because it is based on false premises about human psychology and society, and gross ignorance of human economy.” (David Horowitz, writer)

The socialist model of development has resulted in a number of central features that broadly defined the political and economic development of the countries which embraced this approach. A regime that was politically based on the ruling of one party with no tolerance for political opposition, governed by its motto “From each according to their ability, to each according to their need.” Through examining past experiences of other distant cultures yet situated within the same timeframe of the 1960s, lessons can be comprehended regarding the successes and failures of the socialist doctrine, and how to overcome undesired consequences within our existing built environment.

Two pioneering projects were built in that era, one is the ‘Workers City’ of Helwan-Egypt and the other is in East-Germany ‘Halle Neustadt’. Both prototypes followed the model of the Soviet Union which provided identical living spaces for a large number of workers who were employed in nearby industrial centres. Due to socio-political and economic transformations, both projects witnessed successes in the beginning followed by phases of metamorphization along three successive generations since the 1960s. The German case witnessed massive process of evacuation, while the Egyptian counterpart endured unhealthy human congestion. The architect Hassan Fathy in his writings argued that in order to provide a prosperous settlement, it is necessary to achieve harmony between intangible socio-economic and cultural aspects, and tangible forms of settings and planning. Based on that, this paper looks at the similarities and differences between both cases to pinpoint the distinctiveness of each. This comparison helps highlighting the problem of constancy and change through discussing how cultural and political reforms can evidently affect the housing form and vice versa.

The Workers’ City-Helwan

The Aspiration

Influenced by the socialist ideology and pressured by persisting housing problems, the Egyptian government, led by Nasser, took the responsibility of providing subsidised housing units for low-income population in the 1950s and 1960s. Many construction companies and housing foundations were established to fulfil that role under the control of the state, which meant a highly centralised institutional and financial system of new housing supply for the major stratum of the Egyptian society. It was basically a state monopoly over planning policies and housing provision that was considered as a social service precisely designated to low-income strata and the core of its economic structure; the diligent workers. To achieve this ambition, there was a need to develop industrial centres in the immediate vicinity of Cairo. Six

satellite workers cities were planned as industrial towns, self-contained with all their public facilities in: Helwan, Shubra Alkhayma, Imbaba and Giza. (Singerman & Amar, 2006) Helwan's workers city was the only one that was realised back then. It was transformed from a winter resort for the rich classes into one of the largest public housing for workers in Egypt with a heavy industrial base. (Gorgy, 1984)

The Production

The Workers' City was built on an area of 61 feddans (256,200 square meters) with about 700 dwelling units, linking their accommodating blocks with their work without exacerbating taxed traffic and transportation. It was composed of five industrial housing complexes with various typologies, comprised either multi-story walk-up flats, or two stories building of four to eight flats per unit, or longitudinal blocks with several entrances. The units in general had fixed design alternatives with predetermined standards for the size of units and were distributed according to the size of the families. The workers were given flats to rent, then they were ought to return them to the companies once they become pensioners. The layout of each settlement did not provide open green spaces with absence of essential social and physical services. This mass production was actually steered by the economic factors and national derive after the revolution in 1952, rather than the residents' needs. (Tipple, 2000). The units were typical with two to three rooms, a kitchen, a small WC/shower area and a small balcony, with areas varying between 25 and 65 square-meters. (Ahmed, 2012) In contrast to the tightness and lack of space inside the dwellings, the blocks were arranged in parallel clusters with wide public open spaces between the blocks. [fig. 1]



Fig. 1. residential blocks arranged in parallel clusters

Source: Tipple, Graham, 2012

By mid-1960s, this housing programme began to decline where the annual production of public housing units radically dropped from circa 20000 units to just 6000 during the years of the war in the Middle East (1967-1973). At that point, the government was unable to maintain those settlements, resulting in a gradual ownership of those units given to its tenants. (Sims, 2014) After the financial exhaustion of the wars, capitalism ideology was embraced with an 'Open Door' policy. A strategy that led to a rapid increase in the cost of land; the cost of construction; and profits on real estate investments, all in which boosted an imbalanced equation between supply and demand. Housing then became a commodity of consumption where the rich could buy flats while the poor left to live in slums or overcrowd their public housing (Tipple, 2000).

Since the 1990s, marketisation of the socialist housing system took its toll, and the government started new waves of public housing production in areas adjacent to the existing settlements, targeting the residents of the slums and some of the deteriorated public housing. The bad condition of existing stock and the mushrooming informalization around the housing stock in Helwan, led the government in 2000s to upgrade infrastructure networks and community facilities in existing areas funded by the World Bank and USAID. Nowadays, the current housing strategy in Egypt focuses on dealing with the existing stock, as well as supporting individual owner-builders. A strategy that can be achieved through; improving rental markets; reducing existing vacancies; and steering the housing sector (Shawkat, 2019).

The Metamorphosis

The existing public housing failed to satisfy the residents' socio-cultural needs. As a result, informal alterations transformed the blocks' identity due to; the overcrowding; the imbalance between offer and demand; and the negligence of users' needs. Those compelling transformations, however, performed as effective solutions where three generations of the same family inhabited a single dwelling: kitchens became extra sleeping spaces and balconies were added either for cooking or as an extra sleeping space. It was an attempt to overcome the sky-rocketing prices in the housing market and the inability of the youth to find the suitable residence. The exterior of the blocks is not well kept, where water and sewerage leakage appear on the walls, and the open spaces (no-man land) between the blocks served as garbage dump [fig.2 &3].

However, the construction of extensions created a great sense of communal identity than what was planned or designed originally. The external appearance of the extensions for five floors high reflected the actual needs [fig.2]. Most of the extensions were financed by contractors who received deposit from their clients and the remainder was to be paid on instalments (Ibrahim, 1987).

Deterioration was the inevitable result that affected the infrastructure and the cultural norms of its residents. Another culturally pressing aspect is the unemployment of many of those younger generations. They either wasted their time at cafes or joined thugs and vandalised the neighbourhood turning it into an unsafe district.



Fig. 2. Informal walk-up extensions

Source: Shaimaa Ashour 1999

The Social Impact: The Hidden Homelessness

Social protection is the right to survive, it is the right to a basic income, shelter, health, food and information, all of which enable people to survive and find a way out of need and destitution (Sholkamy, 2011). In the Workers' city, housing problem was tackled as an

economic issue rather than a pressing social problem. The family structure was substantially affected and was gradually transformed into a nuclear typology as a form of 'hidden homelessness' between different small families sharing one unit. Each has its own rules and structure, while the traditional authority within the family tapered off leading to unnecessary tensions. The high rates of delayed marriages also played a significant role in the overcrowding, when young couples struggled to afford a flat and had to live separately with their families or occupy balconies with their babies. It is not unusual to find an average of seven persons living in one room. Such problems among the youth can trigger a whole chain of hostile feelings. Unemployment likewise is another cause of frustration, either young generations grouping in the open spaces between the blocks, or pensioners with a lot of free time sitting at cafes, which most of the time lead to several cases of sexual harassments to women passing by. It became a neighbourhood where social protection fails to exist.



Fig 3: Deteriorated facades overlooking no man land between the buildings
Source: Tipple, Graham, 2012.

Halle Neustadt-East Germany

The Aspiration

The housing system in Eastern Europe was effectively entrenched in the overall political and economic system under the influence of socialist models. In Germany, until 1990s the state had a strategic responsibility for the whole housing system like in other former socialist countries. Similar to the Egyptian case, state institutions and enterprises had a key role in controlling the mass production. New settlements started to sprout around old centres in order to serve industrial facilities. One of the most ambitious projects of the German Democratic Republic was 'Halle-Neustadt', separate from the old city 'Halle'. Following extensive site investigations and planning, the Socialist Unity Party established the new city in 1967 at a greater distance from the chemical plants, which served as a socialist autonomous model for its

workers who were employed in the nearby industrial centres of Buna Schkopau and Leuna. It quickly developed into a prototype for the large-scale residential districts using prefab panel block buildings with 100,000 inhabitants in 1989 (Rink et al, 2010).

The Production

As a new illustrious settlement, in the late 1960s part of the population of Halle, mainly younger households with small children moved to the new high-rise houses of Halle-Neustadt (Rink et al, 2010). The housing standard was higher than in the old city which suffered from progressing dilapidation. The new inhabitants were young and disposed of a higher education level and income than the dwellers of the old city (Rink et al, 2010). When East Germany collapsed, almost a third of its population was living in prefab panel-block buildings. The socialist government gave preference to this concrete system because it was economical with an ideological orientation, inescapably panel-block buildings were erected in every East German town.



Fig. 4: Halle Neustadt

Source: Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-1982-0430-008 / CC-BY-SA 3.0, The German Federal Archive, Photo by Lehmann, Thomas.

Halle Neustadt extends east to west for approximately four kilometres and is approximately one kilometre wide. Virtually, most units are high-rise with some towers reaching eleven floors. Medium rise buildings tend to have six floors without lifts (Tsenkova, 2009). Each building was assigned to its own three-digit number and allocated around a central street which included shops, restaurants and services. The development also had impressive amount of art in its public space including fountains, sculpture, and tiled mosaics. The consumption of housing was

restricted to national standards, with fixed maximum living space per person, considering household structure and number of children (Tsenkova, 2009).

The Metamorphosis

In 1990 Halle merged in with Halle-Neustadt. Many factors influenced their population at that time; massive outmigration to West Germany after the reunification as a consequence of deindustrialization and job losses; the demographic ageing; and the decrease in birth rates which left the city vacant in many areas, all led to a significant urban shrinkage since the union (Rink et al, 2010). Many empty prefabricated buildings were then dismantled with the focus on the disposal of hazardous substances (Grossmann and Kabisch, 2015). In those areas, social infrastructures and amenities were no longer improved but only maintained in an acceptable quality for the remaining residents. The outmigration also led to declined tax revenues for the municipal budget in Halle which was urgently needed to maintain the infrastructure (Rink et al, 2010).

In Germany, dense residential areas with multi-storey blocks represented 16% of the stock in East Germany. Whereas, in West Germany, only 5% of the existing housing stock consisted of large housing estates, and housing vacancies reached up to one million flats (13% of the total housing stock) at the turn of the century (Grossmann and Kabisch, 2015).

The Social Impact: A social Erosion

"It was difficult, the factory was closed, and then you stand in the street and do not know where to go." (An old pensioner from Halle Neustadt)

After the reunification, thousands of people were sacked and left the district, leading the state to either demolish or renovate many blocks which partially improved the physical condition of the city. Unfortunately, it did not address the wider social issues such as unemployment, poverty, aging population and mixed cultural groups.

Its population declined from 100,000 in 1989 to 46,000 in 2008 inhabitants. (Rink et al, 2010) The Inhabitants are currently a mix of in-migrants who do not have a strong attachment to the location, consequently, do not have the motivation to engage in local initiatives and activities. It also accommodates foreigners and immigrants, which brings in new blood as well as cultural diversity.

In 2008 the census recorded 8,938 foreigners of 3.9 percent of the total population. The majority originated from Vietnam, Russia, Ukraine, Iraq and Turkey. Despite all vivid reforms, social problems are increasingly becoming visible due to; Isolation; unemployment; lack of prospects including adolescents; increasing drug use and alcohol; increasing neighbourly conflicts; land use conflicts; and extreme poverty (Geiss et al, 2002). Similar to the Egyptian case, we find unemployed men between the ages of 40 and 60, who meet in public places to discuss their situation while sharing drinks. One of the residents expressed her dissatisfaction and said, 'it was a mistake to move here'. She does not feel safe, and if she had the financial resources she would have left immediately (Briest, 2016).



Fig 5: Vacant outdoor spaces in Halle Neustadt

Source: Bundesarchiv, B 145 Bild-F089030-0001 / Thurn, Joachim F. / CC-BY-SA 3.0
The German Federal Archive, Photo by Thurn, Joachim F.

Conclusion

Through examining both cases, it became apparent that the housing policy progressed through four phases:

1. Establishing the Socialist Housing System (1950–1970): focused on housing supply and was run by state construction enterprises.
2. Reforms of the Socialist Housing System (1970–1980): allowed different organisational forms of housing provision for higher share of private ownership of the housing stock.
3. Marketization of the Socialist Housing System (1980–1990): promoted for this line of production
4. Metamorphization of Socialist Housing (1990-present): problems with quality and maintenance clearly indicated a growing social crisis in both regions.

Both cases shared space morphology, political influence and the time span while differed in culture, traditions and regions. One went vacant while the other over crammed, yet, both of them witnessed almost the same social problems. It proves that there is a strong intertwined relation between behaviour and form. We need to comprehend motivations, traditions and needs of the user as a tool to shape the built environment, and at the same time consider physical settings as catalysts for societal attitudes within built spaces. The objective of housing policies should not focus solely on housing provision as a service, rather, to promote self-

sustaining social and economic development at the community level, the awareness of community integration and increasing the sense of belonging. It is our responsibility as urban planners to base our strategies on the users' needs and cooperate with the inhabitants especially the low-income groups in order to maintain their needs and sustain their Livelihood assets.

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CHAPTER 4

Contested functions of (socialist) architecture in post-socialist cities

In former socialist countries, architecture was state-sponsored discipline, supposed to “crystallize the new forms of socialist life” and become official visual and spatial expression of national culture.

The program of architecture correlated with political and social program, embodying thus different social, cultural, educational, political, ideological and representational functions. The building types such as cooperative houses, culture homes, workers' homes, (youth) memorial centres, workers' universities, and many others were seen as "social condensers" of a time, progressive and visionary enterprises, whose architectural qualities educated masses, represented and promoted values of "new society". The collapse of socialist state made this architectural production de-contextualized, but also, architectural discipline out of consideration for its capacity to make change.

The session deals with new social, political, educational, representational roles and functions of architecture in the post-socialist era. It questions the capacity of contemporary architecture to promote and support the change in time of transition. Can architecture be on the forefront of change, as it used to be? What are the values of architecture in society in transition, and what are architectural values? Is there "great architecture" in transition? What are the values of state architecture nowadays?

Another approach to the topic considers strategies for re-approaching, re-use, re-programming, re-modelling and re-branding of former buildings and sites of socialist-state. Their often disputed volume, spatial capacity, visual abstraction and emptiness is taken for (speculative) resource in turbulent process of spatial and architectural re-appropriation and new (commercial) use. Can the (socialist) heritage be utilized in such process, as an interim strategy, until new architecture evolves? Can they enclose, once again, content resting on the progressive societal, cultural, artistic (and ideological) ideas? Can it help to understand and rehabilitate the discipline of architecture? Is their temporary occupation solution for their transition into more certain future, which embraces their actual values?

Dragana Konstantinovic, Department for Architecture and Urbanism, FTS Novi Sad

Miljana Zekovic, Department for Architecture and Urbanism, FTS Novi Sad

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Size matters: problem and potential of *bigness* of public socialist buildings

Abstract: *In the period of socialist Yugoslavia, the size of buildings was not only a result of form and function in architecture, but also, and maybe primarily, a question of representation and support of the ruling ideology. With the failure of the predefined goal - an idealised communist society - the size of these buildings lost its original role, and their bigness, became an issue in the process of rationalization, following the transition process in post-socialist societies. This paper deals with possible scenarios for the future of big public buildings, in the current realms of transition in post-socialist societies. Three different building types are considered in this research - infrastructural, memorial and public (sports and recreation). Taking their architectural, societal and symbolic values which are maintained even in post-socialist cities as a starting point, the presented case studies give inputs for various methodologies and scenarios for their reutilisation, revitalisation, reconstruction, reactivation and reprogramming. These studies, although speculative in their nature, are based on the research of historical and contemporary background. This open and unbiased approach, has for its final goal the comprehension of the bigness as a major/key potential for the future life of these buildings.*

Keywords: *Yugoslavia, socialist modernism, public buildings, bigness, reconstruction, re-programming*

The changing context of The Big

Within the context of former Yugoslavia, building Big was the general attitude in the years of state stabilisation and development. The size, especially of public buildings, mediated aspirations, determinations and commitment toward an idealized future, which is an infallible representative of this kind of ideology. This paper deals with buildings whose 'bigness' was the result of (politically) ambitious programming of architecture, in terms of quantity and spatiality, but also diversity of functions. This strategy resulted in two typological lines of the Big: one where the main function of the building was expanded by accompanying programmes and spaces - supporting it; and the second one, where programmatic diversity under one roof was initiated and preserved by 'cover programme', whether that was sport, culture or memorial, which programmatically and spatially developed into the centre. In both

¹ University of Novi Sad, Faculty of Technical Sciences, Department of Architecture and Urbanism. E-Mail: konstan_d@uns.ac.rs

² University of Novi Sad, Faculty of Technical Sciences, Department of Architecture and Urbanism. E-Mail: slobodan.jovic@uns.ac.rs

cases, the programme and its outcome - the big space, reflect social aspirations and a general decision to promote and enable social welfare.

With the failure of the predefined goal – an idealised communist society - the size of these buildings lost its original role, and their 'bigness', became an issue in the process of rationalization, following the transition process in post-socialist societies. Implementing the market-oriented system of management led to, among other effects, reduction of the state apparatus, public property and state participation in the market. As a result of systemic rationalisation, the size of buildings became a 'burden' to deal with, usually resolved by methods of building destruction, or privatisation, which almost always had partial or total destruction of the building, as its final outcome.

In this paper we speculate about possible approaches and scenarios for the after-life of big buildings of the Yugoslav era. The process of de-contextualization of such buildings - planned for massive sport/cultural events or urban infrastructure is illustrated and studied by three building types. Their selection is indicative for the elaboration of different design strategies, since they represent buildings in different conditions within contemporary contexts, regarding their general utilization: Central Train Station Novi Sad (Imre Farkaš & Milan Matović) epitomizes the process of modernization within the city and the Vojvodina region, and still has its original and unquestionable function; Vojvodina Sports and Business Center (Spens) in Novi Sad (Živorad Janković & Branko Bulić) a complex public sports and recreation facility adjacent to the city centre, has challenging prospects for its integral future; and Revolution center (*Dom Revolucije*) (Marko Mušić & Associates) is an unfinished memorial and cultural center in Nikšić (Montenegro), which never housed its original programme. These three buildings are approached through various design strategies, which stem from today's perspective of their unstable future. In all 3 cases the authorities are unable to come up not only with adequate management and financial models for these structures, but even with basic ideas about what they should be under the new economic and political circumstances. The only employed 'solution' is space commercialization, which is not a bad strategy *per se*, but it is done at the expense of architectural integrity, and almost as a rule, in the worst architectural manner. This, in return, even decreases the attractiveness of these public buildings, and such negative parameters provide the authorities with even-more convincing argumentation to privatize the complexes fully or close them down, absolving them from taking the responsibility for the future of these complexes as public spaces, which were originally financed by all citizens, who decided so on local referendums, making them truly a materialization of democracy and inseparable from the public sphere (Bede, 2018; Konstantinović et al. 2017).

Train Station Novi Sad – a paradigm of (social) modernization

The construction of the Novi Sad Train Station began in 1963, after the major infrastructural works were completed: the railway was relocated to the north of the city, opening it towards river banks, while repositioning the service and industrial zone along its new route, next to the DTD canal, and opening the new railway bridge across the Danube supporting the new traffic route.

The station was opened on 31 May 1964, only 15 months after construction began, representing several important features: the capacity of the society, and particularly the city to undertake such a big infrastructural project including relocation of the railway and industrial facilities; the importance of the railway for further city and regional development;

the starting point of the new city's boulevard (Boulevard of October 23rd), which was routed across existing small-scale urban fabric, as a spatial and morphological manifestation of the new (modernist) urban concept. The Station was, even in its conception, set as an 'architectural paradigm of the transformation of Novi Sad's urban tissue into a modern city, incorporating all the social, cultural, ideological and architectural tasks of its time' (Konstantinović et al. 2017: 48). These numerous layers of the building's context and its roles within the urban and social fabric are notable in various aspects of the building's design,³ but most indicative in the programmatic diversity of spaces, which not only support its major function - a transient space for passengers, but reflect the welfare and standards of the new society. This is seen in the vast and monumental hall, restaurant, *bistro*, comfortable waiting rooms, the separate building wing for administration, with an atrium garden and separate festive entrance...Perhaps the most intriguing feature of the building is the large cinema theatre, which was, allegedly, intended to be used by passengers waiting for their transfer.



Fig. 1 & 2. Train Station Novi Sad (top of the photo) and Boulevard of Liberation (former Blv. October 23rd). Right: Cinema Hall (photo by Relja Ivanić).

After the dissolution of the country, and the start of the social transition process, the railways fell into decay. Today, the results of these processes are obvious in building: the larger commercial parts, restaurant and *bistro* are deserted, the main hall is being fragmented and commercialized, the cinema hall is completely invisible and inaccessible for the public, and the general maintenance is poor. The reconstruction of the railroad and its modernization for high-speed trains will affect this station, but there is no re-programming strategy for the building as a whole.

The design studio APKP⁴, realized in the winter semester of 2016/2017, addressed possibilities and strategies for the Train station's future. The approaches had to tackle different issues placed in a wide span of contextual topics, developmental strategies on

³ The finishing materials include solid and durable materials, such as 15 types of marble, wood veneers, and similar.

⁴ APKP abbreviation of course name (in Serbian) Architectural Design of Complex Programmes.

global and local scales, approaches in reconstruction and reprogramming, but also speculate about their applicability and effects onto the building and surrounding area.

The outcome of the studio was twofold. Six different scenarios were produced, resting on conceptually different strategies, speculating on the diversity of approaches, in contrast to narrow comprehension on re-use and re-programming in common approaches to reconstruction and refurbishment. Most of them rest on spatial capacity which enables the creation of new inside structure - programmatic and infrastructural platform for new styles and forms of life and work [Fig.1], providing space for completely new concepts of Railway transformation, on a larger scale; or providing spatial infrastructure for programmes coming from the city's ongoing projects in culture, such as Novi Sad European Capital of Culture 2021 [Fig.2]. The experience of the studio work was re-examined and synthesized into a design and programming strategy for the station's public spaces, which was afterwards partly implemented into the reconstruction design project, which is being developed within the Serbian railway modernization project.

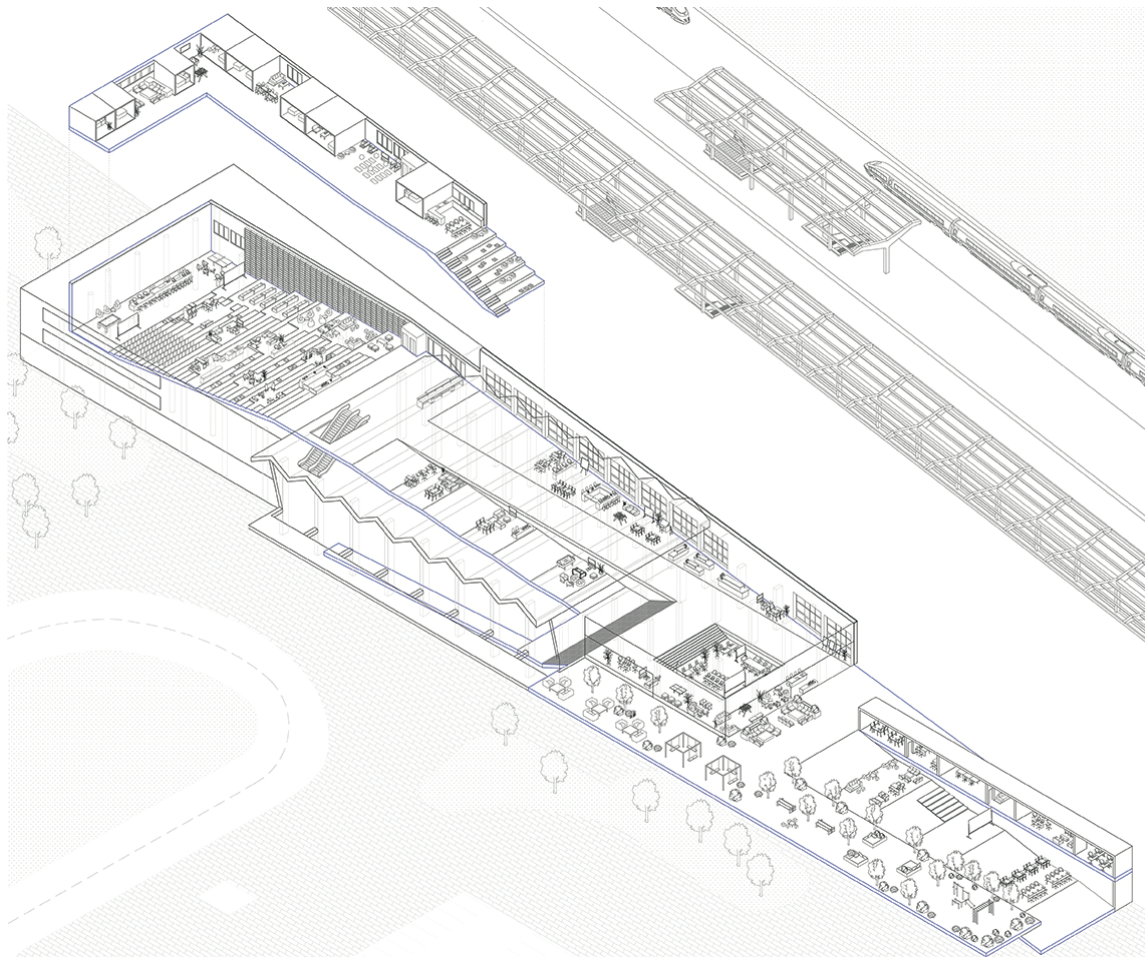


Fig. 3. The complex of Train Station with infrastructural and programme platform - design studio

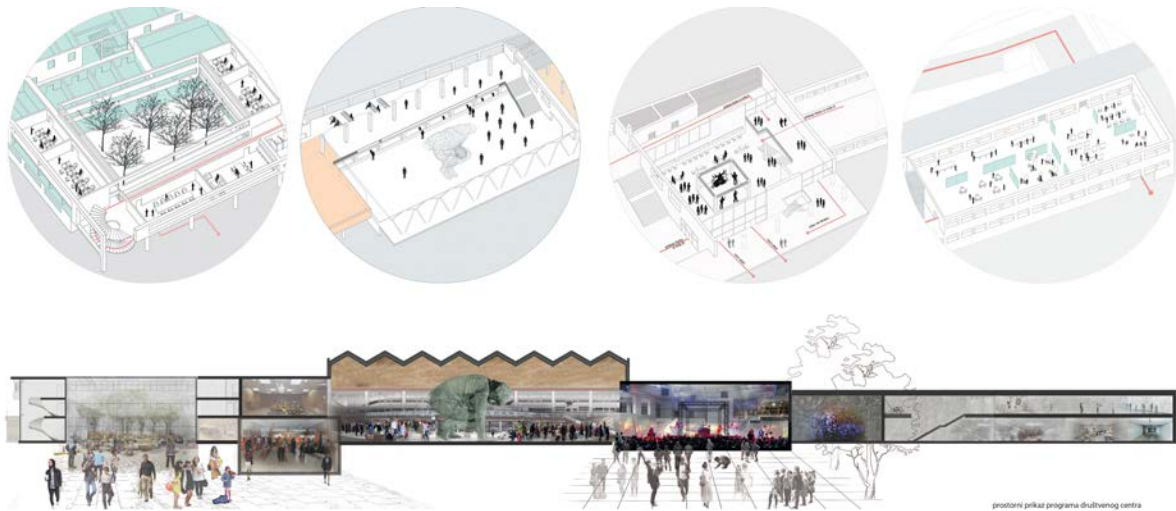


Fig. 4. The Train Station as ECoC Novi Sad 2021 Venue

Spens: complex and (politically) obsolete

In the late seventies, Novi Sad was already recognizable for its Modernist urban fabric, highly developed in terms of economy, infrastructure and institutions, with numerous organizations and associations active in various domains of public life. This social and economic background was crucial for the materialization of initiative of the municipal youth and physical culture associations, with the goal of expanding the offer of sports facilities for mass physical activities (Brankov, 2001). At the same time, the city entered the bidding procedure to host the Table Tennis World Championship⁵, planned for 1983. In this context, the project and the building of Sports centre 'Vojvodina' was anticipated, built and opened in 1981, The design project of Živorad Janković, represents one of four architectural pieces belonging to the same typology of complex mix-use centers, built across former Yugoslavia.⁶ They represent a rather unique approach in dealing with demands of massive public activities under one roof - precise and efficient spatial layout of architectural megastructure which 'no longer needs the city', because, 'it is the city' (Koolhaas, 1995).

The bigness of Spens, housing: large sport hall (3000 m² court size), small sport hall (1375 m² court size), Ice hockey rink, indoor Olympic swimming pool, Judo arena, Boxing court, Wrestling Hall, Table tennis hall, Bowling alley and Congress centre, with the total surface area of cca 90.000,00 m², became its burden over time. In the nineties, the facility was transformed into Sports and Business Centre 'Vojvodina' public enterprise, and the renaming caused, among other things, the major current misconception of the building nowadays: it is being constantly criticized for its low rate of business revenue, due to bad management, aging structure and unattractive retail space⁷. Recently, the adjacent lot was sold to a private investor and a new shopping mall emerged in less than 18 months, demonstrating the 'effectiveness' of the retail space to generate money. This comparison between two "giants"

⁵ SPENS is modified abbreviation of the Championship which became synonymous with the building, ever since.

⁶ The Vojvodina Sports and Business Center in Novi Sad (also known as Spens, architects Živorad Janković and Branko Bulić); the Sport and Cultural Centre Skenderija in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina (with H. Muhasilović); Universal-purpose arena and commercial centre Koteks-Gripe in Split, Croatia (with S. Rožić); and the Social and Sports Centre Boro i Ramiz (Palace of Youths and Sports) in Priština, Kosovo (with H. Muhasilović).

⁷ The diagram in Figure 5 depicts the share of the commercial space in total building area.

placed next to each other, even led to unsupported statements of city officials about an ultimate solution for Spens - its demolition, despite the fact that Novi Sad does not have a single sport facility to house professional sport. After numerous unsuccessful attempts to find strategic private partners, or investors, Spens continues its financially challenging existence, still successful in hosting various sport tournaments, concerts, youth and professional sport practices and games, with more than 820.000 visitors per year. The architectural testing of possible scenarios was conducted in this context, and employed two strategies. The first one was thorough examination of the original design project, which is currently incomprehensible in the building which underwent uncontrolled fragmentation and remodelling over time. This gave insight into completely unrecognizable space logic, particularly of spaces on the first level, servicing the sports arenas. There we met an almost utopian condition of common public circulation space, which provides access to various sport venues which could, in idealized conditions, host events simultaneously. Whether this was a result of the design brief which focused on organizing the Championship, or a simple materialization of the idealized condition of the society overwhelmed by the spirit of mass sport activities, nowadays this incredible service area is the least animated space occupying a substantial part of the total area. This was the starting point for employing the urban logic in approaching the complex, along with investigating the possibilities of **re-rooting the complex** into the new urban context with the shopping mall next to it. In this scenario, the corridors become streets - public space, which is **re-programmed**, specialized in some way, recognizable by its connecting potential. As a shortcut, re-branded route, cycling route, or simply a rediscovered one, initiated by the new urban situation, they trigger the new functionality of adjacent spaces, in various outputs and programmes, based on programmatic tension and friction, making the opportunity for the creation of an urban social condenser.⁸

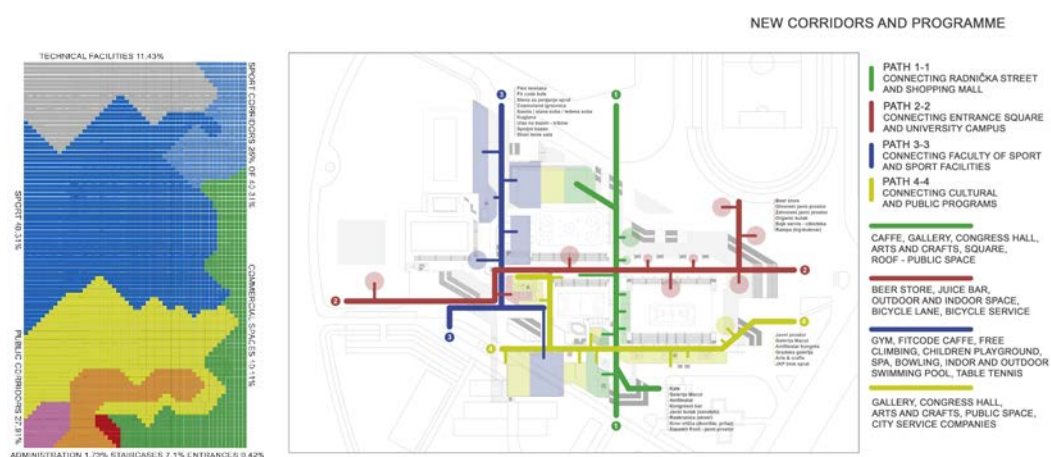


Fig. 5 & 6. Diagram of current programmes and their share in overall building area. Right: Concept of the new corridor/street network and programming

The second strategy was based on emotional and ideological reflections of the building. The construction of Spens was also the result of a declared political strategy for amateur and professional sport and recreation. Over time, Spens became a symbol for sport, attached to

⁸ Authors Aranicki, Zeković and Žugić (2018) write about the difference between hybrid and social condenser, which lies in relation between the programmes - their segregation vs. connection. Also, the term "social condenser" has indicative origin in contexts which promoted the community and common space.

the collective feeling of success and home of numerous local sport legends. This strategy tried to reinvent the ideological and emotional part of Spens, looking for solutions in the holistic and contemporary lifestyle context. In that research, Spens became an urban eco utopia propagating healthy lifestyles, balance of body and soul, organic food and recreation. Reinventing the ideological layer of the building in this approach increases the importance of the building in the contemporary context.



Fig. 7 & 8. Investigation of new visual layout SPENS as urban eco utopia

Revolution Center in Nikšić – an abandoned revolution

The emotional and ideological layer of socialist era buildings is clearly obvious in the never-finished building of Revolution Center in Nikšić. Designed as a memorial of the communist revolution, this building underlines all paradoxes and contradictions of the Yugoslav society in the 1980s. With this ambitious project, local communist apparatus tried to keep the flame of already ‘tired’ communist ideology. In the developing situation, this strong will led to unreasonable growth of the briefed programs resulting in almost doubling the square footage proposed in the original design. The contradiction was that ‘the unrestrained growth of the building legitimized by its nominal purpose of commemorating the revolution, led to a project with many social uses but at a scale designed without any thought for the facility’s sustainability’ (Mrduljaš, 2018). Thus, even presented as a logical assembly of numerous programs, the ideological meaning of the building actually covers a huge appetite of local cultural and political stakeholders. This appetite was supported by strong modernization in past decades, transforming Nikšić from a modest rural town to one of the strongest industrial cities in Yugoslavia. In line with that, the ideological dogma was unquestionable.

“Every kind of political culture uses architecture for what can, at heart, be understood as rational, pragmatic purpose, even when it used to make symbolic point. But when the line between political calculation and psycho-pathology breaks down, architecture becomes not just a matter of practical politics, but a fantasy, even sickness that consumes victims.” (Sudjić, 2011).

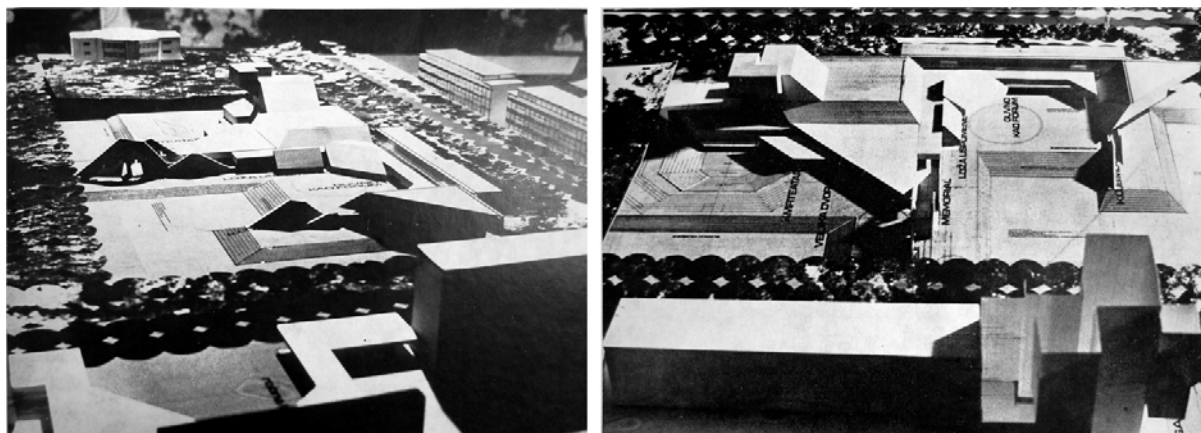


Fig. 9. Model of original project from 1976

After the fall of communist ideology and entering the transitional period, this building was stuck in-between two social paradigms. Without ideological strength, but with the strength of the already constructed concrete structure, this unfinished building became the city's unavoidable problem. Even unfinished, this structure clearly presents the house's main ideas. The concrete structure frames the enormous space and shapes the indoor and outdoor of the building. With its significant position in the urban matrix, this building was designed as a porous structure including a strong pedestrian path, originally called *promenada*, conceived as 'city walking street' and generator of spontaneous interaction of citizens with implemented programs. After decades of ignoring this problematic situation, in 2015 the Nikšić municipality decided to organize an architectural competition for the Revolution centre's revitalization and reutilization. Without any briefed programme, the intent was to get ideas dealing with both spatial and programmatic aspects.

Our competition project⁹ deals with creating a new context and value system through spatial interventions, updating the programmes, their diversity and sustainability. With an ideological utopia as the starting point, Mušič continued to develop the project during the designing process, constantly enlarging the horizontal and vertical building plans to the point of absurdity, making in that way his personal utopia. In line with this, our competition project proposes the idea of a **metacontextual utopia** – utopia based on layers of all ideas and proposals from the past, proposing the organic growth of the new programme. In the aspect of quality, this concept tries to achieve several different goals. Considering the original project from 1976 and the current situation, **rationalization** of the space was a necessary process. **Economic sustainability** is based on commercializing part of the building and conforming to new economic context. Also, this proposal tried to **activate** the original project's main ideas, reactivating and developing the concept of *promenada* and supporting spontaneous use of space by the local cultural stakeholders, through spatial interventions and the pop-up concept. The **symbolic** meaning of the building was kept through the memorial aula promoting the concept of 'memory of memorial', exhibiting complexing history of the building.¹⁰

⁹ Authors of competition project: Dragana Konstantinović, Miljana Zeković, Slobodan Jović, Višnja Žugić, Bojan Stojković

¹⁰ Text from competition entry.

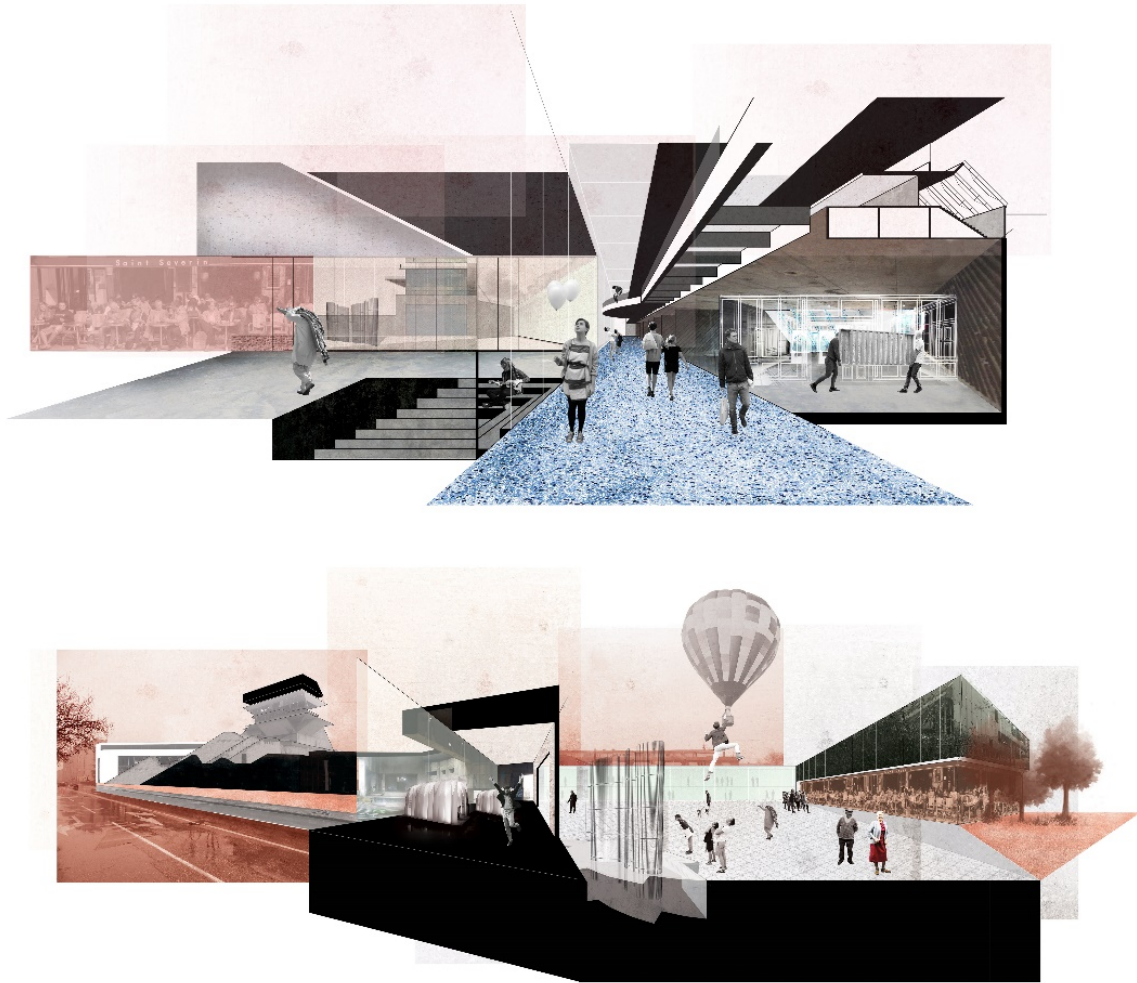


Fig. 10. Collages of competition project

Re-inventing potential of the Big

Considering the original ideas of these buildings and all presented strategies, we can emphasize the importance of 'bigness'. Although each of these buildings seeks a unique approach, based on its own specific context, there are some common points. Starting with the importance of **'the overall approach'** that contains all spatial, social, political, economic and historical layers. One-dimensional approaches to this kind of buildings led us to wrong conclusions which usually finish with bad solutions. Also, enormous space provides potential for **re-programming** buildings and various spatial possibilities. This is important because the potential of re-programming means potential for the 'long life' of the building. As considered before, ideology was both the base and cover-up for programmatic and spatial bigness. So, **re-inventing 'ideology'** of these buildings will empower their current status in society and give new strategic ways for further development.

Before all of this, we should change the perception by transforming the problem into potential. Taking this as the starting point we will be able to seek solutions in various strategies, bringing new qualities to the architecture of this period.

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Recourse to utopia: architecture and the production of sense without meaning

Abstract: *Thinking through the Boko Masterplan (Zaha Hadid Architects, 2018) and the Museum of Contemporary Art, Belgrade (MoCAB) (Ivan Antić and Ivanka Raspopović, 1960) this paper attempts to understand the efficacy of architecture in the production of subjectivity, both during and post-communism in Yugoslavia's former capital, Belgrade. Both buildings embody that which Jill Stoner terms major architectures, 'the architecture of state and economic authority.' Seeking to explore how deep ideological signifiers lie in the texture of a built structure, I explore by way of comparison Yugoslav-socialist architecture and neoliberal architectures, as embodied by my two examples. The purpose of this is to recognize the difference in subjective production within two different political regimes, within the same terrain at different points in history, whereby the citizen themselves becomes indivisible from their conditions of subjective emergence. Where MoCAB pre-formulates a subject of state-socialism, rendering one's positions within as always part of a larger social machine, Hadid's plans are reliant on the protection afforded by literal and experiential enclosure. The former is a node upon which the collective consciousness of the Yugoslav citizen would supposedly rest, while the latter eschews that which is subjectively and spatially outside of itself, relying instead of the grandeur of its own form to dictate the direct – but isolated – experience of those subjects to whom it is accessible. Hadid's project is perhaps instead evocative of the severing of direct social relationships as is understood in theorisations of contemporary neo-liberalism, while MoCAB gestures towards a universal sociality beneath which its subjects are supposedly equal. What can be understood from this exploration is the efficacy of architecture in the production of subjectivity and the subsequent spaces for resistance within and beyond this subjective capture.*

Keywords: Architecture, Neoliberalism, Post-socialism, Subjectivity, Utopia.

"One does not need a desert island to become an individual, but, on the contrary, an entire city." (Read, 2016: 3)

Both the Boko Masterplan (Zaha Hadid Architects, 2018) and the Museum of Contemporary Art, Belgrade (MoCAB) (Ivan Antić and Ivanka Raspopović, 1960) embody breaks with the past. The former is a manifestation of what Patrik Schumacher, Principal at Zaha Hadid Architects, has termed Parametricism. Creating form through algorithmic computer processing mechanisms, Parametricism evokes fluidity through its morphology, creating an aesthetic that

¹ Goldsmiths College, University of London. E-Mail: georgejepson@me.com

seeks to break aggressively with both modern and post-architecture. The latter is held to be a masterwork of a Yugoslav strain of Modernist architecture; symbolic of a jump into modernity made by the Yugoslav state and of the progressive national identity that its contemporaneous state government sought to propagate. Both embody that which Jill Stoner terms major architectures, 'the architecture of state and economic authority' (Stoner, 2012: 7).

This paper attempts to understand the efficacy of architecture within this *dispositif* of subjective production and question how deep ideological signifiers lie in the texture of a built structure? In his *Toward a Critique of Architectural Ideology*, Tafuri recognizes the impetus of architects in becoming political agents:

Architecture now accepted the task of politicising its own handiwork. As agents of politics, architects had to take up the challenge of continuously inventing advanced solutions at the most generally applicable levels. Toward this end, ideology played a determinant part (Manfredo, 1998: 9).

Expressed in the very fact that a monument would be constructed to embody the multi-ethnic reconciliations of the young Yugoslav state or equality in terms of habitation, that the individual subject would recognise their own role as a constitutive component of a mass socialist subjectivity; they are an element of the state-socialist subjective machine. This is clear in the design, positioning, and current status of MoCAB.

Much of New Belgrade's structures were awarded by competition, which aligned with a socialist model which sought to allow equal opportunity to architects from across Yugoslavia to build in territories not necessarily their own. This was a manifestation of Yugoslavia's claims to a multi-ethnic but cohesive national identity; one of commensurable difference. Completed in 1965, from the award-winning plan of architects Antić and Raspopovic, the museum occupies an important place in the developing territory of New Belgrade. Acting as a kind of frontispiece, it sits on the bank of the Sava river, rising over the surrounding trees and in front of what was the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia (now Ušće Tower), providing a façade for the new city, a plainly symbolic manifestation of the developmental potentials of a new Yugoslav modernism. As a locus, it becomes a bridging point between the historic centre of Belgrade and the post-war housing of New Belgrade. It lies directly across the water from Kalemegdan Fortress, the citadel from which the city of Belgrade developed in the 3rd Century BC, and contains over 35,000 works of post-1900 Serbian and Yugoslav Art. An attempt at constructing a cultural history of the Yugoslav state that, through the artworks it contains, imagines a lineage of the Yugoslav citizen with which the museum visitor would both relate and implicate themselves; the Yugoslav citizen sees themselves, or at least are supposed to, as of a specific cultural history, a form of socialist citizen that is an individual point in a broader collective history. While this chimes with Josip Broz Tito's broader project of *identitarian construction*, Srdjan Jovanovic Weiss speaks of the 'capture [of] emotional space' that Tito kept 'underlying, rehearsing and repeating' within which the function of architecture is simply an extension (Jovanovic Weiss, 2017). As Kenneth Frampton understands:

"[this] bounded place-form, in its public mode, is also essential to what Hannah Arendt has termed the space of human appearance, since the evolution of legitimate power has always been predicated upon the existence of [...] comparable units of institutional and physical form." (Frampton, 2002: 85)

The subject concerned here is then a *homo communismus* formed by logics not dissimilar to Michel Foucault's *homo economicus*. The individual is subsumed by a series of conditions and through which they emerge to the public domain. Whereas the latter is solely a logic of economics, again as we understand neoliberalism to allow the infiltration of finance into all social spheres that breaks apart the subject, the *homo communismus* was an individual formed in the image of a cog, subsumed by the communist socio-cultural machine. Insofar as Le Corbusier understood a house as a *machine for living*, we can extend this logic so that any form when constructed in direct relation to the state becomes a *machine for the developing of a certain state-socialist citizen*, thus evoking Deleuze and Guattari's conception of *machinic enslavement*. This reveals itself as built form emerges as a cultural-productive apparatus to which the citizen is made subservient. 'Man is,' following Guattari, "a component part of the machine' (Guattari, 2009: 91). As Maurizio Lazzarato explicates, *machinic enslavement* manifests itself when 'man' becomes part of the machine that comes to produce them. In the case of the Museum of Contemporary Art, culture is weaponised insofar as its exhibition within a specific architectural context inculcates the citizen as developing *through* it, providing not only a forum for a self-understanding in a socio-historical sense, but the terms in which they come to emerge as the 'proper' socialist citizen. Its form produces what Srdjan Weiss refers to as a *limitlessness* in the effect of this Yugoslav architecture in which their symbolism attempts to transcend their material form (Jovanovic Weiss, 2017: 16). They become instead machines for the production of the Yugoslav citizen, ensuring the subject emerges *into* a pre-set value system.

Slated for immanent construction, Zaha Hadid Architects Beko Masterplan is a 'contemporary mixed-mixed use masterplan [which] includes residential, retail, and commercial areas along with a large-scale convention facility and a five-star boutique hotel' (Zaha Hadid Architects). This form is one of enclosure. Rather than the individual recognising themselves as commensurable to their fellow citizen through a shared historical lineage embodied in its architectures, the subject of neoliberalism as manifested in the masterplan is contained in an enclosed space with no means to recognize that which is—subjectively and spatially—outside of itself.

Where the fluidity of the plan is stressed, it is at once an internal fluidity; evocative of a wider process in which the severing of social relations under neoliberalism is propagated by the conditions and forms of its built structures. There is no longer a universal sociality, as was the aim for mass housing constructed in New Belgrade by the Yugoslav state across the 1960s and 1970s. There are only individuals expressing themselves directly through their own needs, the building instead forming an enclosed space that provides everything for its inhabitants, ignorant of its exterior. This logic ensures solely the constant reproduction of particular elements of subjectivity germane to the maintenance of neoliberalism; a constant harnessing of the productive elements of the subject simultaneous with the construction of a value system within which non-productive subjective components are socially de-valued. It implements a capture of subjective time for the production and reproduction of labour wherein the subject is individualised insofar as the responsibility for their own social (read: economic) maintenance becomes solely their own. The subject becomes a permanent and multifaceted enterprise.

The Beko Masterplan's stress on open form and fluid internal navigation is rather a contorted manifestation of a social ideal in which the individual is fluid across identities as well as spaces, severing the divide between labour and leisure. The metropolis here becomes a series of continuous building projects, closed to outsiders and whose ancillary effect is the

subjugation of other, outside terrain. Through the centralisation of capital on one €55.8m piece of land on the bank of the river there is no imperative, from neither state nor private investors, to maintain any land other than their own; a perverse notion in a city still visibly damaged from the NATO bombings of 1999.

For all Hadid's claims to fluidity—the project she explains as 'a series of flow lines that carve the inhabited landscape [...] outdoor spaces, landscape undulations, balconies, roof edges, and bridges all flow into one another in an ever-changing continuum'—the form itself creates a rift that isn't productive in terms of social cohesion (Zaha Hadid Architects). It becomes rather a confused, open wound which, in the building's disintegration with its locale and attempts to draw everything towards itself, creating a fissure in the urban texture that cannot cohere with the pre-existing landscape.

Where neoliberalism 'has destroyed all previous social relations', it has reduced the means of mediation to that of capital alone, becoming the only meditative force between the subject, its subjective components and its environment (Lazzarato, 2014: 8). In its attempt to create the *homo economicus*, neoliberalism rather produces an impasse within which the subject cannot resolve itself due to the multiplicity of its dynamic forces (Foucault, 2008). Neoliberalism creates *dividuals*, Maurizio Lazzarato's term commensurable to the components of Guattari's *subject*. In this there is a process of capture through which the elements of subjectivity necessary to the reproduction of neoliberal capitalism are harnessed and the other (non-productive) elements of subjectivity are subjugated to them. The Beko Masterplan is a manifestation of the discontinuity of neoliberal urbanity at large, locking the subject instead in a series of endless internal flows whose speed and repetitiveness never allow for the forming of social bonds or the subjectivities that would allow for them. It enacts again a capture of the subjective elements germane to the maintenance of neoliberal subjective forms.

This is the neoliberal space whose 'agenda of profit' is intricately bound to the Hayekian notion of a self-governing and rational free market, which Schumacher has repeatedly championed (Stoner, 2012: 8). When stating 'perhaps society should allow the market to discover the most productive mix and arrangement of land uses' he formulates a design imperative that ignores its exploitative economic conditions – misrecognizing that the market itself is an ideologically underwritten force in itself, and thinking only about architecture in term of form (Schumacher, 2013). The Beko Masterplan then forms a socially reproductive machine insofar as it only embodies and can be referential to its own conditions of emergence. The subject of its design is not the *homo economicus*, it is the dividual elements of the subjective form that reveal themselves as economically productive.

If architecture is pre-representational, not as with civil society or political institutions which are manifestations of governmental modes requisite on pre-formed subjects, it is a quasi-public art form that 'activates *pre-personal*, *pre-cognitive*, and *preverbal* forces (perception, sense, affects, desire)' (Lazzarato, 2014: 31). These attempts at architectural representation leave the subject to the side in the interaction between these sign machines and their manifestation under neoliberalism, producing series of affects and desires from which the subject emerges. The design process is almost devoid of a subject for whom it is designed, as the platform upon which flows of capital and labour circulate become paramount. Neoliberalism in architecture is thus working beyond the *homo economicus*, attempting to manipulate centrally the economic strata from which it is formed. Instead of working with the individuated subject proper, it will emerge that the productive flows provoked by particular forms of architecture formed under neoliberal economic models are attempts to shape, draw out, and manipulate individual

components of subjectivity: their potential labour power or their subservience to moral-economic models. What is important here is that in fact 'the subject, consciousness and representation remain in the background' so as to allow for a production of sense without meaning (Lazzarato, 2014: 40).

The breakdown of the subject is the imperative of this form of design given it is non-contextual, contained and considered only through formal categories. We can see the ZHA design, for all their claims to site specificity, scarcely engages with the specific conditions of its location; rather applying the same design formations across multiple sites. The globalised but dissolved subject is requisite to these forms, whether in Belgrade, London, Doha, or a forest outside of Moscow.

Albeit posited as an emancipatory proposition, the severing of the boundaries between domestic space, space of inhabitation, and space of commerce enacted in the masterplan manifests a wider trend in the severing of leisure and work. Now, the subject becomes a machine of production and consumption in a time and space inseparable to what would be traditionally considered *their own*. The infiltration of time-based labour models means that the time of the neoliberal subject is always captured as a mechanism of (re)production.

Unlike the allo-poetic Yugoslav modernist architecture which produces and maintains something other than itself - the new socialist citizen - the Beko Masterplan is an auto-poetic machine. It seeks not to develop a subject contiguous with itself, but reproduce its own economic conditions - the subject becoming subsumed and de-territorialised by capital. As Lazzarato stresses, when the subject is dissolved so as to constitute a subservient element of the (architectural) machine, this is the point at which *machinic enslavement* takes place. It is this form of architecture as producing machinic enslavement that 'endows capitalism with a sort of omnipotence, since it permeates the roles, functions and meanings by which individuals both recognise each other and are alienated from each other' (Lazzarato, 2006). The reduction of the imaginative capacities of the subject towards alternative social systems, manifested in the Masterplan, is imperative to its maintenance and reproduction. In the identification with the space of inhabitation (both in a domestic sense and as a space for the flows of commerce) the subject mis-recognises their dissolution, in which their relations with *themselves*, their built surroundings and the elements of the *subjective other* that they may encounter are mediated solely through and by capital.

We can recognise in projects like Srdjan Weiss'—that maps the *reappearance* of socialist architectures—and countless others a sort of recourse to utopian ideas. Neo-liberalism, as a non-ideological force, plays a central role here.

We have noted a clear distinction in the ideological underwriting of socialist architecture and the apparently a-political form of neoliberal architectures. If capitalism 'is what is left when beliefs have collapsed at the level of ritual or symbolic elaboration,' as Mark Fisher states, the dead spaces of the neoliberal architectures, in which there is no cohesive subject of production, provoke a idealisation of pre-neoliberal values, but that are only rendered as fetish (Fisher, 2009: 4). What is extracted from this (re)call for an architecture concerned with the social is purely an aesthetic, that the concrete *forms* of a socialist architecture are emblematic of the equality and universality that they sought to purport. In the veneration of these utopias, the building itself becomes a lifeless symbol; the impetus for a similar social consciousness in architectural design crumbles with its structures.

In the becoming-symbol of a failed regime, the utopia becomes reconstituted as a relic, high-minded, and *utopian* indeed, but nonetheless a symbol of failure. Against this, an a-ideological

design methodology—i.e. the responsiveness and contiguity to neoliberalism of Parametricism—can be posited as a remedy. Retooling the economic situation so as to enact an autopoiesis of its own (subjective) forms. In the parametric form, the subject is constantly dissolved and partially re-shaped by outside economic forces that cannot engender *homo economicus*, instead repetitively reformulating the elements of subjectivity that allow for its omnipotence. In its seizing on the crisis of the subject, it dissolves the subject as conceptualised by socialist forms and prior capitalist forms. Instead, these neoliberal architectures form part of the frontispiece in the self-presentation of capital, whereby aesthetic claims submerge the political: a parametric veil settles over the social conditions that it denies and attempts to conceal.

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The new social reality of ex-socialist architecture

Abstract: *The architectural creative process implies the change of the existing context, which, due to its application of abstract intervention, suggests a certain level of utopia or ideology. The nature of the transformation is determined to the accepted abstract value system and the imaginary projection of changes. The reality in the period of socialism seeks to transform into an ideal type, a universal model, with the aim of optimizing living conditions. Architecture becomes a model of the transformation of social reality. The concrete user turns into an abstraction an objective norm, which brings architecture more to a system with macro perception. The period of post-modern and contemporary architectural practices overlaps with the contemporary political and economic context to the extent that they are vague boundaries of their separation. The problem of the manipulation of real and concrete is simultaneously portrayed as inseparable elements of the concept. The principles of social in architecture are examined within specific ideological frameworks by exploring the phenomenon of abandonment and devastation of case studies from the period of socialism, and their reuse within the new socio-economic context and current European migration crisis. Previous social functions of architecture are compared with their current use by migrants within specific local conditions and particular attention to elements of social context transformation and the role of architecture. Current use of facilities at the border of Bosnia and Herzegovina is critically examined within the contemporary theoretical research of bottom-up concepts and their social imperative, defining the real problem and its social benefits. Case studies are analysed in relation to micro and macro levels, investigating architecture through social processes with the aim of defining the level of a decision-making process, user-defined space, and the real significance for the community.*

Keywords: *Social architecture, migration crisis, politics of architecture, community and user defined space*

Micro and macro social level of spatial intervention

Architecture is inseparable from the social context in which it arises. It articulates this society, serves it, protects it, presents it with its appearance, and displays its past in parallel with the aspirations of the future. Whether it is Giddens' space as an element of social integration, Lefebvre's concept of social space, or Hillier's and Hanson's concept of the embodiment of social information in space (Mavridou, 2003), physical structures are the means and outcome of social action. Settlements and their architecture are the physical structures and

¹ University of Sarajevo, Faculty of Architecture. E-Mail: israt@af.unsa.ba

manifestations of the social order in which they arise. They incorporate potential and adopted values, norms, and orientations with all their positive and negative attributes. It is necessary to observe architecture within its social, economic and cultural context. Each object is an expression of the complex system of space in which it is created, but its construction works back to it while participating in the exchange of social, ecological and many other subsystems of space. In relation to the different definitions of the micro and macro social level and their connection with space, Anthony Giddens speaks of social and system integration, while Lefebvre differentiates them into everyday life and system. (Mavridou, 2003) These two levels that the authors associate differently with the spatial component are, according to Giddens, in a mutually complementary relationship, while according to Habermas and Lefebvre they are polarized in a particularly irregular relationship. The system in this relationship controls the micro level, regulating it and replacing it with the aim of the ultimate use of power and domination. The protection of the user in any spatial intervention implies a micro-social level. Nancy Fraser sees the struggle for emancipation in supporting various issues of lower level of activity, with equal representation of various social interests and the recognition of certain values in order to improve society. (Fraser, 1990) Individual interests must be equally represented as well as the collective interests of micro-society. The assumed use of communicative action (Habermas, 1987), co-operation, communion or social capital (Putnam, 2008) is viewed within the existing system of power. This implies the action with the basic function of a change of the existing power in the context in which it is at least represented. According to Giddens, the structure is directly linked to the use of power. With the autonomy of individual action domination of certain levels is achieved, they have special rights to resources. (Mavridou, 2003) In this sense, terms like centrality are directly linked to the application of power, and control is used as a tool for its realization. According to Lefebvre, the abstract space is used as a medium of domination, coinciding with the practical application of power. According to the author, these spaces are closed, sterilized and empty, destroying the behaviour and patterns of incidence that occur from within. Their application of abstract unity proves the instrumental character of these spaces and their embodiment of ideology. (Mavridou, 2003) In that sense, it would mean that the level of spatial control is reciprocated to the protection of individual and community rights, and their further harmonization of values. Particularly important is the political character of spatial action which is used to strengthen certain social groups. The duality in macro and micro social tendencies and the special dialectic of the individual freedom and social equality suppose their mutual involvement in order to bring a consensus-agreement. The participatory process for the purpose of its realization is called communicative action. Various interest groups participate in a spatial transformation with the goal of its ultimate improvement, reiterating that value determination is formed "from within". In this sense, the concerted action is necessary to be achieved within the equal positions of the power of all members in the decision-making process. The dominantly represented top-down decision-making processes, with centralized control and the inclusion of microelements in the communication form of consent (or as Habermas calls strategic action) (Vreg, 1991) exclude individual and micro interest groups. Ordinary and every day are significant categories of paracentric, marginal, dystopian, and are rarely treated concepts in the fields of architectural theory and architectural history, partly because of their durability, and partly because of the attitude of experts to these terms. This is a result to the extremely non-monumental character of the ordinary, significantly reduced role of the expert in relation to the achievement of the result and the changing

character of everyday life that manifests itself in its "imperfection". Although in the postmodern period there is a turning point regarding every day, discourses or spatial activities dealing with the ordinary environment remain individual and in minority. One of the reasons why ordinary is on the margins of the profession is the issue of control. The traditional spatial tools and educational system of architectural schools emphasize the role of experts - individual control of an architect which plans the outcome. This is a control that is only apparently individual because behind the work of experts is a social system of norms. Although there are many criticisms regarding control, it is undeniable that the shortcomings of the same can contribute to the development of some other difficulties in relation to users. The problem of uncontrolled development of cities in the last century proves the need for implementation of a certain level of control in order to solve individual needs with a parallel realization of the interests of the community.

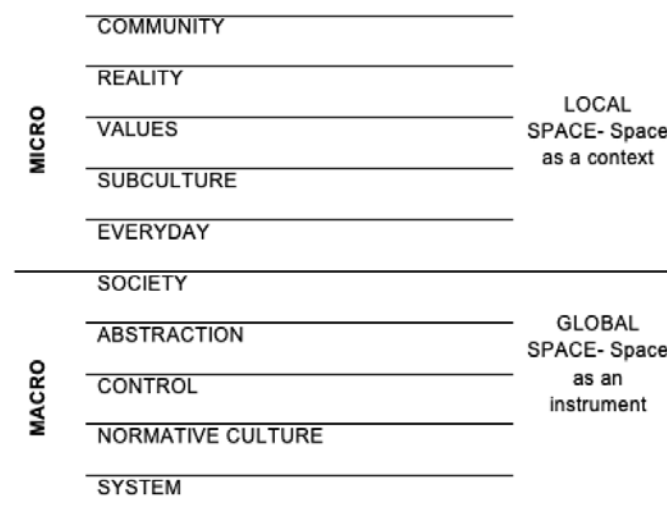


Fig. 1. Micro and macro social levels, their subspecies and connection with space.

The micro level is formed directly through the community, while system is realized as an abstraction. This concretization of individual action within the everyday life gives the quality of the real- based on essential values, while standardization within the macro level achieves the qualities of the abstract and ideological.

New social reality of migration crisis

After three years of the European migration crisis, 2018 was a year that tensions and anti-immigration sentiment rise. In this year there are even more right-wing decisions about border closure, turn-back policies and outer border control of immigration. The change of policies affected also migrant's routes. Bosnia and Herzegovina appeared as a new route in a so-called Balkan route. More than 23.000 of migrants passed in 2018, while 5000 of them remained under the circumstances of cold winter and border violence. (The Institution of Human Rights Ombudsman of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2018) Their stay in the transitional and post-war country with complex social and political circumstances developed a specific answer to the migrant crisis. Institutional mechanisms for migration are, very similar to other social

institutions in the country, slow, inadequate and inefficient. As a result, most of the migrants were on streets and in unprovided shelters what further provided intervention of international organizations,² informal groups, non-governmental organizations, and individuals. (The Institution of Human Rights Ombudsman of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2018) Majority of migrants are settled in the border zone of Una-Sana Canton, while all institutional centres are in the central part of the state. In the beginning, migrants were settled in devastated objects of the ex-socialist architecture of *Dom penzionera* and *Đački dom Borići* in Bihać. Afterward, they were relocated to *Hotel Sedra* and industrial hall *Bira*. First and second phase differ in relation to the ownership, but both are relayed on international organizations of IOM and UNHCR in the management of migrant settlement provision.³ These case studies are analysed in order to compare the social context of architectural interventions in ex-socialist and new transitional capitalism and defining the decision-making process, the role of architects and users and system/lifeworld impact on a spatial organization.



Fig. 2. Migrant in front of monument on Partisan cemetery Borići (photo Tatlić)

² Mainly UNHCR, IOM

³ IOM is providing adaptation of existing structures and meals, while UNHCR is providing health care.

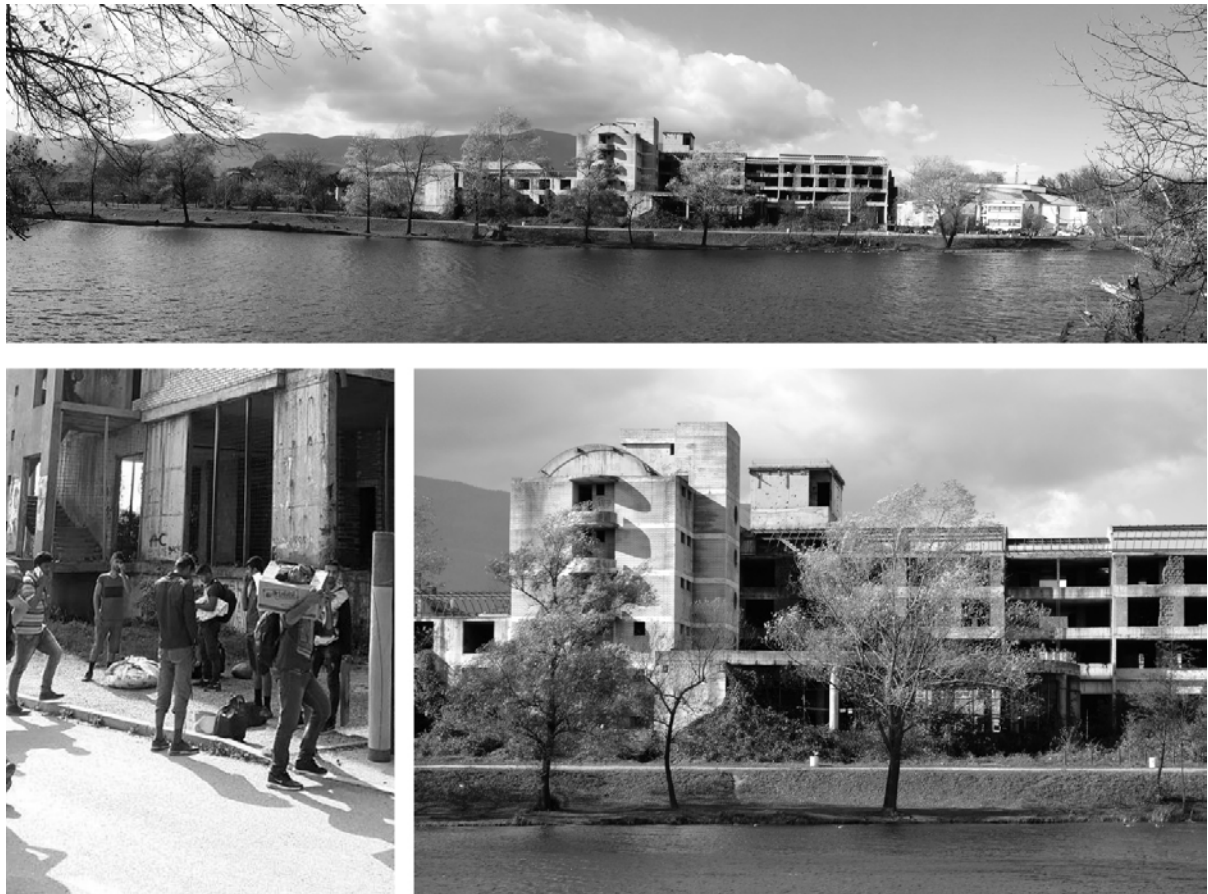


Figure 3. *Dom penzionera* (photo Tatlić)

The first provided shelter was an occupation of a never-built structure of *Dom penzionera*⁴. This unfinished and destroyed structure in the centre of the city stands for the last decades as a monument to the past social system and care for pensioners. Its ruins, now already belonging to a city identity, were for a different period a shelter for homeless and drug addicts as a result of a vague transitional and post-war privatization process. Like many other examples in a state, complexity and unclearness of ownership have stopped the appropriation of public property. The owner of the building is Federal Pension and Disability Insurance Institute, while the site belongs to the City of Bihać with one part as private property. This situation of unresolved papers enabled its sale (Hromadžić & Čavkić, 2016), and changed it to fragmented efforts for privatization. As they were still considering it as community property from the previous period, in the first few years of transition it was the Pensioners association that tried to raise the fund needed for adaptation. During this process, they realized the true meaning of transformation of social and communal property to the state as an owner, where workers and the local community had lost the right to different social spaces. After two decades of unchanged status, Federal Pension and Disability Insurance Institute changed the strategy for privatization. They released tender for an architectural project and choose the cheapest offer. Architects, which had no project task or even purpose for the new building, had to finish a project in a very short deadline, and during the process, they had limited communication with the owner without basic information needed for any spatial intervention. (Jusić, 2019) The final design was a design attempt to answer to the needs that weren't

⁴ Retirement home

provided, with no feedback or input from owner, city, community or users. This type of spatial intervention is common in the transitional process of appropriation and corruption, where the process of intervention isn't transparent- leaving it open to different changes due to manipulation dynamics of the process of legalization and sale. The result is a design of an undefined structure that can be a hotel, or even retirement home, adapting its volume and design to the changing circumstances of ownership and limits. The user, community, experts are completely excluded from the process of spatial intervention.

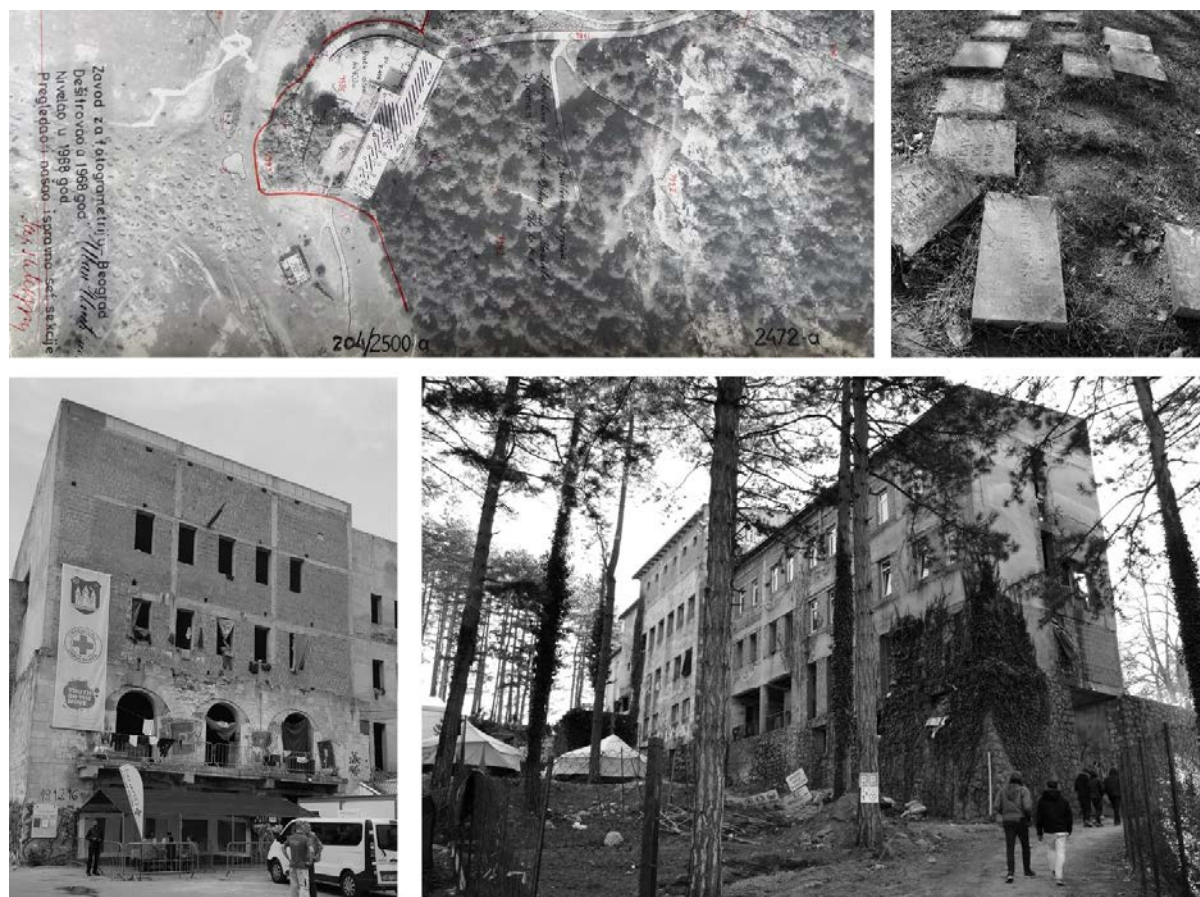


Figure 4. Đački dom Borići (photo Tatlić and Nadarević)

After a period of uncontrolled shelter provision in *Dom penzionera* and provisional tents in local parks, the government hasn't provided any solution to the problem. Local community and its city administration were appealing numerous times to the state government to actuate and to help to deal with an income of 60 migrants per day. (The Institution of Human Rights Ombudsman of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 2018) *Đački dom Borići*⁵, another social architecture devastated during a war, after twenty years is in sales procedure. The City of Bihać is selling its property based on an assessment of Department for urban planning and construction (Služba za imovinsko- pravne poslove i katastar nekretnina, 2017) in which dominantly interprets the purpose of the location defined in documents of an old City plan and a new draft of City of Bihać urban plan. In this interpretation of a clear definition of "D1- public and social function" (Urbanistički zavod BiH, Sarajevo, 2010) it is suggested that it is possible to build "radio-television services, political organizations, residential buildings, congress centres,

⁵ Student and pupil's dormitory

educational centres, as even, exceptionally hotels." (Služba za imovinsko- pravne poslove i katastar nekretnina, 2017) During this appropriation of the public property of Borići, under the circumstances of great pressure of the local community, the Mayor of Bihać decided to use it as an improvised shelter for migrants. IOM, UNHCR and the UN Refugee Agency was providing support and started with an adaptation of a building while migrants were living inside. (International Organisation for Migration , 2018) All project documentation and spatial strategies where defined by international organizations. (Auweraert, 2019) During they unconditional stay in Borići local community showed support and concern, later even anger, all in absence of adequate intervention of authority.



Figure 5. *Hotel Sedra* (photo Tatlić)

Hotel Sedra was a first private building rented for migrant families by IOM. It came out as a solution in scarce of space for shelter provision. Hotel was privatized by a local businessman who was a member of different political parties, and who didn't manage to activate its pre-war function and importance. Hotel was built for foreign visitors during socialism, while the local community was using its catering facilities and its open spaces near the river. It's a specific architectural solution in the natural context of river Una and its surroundings, with fragmented volume and hip roof; according to the new owner it caused numbered problems regarding its adaptation. (Bajramović, 2019) Different architectural designs were developed, trying to find investors for building demolition and new construction, (Cazinnet) changing its previous regional and contextual architectural language to an international building that dominates its surrounding. In this gap between the socialist building and future luxury resort for distant tourists, it is provisional home for migrant families- an especially vulnerable group.

Besides accommodation, again provided by international organizations, there are health care centre and children's corner. There is no program for resident's integration nor facilities beside accommodation- *hotel Sedra* kept its primary function of temporal residence showing how even migration of poor and homeless can take advantage in a new capitalist political context.

The social importance of architecture and the role of an architect in ex-socialist context

In the period of socialism each large company had its specialist architect, who would work on forming the project task, and later control and revision of the project. A project would be developed from a specific relationship between the architect from the professional service and the architect as a designer. Only experts would be involved in a spatial problem and its solution. In case of any uncertainties, they would address the competent institutions and higher bodies. Plans were not fully defined, but as the problem appeared, it was possible to solve it by engaging the most competent experts. The policy was deciding which building was to be built, but the experts defined how. (Ćemalović, 2019) The Architectural Association has appointed proven architects in commissions to work together with political and administrative centres on current issues. Decisions were made through dialogue and consensus, while the decision-making process was constantly changing. Relationships were clearly hierarchically formed, within which professional advancement meant greater responsibility and the right to decide. Architecture had a clear system of evaluation and sharing. Experts lived within a coherent community. (Ćemalović, 2019) The architectural firms that existed at that time in the Republic were equally engaged. As well as architects and managers of different institutions cooperated, forming specific plans, projections, and goals. Various projects were discussed much before their competition was announced.

In the case of *Dom penzionera* the project task was clearly defined by the institution- all requirements have already been established with professional specialists within the institution, so at the end, the architectural firm dealt just with design and improvement of requirements. Branko Tadić was appointed as a designer. The architectural project itself, with its capacity, location and design solution, speaks of one big social concern for the inhabitants of the third age. "The transition of the role of the architect is from the role of an artist to the much more complex and responsible role of the architect, who is responsible for maintenance, finances, etc. In the previous system, the review was at the level experts, while now it is at the level of investors and users. Architectural firms were systems within which it was difficult to make a mistake- organized bodies within a society that had all the elements of social protection and concern for the user, and as such dominated the architecture and design." (Ćemalović, 2019) The building of the *Đački dom* in Bihać was built in 1952, with the funds of emigrants from Australia. The building was originally built for war orphans from the Second World War. In the late sixties, Srez founded a high school dormitory in which children from neighbour municipalities of former Yugoslavia stayed. The park was built in the mid-1960s by its home users. The building function didn't change until transition and war. At that time, the house had the most modern laundry and kitchen, dining room, living rooms, dormitories, central heating, sports courts for basketball, football and volleyball. The financing was carried out with the funds of the Municipality of Bihać and user payments. The beneficiaries were secondary school students from the surrounding municipalities, with the priority of the socially vulnerable population and good students. The local community used the infrastructure of the building

(sports halls, terrains, and equipment) and often hosted community-based cultural and sports events. The local population did not have any impact on the dormitory functions. (Delić, 2019)

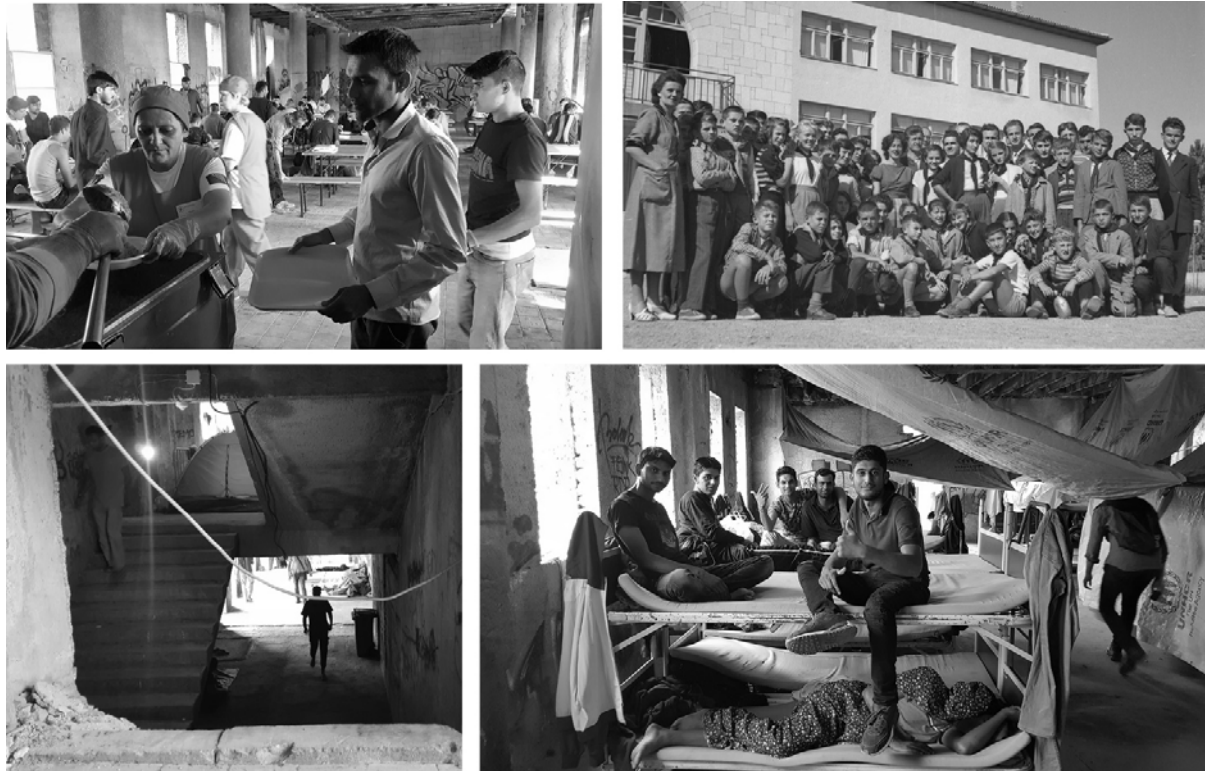


Figure 6. Residents of *Đački dom Borići* in period of socialism and current migration crisis.
(photo Nadarević, Delić archive)

Conclusion

Presented case studies of architecture, their decision-making process, and user-defined space are demonstrating significant change for the community and user. The abstract space from the socialist period was detached from the user in a form of architectural implementation, but their needs were included in programs and guidelines as the most important decision-making part of a spatial intervention. The architecture was a model of social transformation belonging to the macro and micro level with its design as an individual materialization of different aspirations and interests. Even if it has a small level of participation in the design process it is demonstrating a strong commitment to the community and user. Socialist system provided values while the architect interpreted them in spatial intervention. Today's transitional and post-war use of these architectural remains as shelters in the migration crisis is showing the absence of community and users in the decision-making process. The freedom from norms and standardization is showing the scarcity in shelter provision and ironically demonstrating that participation isn't improving the spatial needs of its user. An unorganized process and non-existing macro perception prevent any application of community interest, manipulating and ignoring any social need. The new social reality of devastated architecture of socialism manifests a systematic inability to answer the need of community and user. Under the circumstances of unfinished privatization and the absence of micro and macro social interest's ex-socialist architecture regain its social function but this time dystopian, witnessing as a monument to a condition of our present social care and our long-time lost abilities.

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Place attachment in the Solidarita Housing Estate Prague—contested use and meaning of the socialist architecture in the current city

Abstract: *The urbanistic structures and architecture influence the cities, districts, communities, and individuals. Knowing more about people, their needs, wishes and feelings developed in particular places (especially their homes) is an important feature to know how to create cities, neighbourhoods, and places for them. Places are spaces mentally constructed by people who know them and use them. Places include memories, narratives, history, everyday life with emotions and attachments to the environment. One of the most important places for people is their home. In this study, based on the mixed-use of qualitative methods (interviews, observation, mental mapping), I attempt to show how residents of the Solidarita Housing Estate in Prague perceive their homes. According to the anthropological concept of Place attachment (Altman & Low, 1992; Scannell, & Gifford 2010), I want to discuss, what the relationship to this special urban environment is, and how this environment, based on the cooperation, ideal of social solidarity, and human scale has changed. Solidarita Housing Estate was built as one of the first prefabricated housing estates in Prague between 1947 and 1951, in the period of a post-war reconstruction in Czechoslovakia. The architects of the project were looking for a balance between individualistic private family houses and collective housing estates with all of the benefits of these various housing types included. They designed a simple urban plan of row houses and four-floors blocks of flats. The project drew on the international housing standards popular in Scandinavia such as a collective approach to neighbourhood life, public and cultural facilities, and green surroundings with gardens and park. Today, this neighbourhood stands out as an example of how the physical aspects of space influence the social aspects and reinforce the attachment to the place.*

Keywords: *Community, identity, place attachment, Solidarita Housing Estate Prague, urban anthropology*

Introduction

The name of this session is 'Contested functions of (socialist) architecture in post-socialist cities'. This paper seeks to explore how attachment to places transforms in (post)socialist and current socio-economic context through a case study of the Soldarita housing estate in Prague. The Solidarita housing estate was built in Prague during the years 1946 - 1961 as one of the first

¹ Charles University, Faculty of Humanities, Prague. E-Mail: tereza.hodulova@seznam.cz

post-war housing estates in Czechoslovakia². The neighbourhood was emblematic of post-war modernity, with its modernist efficiency rhetoric, use of new technologies, innovative urban strategies, and emphasis on healthy and beautiful spaces. It also incorporated elements of socialist realism, in its collective approach and cooperative financing of the neighbourhood which was reflected in its name: Solidarita. The new socio-political conditions brought by privatization³ after 1989 together with the gradual modernization of the service facilities and households caused that some elements of the housing complex have lost their original function and lost the interest of the residents.

In this paper I discuss local residents' attachments to the Solidarita Housing estate, which were originally based on the social ideals of participation, cooperation and solidarity. I then show how the spatial and political transformation of the 1980s transformed the social production and social construction of public space (Low, 2016), and residents' attachments to this place (Altman & Low, 1991). According to my findings, residents of the Solidarita housing estate are unusually attached to their homes. Yet, as I will discuss, their affective bonds are being partly weakened due to spatial and urban changes.

I will begin by introducing the Solidarita housing estate in its broader historical context, then I will talk about the theoretical approach and methodology. I will conclude with a discussion of my findings.

The Solidarita housing estate as a pioneer post-war housing estate in Prague

Europe after World War II was a damaged environment. Almost 250,000 housing units were destroyed or made uninhabitable, including 41,000 in Prague alone (Zarecor, 2011). Rebuilding of cities and housing construction were therefore immediate and urgent needs. Czechoslovakia was unstable, not just in its physical infrastructure, but also in terms of community life and social practices. In 1944, architects from the building commission of the Central Council of Trade Unions, and the architectural committee of the Communist Party formulated a plan for the nationalization of the construction industry and the creation of a socialist design sector. In 1945, a co-operative building society named Solidarita was established, which was responsible for the implementation of the housing development in the district of Strašnice in Prague⁴ (Špičáková, 2014). Solidarita housing estate would be named after this co-operative building society.

The architectural competition held for the Solidarita housing project called for the creation of a functional, uniform complex with sufficient civic amenities and surrounded by green and recreational space – to be constructed in the most expeditious and cheapest form possible (Špičáková, 2014). The winner of the architectural competition of the Solidarity project was František Jech. Jech intensively devoted himself to studying family homes in a co-operative building, which he considered the most suitable form of housing for the family, especially those with children (Jech, 1947). Jech worked together with the architects Hanuš Majer and Karel Storch. Storch was a great fan of Scandinavian social architecture which was based on the principles of sustainability, collectivity and standardization, utilized new construction methods and technologies. Its most typical housing construction was the family row house (Orum-Nielsen,

² At the end of 1992 Czechoslovakia split into the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

³ Decentralization in housing policy, changes in the ownership structure.

⁴ Prague is the capital and largest city in the Czech Republic with around 1.3 million inhabitants. Strašnice is a cadastral district in Prague, at the time of construction was on the periphery, nowadays relatively close, and well connected to the city centre.

1996). Following Scandinavian urban standards, the Solidarita housing estate was built as a fusion of functionalism, based on standardization and prefabrication, and a garden city that respects the human scale of architecture in harmony with nature. The construction of the Solidarita housing estate was realized during the years 1946-1961 on a rectangular plot measuring 880 x 435 m. It took the form of mixed housing with row family houses, supplemented by four-storey apartments, for a total of 1256 dwellings. Inspired by Nordic models, the architects emphasized the large amount of greenery. Every house had a front garden, while the back of the house was lined with an open, wide strip of green without fences. In the centre of the housing estate there was a huge rectangular park, which was meant to support recreational, social and community life. These functions were also promoted by rich civic amenities, arranged in the Turnovský street, along the central park. Civic amenities were meant to support the social and community level of the housing estate and ensure its local self-sufficiency. In addition to Turnovský rental street, Solidarita also had a medical facility, a nursery, kindergarten and general school, a cultural centre with a restaurant, a theatre, a laundry room, and a post office, all within walking distance. In this project, the architects strove for an appropriate balance between the desire of many people to have private single-family homes and the benefits of denser development with shared public spaces, community services, and smarter approaches to land use and infrastructure development (Zarecor, 2011). Solidarita was not just about building rowhouses with gardens and picturesque pedestrian paths. It was intended to create opportunities for new relationships, community and outdoor living with feeling of openness and freedom through features such as the lack of car traffic and fences among the rows of family homes and gardens, and the generous shared green spaces. Solidarita was an architectural experiment that utilized innovative urban strategies, new technologies, and cooperative financing to achieve a result that its creators hoped would become a future model for more housing developments. This template could have been repeated many times in Czechoslovakia. Unfortunately, the model would not survive the transition to communism.

Methodology

The research I am presenting today is part of my master thesis and doctoral dissertation. In order to achieve the most comprehensive image of the Solidarita housing estate, I combined qualitative research methods, namely interviews and observation. I spent a great deal of time walking through the Solidarita housing estate, observing and writing notes in my diary. To get closer to my participants and their communities, I also participated in many neighbourhood events. I also conducted archival research in order to gain an understanding of the historical context, focusing especially on journals such as *Solidarita*, *zpravodaj dobrého bydlení* and *Architektura ČSR*. The study of these materials provided me with an excellent source of information about the intentions and views of architects, and about the original values that were meant to be a part of architecture at that time. The core of my research was thirteen semi-structured interviews with the resident of Solidarita housing estate.

Theoretical approach

The study builds on the anthropological theory of place attachment as an affective bond that people establish with a specific area, and engages the relationship between the concepts of *place* and *space*. Hirsch (1995) perceives space as a geographic location, a real locality characterized by emptiness and potential for fulfilment of meaning. A place, according to him, is a mental, symbolic image of the real space, to which different meanings are attached. By acquiring such meaning, space becomes a place (Hirsch, 1995: 9). An expanded definition of a concept of place can be found in the Sage Dictionary of Cultural Studies, according to which, place is: *'A real or location in a certain space, which is meaningful and socially connected and characterized by identities or emotions associated with it'* (Barker, 2006: place). This definition points to the material nature of space as well as its symbolic content. The significance of place can be metaphorical and discursive, as well as physically oriented (Low, 2009: 22). Changes in the physical environment, its interpretation and its forms of representation influence the social construction of space and, along with it, people's attachment (Low, 2016). According to Low (2009), an anthropological understanding of space, place or non-place is a flexible perspective that allows for the study of how space is produced historically and physically by its current material form, as well as through movement, desire, imagination and social interactions (Low, 2009: 22). In this definition, the meanings which people ascribe to a particular space are crucially important, since that is what which creates a place. With the transformation of the current capitalist context, the character of the place changes, and its new category, called non-place (Augé, 1996), was created. Non-places lack character, specificity, identity, and relational capacities.

Place attachment, meanwhile, is the way in which people inscribe meanings to space and attach themselves to particular environments in such a way that affects their perception, understanding and experience of the place (Altman and Low, 1991; Giuliani, 2003). The individual's connections to a place are therefore subjective and unique, yet they are also influenced by many cultural, social and personal processes (Altman & Low, 1991). Scannel and Gifford (2010: 2) define the three basic dimensions of the place attachment concept: 1) Object/place; 2) Actor, and 3) Process.

The aim of my study was to find out how and through what processes the residents of the Solidarita housing estate make connections and attachments to their neighbourhood, and to understand how this changed in the context of (post)socialism. Following the topic of this conference, I would like to focus my discussion on the first category of place attachment - place, its changes, contested functions and impact of the social construction of space.

Results: Socialist place and its contested functions in under late capitalism

My participants described their relationship to the Solidarita housing estate based on the physical and social elements. The interviews clearly showed that the physical space, the special urban form of the Solidarita housing estate, affects the social ties across the complex. According to my participants, social bonds and community would not be so strong without the particular architectural form of Solidarita. Houses in Solidarita are usually inherited and passed down from generation to generation, creating a long-lasting, family-embedded feeling of subsistence in the place (Low, 2009). The social character of the place was described by my interlocutors in the language of community, which, thanks to the active group

of younger residents, strengthens their relationship to the place and to each other. Residential gardens, the central park, and shopping area on Turnovského street were also seen as the places that supported social ties and neighbourhood community. These places provided easy identification, played an important role in shaping community and neighborhood, and offered space for other spontaneous activities (Altman & Low, 1991). Nevertheless, according to the older residents, people do not have as intense an attachment to the place and community as they did before. Spatial changes that have taken place in the Solidarita housing estate over the years have been a major issue for residents. One example of a spatial change is the gradual transformation of the function of Turnovského street, which, although always a retail space, used to be a very familiar and favourite place for residents. According to some of my respondents, over the last years, this place is losing its original function and for residents it is not as familiar as before.

The new social conditions brought by privatization after 1989 together with the gradual modernization of the service facilities and households, in particular the process of automatization, caused a significant decline in the use of facilities of the housing estate. Some public spaces were transformed for private uses. The large public gardens behind the houses were fenced, while green space was paved over in order to turn it into private parking. Even the retail street Turnovského changed in nature, as the types of stores changed. From the early 1990s, supermarkets and large shopping centres gradually developed in Prague. While these places provided greater consumer convenience and choice, they also posed a threat to small local businesses and eventually caused of their disappearance in many areas.

At the time of its establishment, the architects who designed Solidarita had planned for a well-stocked 'business centre' in Turnovského street. Besides the basic shops such as a butcher, bakery and grocery store, there was also a stationery, haberdashery, green grocer, and later coffee shop. This street was not just a place for shopping and satisfying the needs of residents; it was a place which supported local community. According to my respondents, the shopping district served as a meeting point for neighbours. It was to ideal place to go to spend a sunny Sunday, sit in the coffee shop, talk with your neighbours and watch children to run in the park. The physical form of this place influenced the social interactions that took place within it, and aimed to stimulate community well-being (Fried, 2018).

Today, according to my participants, Turnovského street is divided into two part. The first part consists of Vietnamese shops, wine bars, a cheese shop, bakery, and kid's corner. Especially in the summer, the outdoor area is used (there is outdoor seating at the bakery or on the other side of the park in front of the theatre and the restaurant). In the second part of the street there is a casino and a newly opened night club. Both of these are controversial and sparked a great deal of concern among residents. The casino is not visited by locals, and for this reason, the second part of the street and of the park is not visited by them anymore. This disparate use of space can be observed throughout the day. In the first part of the street and adjacent park, people walk, sit on the benches, play with children and create living space together, while the other part of the street and park is almost always empty and 'unspoiled'. Just as the space affects the individual, the individual also affects the space. For the past couple of years, the second part of the park carries the identity of a 'strange place where nobody wants to go and spent time'. Residents does not have any attachment to this place, that is why it obtained the character of a non-place for the locals (Augé, 1996). It is a space in which residents abstain from necessity or sudden need and which they not filled with any emotional relationship or meaning and do not require their attachment. As Musil says:

'Where space is no longer a social space, there is a place for antisocial behavior. A deadly street, where few people walk, is the ideal place for theft, rape, vandalism, etc.' (Musil, 1971: 284).

Summary

In the past 30 years some spatial characteristics of the Solidarita housing estate were transformed and the symbolic meaning, social setting and attachment of the place was changed (Low, 2009). The compact space based on cooperation, and the neighbourhood with a shared community identity and shared public spaces was transformed into the post-socialist city with the leitmotif of capitalism, which caused the decline of common space and publicness – public ownership, public uses, public services, public space (Hirt, 2012).

Even if Solidarita still has a unique community of neighbours who are strongly attached to their home, some elements of the housing complex have lost their original function and lost the interest of the residents. The new retail investors are changing the character and identity of the neighbourhood and weakening the locals' attachments. These changes, which generated plenty of new non-places are threats for the conservation of the identity of Solidarita, which was based on the meanings of participation, cooperation, community and healthy self-sufficient surroundings.

Yet this process is not hegemonic. Today, the relationship of residents to their neighbourhood is marked by new meanings and affects, such as fear or worry, which may have the potential to reinforce or transform the nature of their attachment to the place.

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The transformation of urban environment of Tirana during the post-socialist transition

Abstract: *This paper investigates the transformation of Tirana after the collapse of socialism in Albania and the migration impacts in the society and urbanism process. The paper explains that post-socialist transition with their neo-liberal program, influence the creation of new urban environments and new conditions of living and working in cities by initiating new dynamics in the functioning of certain urban mechanisms such as labour and land markets. In this paper, it is understood that the transition period, except the reflection in architecture, brought a period of changes in the urban planning and territory of Tirana. Internal mass migration within the country in the past 28 years, a characteristic of the transition period, the movement of population from rural to urban with improved lifestyle conditions, brought and continues to have significant consequences of the urban development of the country's major cities, and in particular Tirana. This paper aims to provide a critical ground of discussion in understanding the interaction and the effects of an individual at urban environment, but also includes the effects of urban development on individuals or the whole society. Subsequently, the paper asserts that as well as the ongoing functioning of urban interface mechanisms, the resilience of urban inhabitants is also an important determinant of the socio-spatial outcomes of the experienced urban transformation. Urban environment is considered as a process of representation of time and sense of identity and also as a 'text' to be read and understood. A person, within the boundaries of this research, is the individual who has the ability of attributing meanings to his or her urban environment, understanding and interpreting the essence represented there and reconstructing urban images.*

Keywords: *Post-socialist transition, Urban Transformation, Social Resilience, Migration*

Changes after the collapse of post-socialism

Albania was one of the poorest and the most isolated countries in Europe until the 1990's. Researcher Karl Kaser says 'Albania entered into democracy in very difficult internal and external conditions. The communists "handed" democratic forces to the poorest country in Europe. Albania has experienced one of the most communist systems in the world. Whatever the country has achieved or failed to achieve - this should not be forgotten' (Kaser, 2010). The multipartisan system and the new Albanian democracy in Albania started in an unknown, unexplored and unpublished ground before. The overall consequences of dictatorship, as well as the complete lack of democratic elements and inheritance, have emerged in every step towards the path of reform and democratic transformation of the country. Albanians started

¹ Parliament of Albania, Tirana, Albania. E-Mail: egjermeni@hotmail.com

² University of New York Tirana, Albania. E-Mail: kida.lushaj@hotmail.com

democracy out of the 'point of death': without tradition, without private property, without a stable economy, without a democratic culture, without justice institutions and without an elite conscious and ability to assume the responsibility of shifting from the Stalinist dictatorship to a Western model democracy (Krasniqi, 2006). The transition from a closed society to an opened society, based on free competition and the rule of law, was the biggest challenge of Albanians since the creation of the Albanian state in 1912.

This transitional period was and remains a long process of change, including a whole set of structural, economic, legal and social packages (Sokoli, 2009). It started as a complex process of destroying that era, and adapting institutions or creating new ones. Economic transition began with radical changes in the political system. Economic reforms started to take place in the situation of a total economic collapse, under the conditions of a lack of experience and institutional weaknesses perceived by communist legacy.

The economic crisis was accompanied by the social crisis and individuals and families were suffering their impact. The increase in unemployment due to closure of enterprises reduced people's hopes for a better future in Albania. Numerous social studies stumble on some of the key aspects that have contributed to the formation or re-formation of post-socialism society, where one of the main aspects is: the lack of living means was due to the large-scale population influxes from the most rural areas to the main cities, but also to emigration from Albania.

According to researcher Johanna Deimel, one of the main problems stemming from the fall of communism and the country's openness to the outside world, is brain drain, the great emigration and then the lack of an elite capable of continuing the process. In fact, no other transition country was affected so deeply by immigration abroad, as well as internal migration, which has dramatically changed urban and rural areas. Uncontrolled internal migration resulted in an urban chaos (Gjoka, 2003).

There have been changes in the urban and rural area due to internal migration of Albanian people who were escaping poverty from where they were living and hoped to find a better life in the big cities such as Tirana and Durres. In Albania it is accepted that there have been several waves of migration, two of which were major and significant in post-socialist Albania. The first big wave took place in 1992, when the collapse of socialism happened and the political opposition first rose to power. The second big wave of migration towards the cities took place in 1997, coinciding with the failure of the efforts to build a democratic state and develop good governance. Also, during this period, the collapse of the pyramid schemes happened and the subsequent violence that pushed the country to the edge of civil war (Bardhoshi, 2011). As a result of the movements of the population inside and outside of Albania, it is noticed that after the 1991s the population in the city grew rapidly, and the percentage of the population in the villages decreased drastically.

Effects of Migration in Tirana

Over the last 20 years, researchers' interest in migration and its impacts have increased. The model of chaotic development in Tirana after 1990 reflects the best political, economic and social transition from the centralized economy to the free market society. The transition period, except the reflection in architecture, brought a period of changes in the urban planning and territory developments. The new urban development experience during the 1990s in Tirana created one of the most unique cases of architectural and urban development in Europe,

whether for its dynamism and energy or for the total lack of regulation and chaos, as well as for the complete lack of plans and development policies. The city became overcrowded, and it has grown without rules to the limits of possibility, deteriorating its cultural assets and its political and democratic conduction (Tamburelli, 2006). To measure the high degree of movement from rural to urban, it is enough to say that only Tirana has over twice the population compared to what it had in 1980 (Fuga, 2004). At least 70% of the constructions after 1990 in Tirana are without a construction permit (Aliaj, 2003). As is clearly evident, internal mass migration within the country in the past 28 years, a characteristic of the transition period, the movement of population from rural to urban with improved lifestyle conditions, continues to be a social process unchecked, with significant consequences for the urban development of the country's major cities and Tirana. This favoured urban disturbances that were expressed through two main forms:

- Illegal construction for housing purposes, mainly on the outskirts of the city - In the suburbs of Tirana were created real neighbourhoods with illegal construction due to the free movement of the population mainly from north-eastern areas of the country where the economic problems were even more complicated.
- Unauthorized construction for business purposes, mainly in the city centre - businesses opening up mainly kiosks along the Lana River.

This demographic process influenced the development of urban space by random and rapid construction, disrespecting the existing legislation and of the municipal regulations, problems with issues of traffic and transport, the absence of broad roads, lack of public spaces, difficulties in the management of water and emergency services.

Architecture ended up in the hands of people who were trying to resolve their problems with a low cost, ignoring the professionalism of architects, becoming the initiators of "informal eclectic architecture" without identity (Nepravishita, 2016).

In addition to the negative sides during the transition to architecture and urbanism and the large number of people, there are many elements that have contributed remarkably that Tirana had a modern and post-modern view. Albanian architecture in the transition period has exceeded cultural and conceptual ideology, as well as mental and creative uniformity of the communist regime. It is focused successfully towards a new practice of modernity and post-modernity. The efforts towards modern architecture, forms and new concepts in the city of Tirana are also present throughout the city. This approach to economic development is inevitably reflected in the architecture and urban planning (Lufi, 2008). The modern architecture began to consolidate with innovative ideas of architects who came into contact with Western cultural trends and currents.

These new ideas were applied primarily in Tirana, from young professionals and private design studios, based on pragmatic, as well as professional architecture practice (Faja, 2008). From 2000, the city development was focused on the rehabilitating and renewing process promoted by Mayor Edi Rama (Bulleri, 2012). The recovery plan of the central green area of the urban organism as the Youth Park (Parku Rinia) and the Lana River have been possible. This was the first step towards recuperation of the public spaces. These initiatives were created for the first time and they brought a new model of recovering chaotic urban developments and creating public spaces.

Painting Tirana Project involved the revamping of the old communist flats of the capital of Albania through bright colours that would change both the look of the city as well as inspire its citizens with vivacity, a fresh new start and a brighter horizon (Municipality of Tirana).

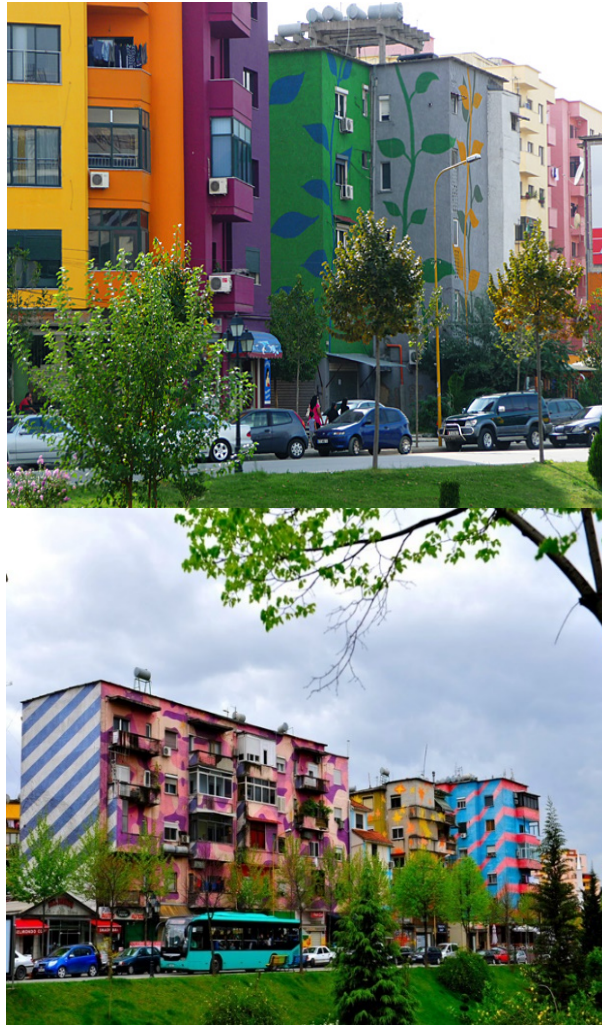


Fig. 1 & 2. Flats on behalf of Painting Tirana Project.

Source: <http://merlinandrebecca.blogspot.com/2012/04/bright-spots.html> (10.02.2019)

Edi Rama, Tirana's Mayor said: 'My real project is to try to resuscitate hope, so that people will start looking on their country not as a transfer station, but as a place where they might want to live' (Woodward, 2005). He also added: 'When colours came out everywhere, a mood of change started transforming the spirit of the people ... People started to drop less litter in the streets. They started to pay taxes. They started to feel something they'd forgotten ... Beauty was giving people a feeling of being protected. This was not a misplaced feeling — crime did fall' (Painting the Town: Part 2 – Buildings).

The new look of the city managed to shift both the mood and attitude of the population, as well as the political debate on to the spatial cityscape arena, opening the door to a new kind of communication between, in this case, the local government and the inhabitants of Tirana (Pusca, 2008).

The Painting Tirana project demonstrates the extent to which a simple act of repainting can transform an entire city and its inhabitants, by using the temporary, freshly painted facades both as a material promise that change is on the way, as well as a manner of reframing the visual experience of everyday flaneurs and engaging them in the larger political transformation of the country. Passing from 'grey and depressive' colours to the 'shinning multi-

coloured facades', brought a significant change to Tirana, to its people by becoming more optimistic and hopeful for the future.

Dualism Person-Urban

Recent studies and analysis have become more sensitive to the experiences and perspectives of migrants. Another important aspect is the inclusion of a gender perspective in the context of migration as a critical issue is not well tackled. Migration as well as any other economic, social, political and cultural process is not even a neutral process from a gender perspective. In itself, it is a process involving individuals (women and / or men), families (composed of women and men) and communities made up of women and men (Gjermani, 2004).

Gender is an integral part of the migration process so migration involving it has also influenced other areas of research in this area. For example, emphasizing the importance of gender in the migration process, Chant states that: Gender is an essential element for analysing the urbanization of developing countries. Not only is urban economic growth often stimulating gender roles, relationships, and inequalities between them, but the process of urbanization itself is often shaped by dependencies of the dominant structures of gender (Chant, 1996).

In other words, the causes, nature and results of urbanization may depend heavily on gender. Recognition of this phenomenon is indispensable both for the understanding of urban evolution and its consequences in policy-making (Chant, 1996). In Albania, the migratory movement, in hindsight, has significantly distorted the balance between the urban population and environmental ecology (Vejsiu, 2000).

The psycho-cultural and social integration of displaced persons from rural areas and located in cities in the urban environment is one of the fundamental factors for stabilizing the social and political life of cities and the country in general. Experience shows that this intricate process is indirectly influenced by several factors, such as unemployment, criminality, public opinion, the ability of the working population to adapt to the new labour market, the preservation or fading of patriarchal conservative minds in an open environment to modernity. Even in Albania in the 1990s, a large rural and peripheral rural population came into cities, mainly in the capital, transforming almost the entire urban landscape by bringing lifestyle, clothing, dialects, social stereotypes with prominent subcultural profiles (Fuga & Dervishi, 2002). This process not only has not yet found an optimal subjective adaptation, but is even more problematic because the rural population that comes down to cities tends to increase in number, aiming at further deepening civic life, to live now through its work effective in the city. But at the same time all this movement of people, in essence, is also emancipatory. In this way, Albania touches a little the modern life cycle, characterized by the prevalence of urban population in the social and demographic structure of society. In sociological studies it has been argued that the process of displacement of the population from the village and its placement in the city or areas with the most suitable and productive climate is positive, expressing the noble aspiration of the population for a better life as well as its vitality to cope the difficulties and challenges that accompany the process of adaptation and integration into the life of a city or area (Fuga & Dervishi, 2002).

There are pull and push factors that have encouraged people to move from rural areas, towards big cities, but certainly the main factor was to have a better life. From the interviews with women migrants undertaken from Gjermani (2005), resulted that all women interviewed

stated that the main reason of their migration towards Tirana was a better life and better education for their children (Gjermeni, 2005).

As is presented above, the process of migration of citizens towards Tirana has its positive and negative impacts. But the experience of Western European countries has shown that, over time, society has managed to balance these phenomena in a viable way and transform urbanization into an element in favour of democratization of the political life, creation of ever-increasing standards homogeneous in living and working conditions for different population groups.

After all, urbanization in Albania and mainly in Tirana, although controversial and uncontrolled, is following primarily the general development flow: from the gradual reduction of the primary sector of the economy, including agriculture and extractive industries, towards long-term growth of the weight of the tertiary sector, which includes trade, transport, services, education, healthcare etc. (Vejsiu, 2000).

It is also necessary to emphasize that this process is not spontaneous, but is accompanied by all those multilateral measures that avoid or minimize the negative consequences of the displacements that may reach the outbreak of all political State countries.

Conclusion

Transitional period in Albania was and remains a long process of change, including a whole set of structural, economic, legal and social packages. Except these changes, also brought a period of changes in the urban planning and territory. During this time, the process of population accumulation in Tirana was accompanied by negative and positive social phenomena. The new urban development experience during the 1990s in Tirana created one of the most unique cases of architectural and urban development in Europe, whether for its dynamism and energy, or for the total lack of regulation and chaos, as well as for the complete lack of plans and development policies. The city became overcrowded from internal migration, and it has grown without rules, deteriorating its cultural assets and its political and democratic conduction.

On the other hand, urbanization in Albania and mainly in Tirana, although controversial and uncontrolled, is following primarily the general development flow: from the gradual reduction of the primary sector of the economy, including agriculture and extractive industries, towards long-term growth of the weight of the tertiary sector, which includes trade, transport, services, education, healthcare etc. Albanian architecture in the transition period has focused successfully towards a new practice of modernity and post-modernity. The efforts towards modern architecture, forms and new concepts in the city of Tirana are also evident.

It is also necessary to emphasize that this process is not spontaneous, but precedes it and is accompanied by all those multilateral measures that avoid or minimize the negative consequences of the displacements that may reach the outbreak of all political State countries. In this way, Albania touches a little the modern life cycle, characterized by the prevalence of urban population in the social and demographic structure of society.

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From Soviet utopia to new opportunities

Abstract: *This research studies two cities in west Georgia, Chiatura and Tskaltubo, which today are shrinking and losing their function, therefore in need of conceptualization. The two cities of Stalin era were built on Soviet utilitarian ideology and intended to be the mechanisms needed by then Soviet Republic of Georgia for proper functioning. No one considered the history, or the landscape of the region when designing and building these cities, also ignoring the needs of the humans who lived in the area. In both cases, brutal interventions were carried out in order to satisfy Soviet administration and, most importantly, produce goods for Soviet Republics. The first part of the presentation will address the history of the two cities and the significance of urban planning in the region, arguing that human interventions created urban spaces that functioned as machines. These were part of Soviet utopian expressions. Chiatura was meant to be an industrial city with manganese ore mines on top of the mountains; and Tskaltubo was to function as the largest therapeutic health resort in the Soviet Union. Both cities were conceived as such due to their natural resources – manganese ores in Chiatura and hot springs in Tskaltubo. But once Soviet Union collapsed, both cities started to shrink and deteriorate.*

Keywords: *Soviet, shrinking cities, utopia, urban problems.*

Introduction

This research studies two cities in west Georgia, Chiatura and Tskaltubo, that are in need of reconceptualization because they are shrinking and losing their function. The two cities from the Stalin era were built on Soviet utilitarian ideology and intended to be the mechanisms for the proper functioning of the Soviet Social Republic of Georgia (SSRG). Neither the history nor the landscape of the region was considered when designing and building these cities. In both cases, brutal interventions were carried out in order to satisfy the Soviet administration and, most importantly, produce goods for Soviet Republics.

In the first part of the presentation we would like to talk about the history of the two cities- Chiatura and Tskaltubo-- and the significance of urban planning in the region.

In the second part we argue that human interventions created urban spaces that functioned as machines during soviet regime and that these interventions were part of Soviet utopian expressions. Because of this, both cities, albeit more or less well designed, lost function and started to shrink.

¹ Ilia State University, Tbilisi, Georgia. E-Mail: ia.kupatadze@iliauni.edu.ge

² Ilia State University, Tbilisi, Georgia. E-Mail: soso.alavidze0@gmail.com

In the third part of the presentation, we propose to describe two design projects developed at Ilia State University with the intention to give cities new life, re-conceptualize them, taking into consideration their history, the landscape, as well as need of their dwellers and create experimental living and working spaces, which can be adjusted and changed based on needs.

Soviet Utopian expression

Chiatura

Chiatura is located away from urban centres and main roads. Along the narrow and winding river, *Kvirila*, single-family houses are spread out on the steep mountain.

In the nineteenth century, famous Georgian writer Akaki Tsereteli (1840-1915), who lived in Kutaisi,³ studied and explored *Chiatura* and its geological resources. During Tsereteli's time, the village of *Chiatura* was gradually redeveloping and becoming the centre of mining industry. During 1879-1922 the mining was done by individual persons or companies. As *Chiatura* redeveloped, people started moving into the area with their families. Several public buildings, including schools, a hospital, a theatre and baths, were added. The railroad system, new sewage and telecommunications systems, and a power plant, were constructed. But the start of WWI halted the mining industry (Archival Documents, 1940-1990).

In 1925 Soviet Union signed a contract with American concessionaires to develop mining, railroad and transportation systems in *Chiatura*. However, they were not successful and the agreement was cancelled. In 1928 Soviet Union created *Chiatura Manganese Company* to industrialize the city and initiate the main reconstruction/industrialization process of the city (Archival Documents, 1940-1990). According to Kenneth R. Whiting "Georgia's industrial development [was] rapid in the last few decades... The manganese deposit at *Chiatura* [was] one of the largest in the world" (Whiting, 1978). A new era began for the city. Twenty-one factories were built and number of mines increased to twenty-eight. Thousands of workers started to move to *Chiatura* and work in mines. New roads were added and the railroad system was improved. The train line in *Chiatura* entered the city and branched into mining factories. The city now was connected to west Georgia – the Black Sea area, where manganese was easily exported to other nations for further treatment.

After the factories and mines were built, the government realized that they needed to build public housing quickly for the rapidly changing city in order to house workers and their families. The government decided to construct mass housing units using prefabricated panels. This was because of the geology of the specific area: the soil was very expensive to build on but they needed cheap and fast construction. In some areas, they decided to tear down single-family houses [Fig.1], which were in poor condition, and instead build mass housing complexes (Archival Documents, 1940-1990).

³ Second large city in Georgia, 82 km from *Chiatura*.



Fig. 1. City Chiatura - Mass Housing Units (Credits: National Archives of Georgia, Central Archive of Contemporary History)

It is important to note that each of these mass housing complexes were built with all the required public buildings – kindergartens, schools, activity centres (stadiums) and parks. Since the housing was built mostly on the hills, in 1954 *Chiatura* introduced unique form of public transportation, the cable car (Archival Documents, 1940-1990).



Fig. 2. a. Mass Housing Unit; b. Unstructured streets with small housing units; c. City Centre.

This helped workers and their family members move easily from home to work or to the city centre, and thus became a much more convenient transportation system for all dwellers. Gradually *Chiatura* acquired twenty-two passenger cable cars for the city and adjacent suburbs. The city centre was constructed on a wide river valley. Public buildings were built in Soviet, pompous eclectic style, typical of Stalinist architecture. If we look at the village of *Chiatura* before the developments with its natural topology, it had narrow, unstructured, spontaneously created streets, with small one family housing units [Fig.2].

Tskaltubo

Tskaltubo is located in the Imerety region and linked to the second large city in Georgia – Kutaisi. It is strategically located as a mid-point between Georgia's east and west parts. Interesting, unique and important architectural monuments surround the area such as the *Sataplia* mountain reserve, which has traces of dinosaurs and caves, the *Katski* column and a monastery. *Tskaltubo* was one of the biggest Balneological resorts in Georgia during the

Soviet regime. It was adjacent to two villages, had a nice landscape, and was not very populated. The land itself was not as big as it is now, as it was mostly covered with water ponds. In early nineteenth century, scientists analysed the natural spring water and found unique minerals, which had physiotherapeutic qualities. Around 1920 *Tskaltubo* became state owned territory and was officially designated as Balneological resort (Shavianidze et al., 1990).

Tskaltubo is 100m above sea level. From three sides, the area is surrounded with mountains, therefore it is protected from cold air flow and winds. The opening is from the west side, the Black Sea area, and brings subtropical misty air. The location and surroundings obviously play a huge role in the climate, but also play an important role in the city's formation.

In 1931 Stalin and his government decided to develop a resort in *Tskaltubo* for Soviet people. Noted in the archive documents "31st of October in 1931, the Supreme party of all Soviet Communist Party (Bolsheviks) together with Soviet National Committee officially signed the document stating that several Georgian resorts must be developed" (Shavianidze et al., 1990). In his resort, Stalin wanted to create an ideal world for each segment of society. He wanted to hide the poor village life and underline the greatness of Soviet system – its lifestyle. He envisioned *Tskaltubo* as the most luxurious resort in the USSR – and the architects had to fulfil his desire.

Since the main attraction was the unique spring water, the development of a resort was assigned to the Institute of Balneology of Georgia, which included both the Central Balneology Institute and Balneology Institute in Caucasian Mineral Waters. The Institute brought in over 80 scientists, from all over Soviet Union, to help to create a resort. These scientists faced two issues in designing the resort: First, the "wild baths" [Fig.3] did not fulfil sanitary-hygienic regulations as patients with diverse infections and diseases would be bathing together with healthy people in open air. As noted in historic documents: "In 1927 bathing house was reconstructed. New disinfection chamber, mud baths, cafeteria and resort department were open" (Administration, 1926).



Fig. 3. City Tskaltubo - Wild Bath (Credits: National Archives of Georgia, Central Archive of Contemporary History)

Second, the river *Tskaltubo*, which brought the natural spring water to the city, created a big wetland. To address these issues, the first schematic master plan was introduced in 1932 by P. Mamradze, under N. P. Severov's guidance. Since the "wild baths" were located in a valley, which was surrounded by mountains on three sides, they decided to design the area like an amphitheatre (70-80 Hectare territory). Architects decided to put baths and green space in

the middle part of the city and to put river in a channel, which would surround the city centre like a ring [Fig.4]. At the edge of the city, they designed a “cold lake,” which would collect and control river water. In order to dry out the wetland, dendrologists from all over USSR were asked to come and plan the middle part of the city. Since *Tskaltubo* had special climate, unique vegetation was suggested to be planted in the park area. The area was turned into a small paradise with different types of bushes and trees (Shavianidze et al., 1990).

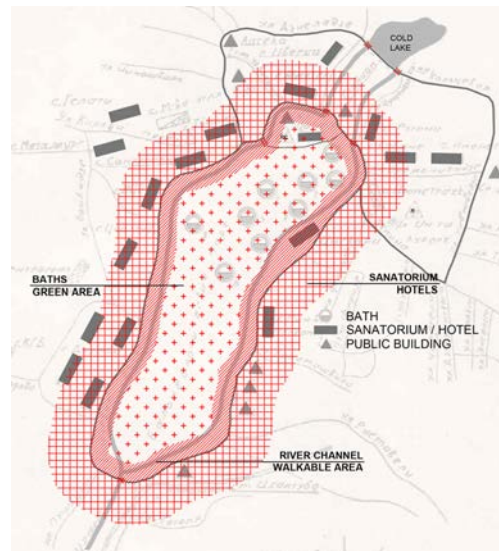


Fig. 4. Schematic plan for city Tskaltubo

Sanatoriums and hotels were arranged in the “seating area” of the amphitheatre. The sanatorium ring was designed along the main road on a hill, surrounded by a green belt. After sanatoriums belt green areas were designed – as a wall that would disconnect original dwellers from visitors. Two settlements with one family housing existed and was left almost untouched. Only later mass housing units were added in some parts. Public buildings and research institutes were constructed along the sanatoriums. Each sanatorium or hotel was an architectural masterpiece of that time.

Tskaltubo now had a unique resort architecture, and, in 1935, a new railroad system was introduced connecting every soviet republic to the *Tskaltubo* resort. Today, in *Tskaltubo*, you can see Stalinist buildings with traditional ornaments embedded in the architecture, together with avant-garde-brutal architecture (Shavianidze et al., 1990).

Collapse

With the collapse of the USSR, Stalin’s dream started to collapse too. The connection among republics was closed. Georgia was not able to maintain the mining industry or support such a lavish resort by itself. The export of manganese ceased and patients stopped going to the springs for medical treatment.

Even though, it seems that the cities were constructed considering people’s need and comfort, we can argue that the system did not consider what would happen if manganese resources were exhausted or Soviet Union as one entity were to fall apart and lavish resort with such scale will not be necessary anymore. The government did not consider that industrialization one day could fail and people would lose their jobs which would force them to move away (or move out of) from the cities.

We can argue that *Tskaltubo* and *Chiatura* were well designed cities. (especially *Tskaltubo*). Stalin studied and created unique areas, with fantastic Sanatoriums/hotels, healing baths and leisure, with exceptional plants and water channels, industrial or public buildings, cable car unique system. However, in both cases, no one considered or admitted, that one day the system could collapse and force people to leave the area, since there were no other attractions left for them.

The big machine collapsed and brought down very well thought, studied and designed two cities *Tskaltubo* and *Chiatura*, which were not able to function independently. Both cities would only work, if Soviet system existed. Independently, it was hard to maintain and naturally the city started to shrink. A new approach was needed.

New life

At Ilia State University, we have developed two design projects with the intention of giving these cities a new life. The goal of these projects is to address cultural circumstances, as well as functional capabilities of the two cities.

In the proposed two projects we decided to take account what worked well during soviet ideology, modernize it if possible, keep historic heritage and think in a long-term perspective.

Chiatura

In the proposed project, we decided to a) consider the significance of the area today, b) think outside of the box, and c) create a socially active city. Today, *Chiatura's* cable car system serves both a functional and cultural role. The cable cars represent a mechanism, one that increases productivity by providing expedient transportation throughout the hilly city. Simultaneously, tourists are fascinated with looking down at the city from these cable cars. We hope to recreate this dual function of the cable car system in our redesigned city. We propose to preserve one family housing but demolish all the soviet mass housing buildings. In their place, high-rise towers will be constructed, which replicate the shape of crumpled paper.

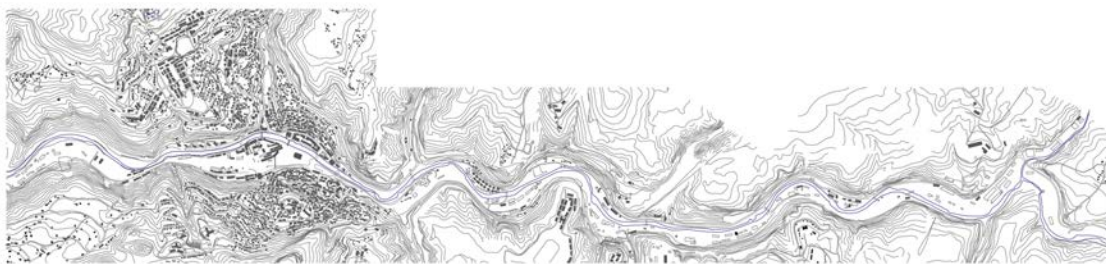


Fig. 5. City Chiatura - Master Plan (Credits: Ilia State University, Georgia)

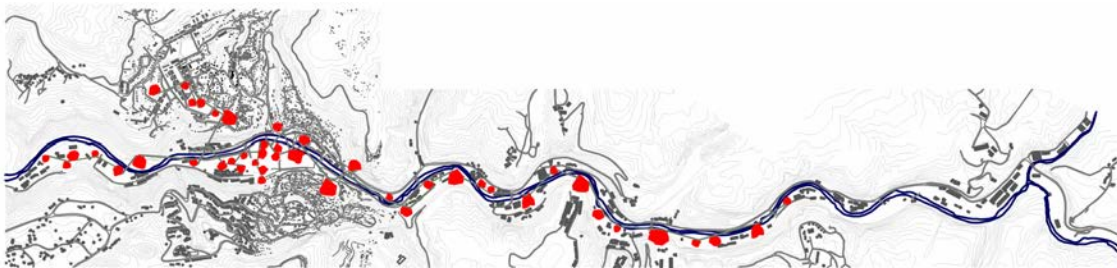


Fig. 6. City Chiatura - Proposed Master Plan (Credits: Ilia State University, Georgia)

Each tower will be connected with others using elevated tube bridges. The bridges will be reminiscent of the old cable car systems. Tower will be multifunctional living and working areas and will be designed based on sustainable principles. They will house a younger generation and include scientific research laboratories, gardens, and artists' studios. Since the city's location is very close to Kutaisi International Airport, we believe it can become a hub for a new generation. It will become an experimental living, working and having fun place [Fig.7].

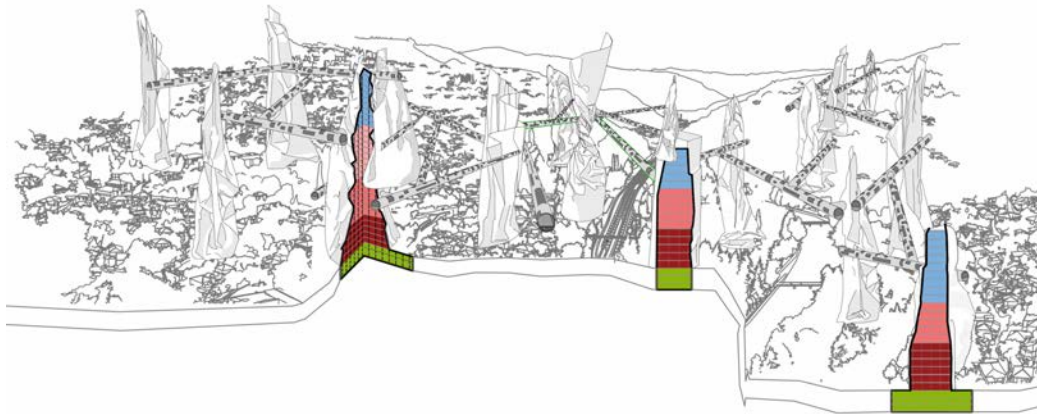


Fig. 7. City Chiatura – A proposed design solution (sketch). *Tskaltubo*. (Credits: Ilia State University, Georgia)

Since the city is almost abandoned, our goal is to bring features which may interest a younger generation. This is a hard problem to solve, but our hope is to create a space that is united with the culture and landscape of the area. In Georgia, like in most of the Caucasus, naïveté is an extremely popular and interesting component of cultural expression. In order to design a city appealing to a younger generation, we drew inspiration from this idea: we gave Sandro (an 8-year-old boy) an outlined contour of *Tskaltubo* [Fig.8] and told him to design a city in this area but did not give him any suggestions or ideas. He, obviously, had no prior experience in city planning, but knew he wanted to design a city in which he could have fun.



Fig. 8. An outlined contour of Tskaltubo Center (Credits: Ilia State University, Georgia)

Sandro divided the centre area in two by running a river through the city. He created a park with a football stadium, tennis court, swimming pool, castle for kids, ice cream stands and amusement park. He also added several public buildings –a hospital, police, television, theatre, cinema and supermarket. Finally, he created “Sandro” tower overlooking the city [Fig.9].

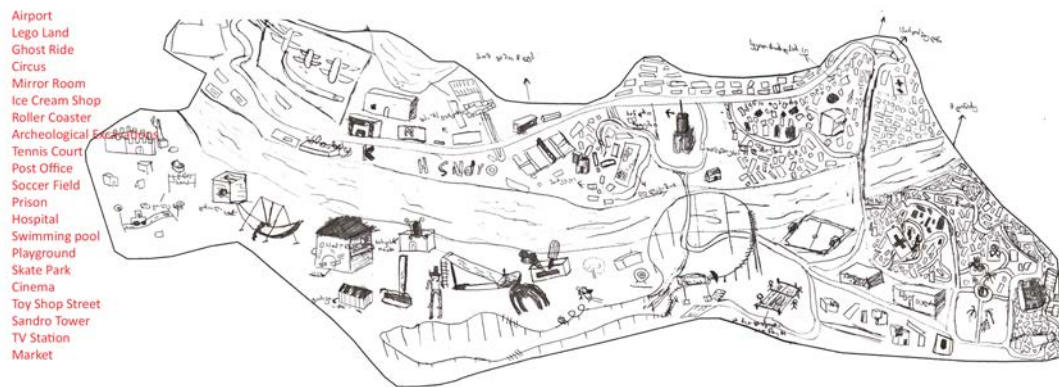


Fig. 9. City Tskaltubo - Sandro's drawing (Credits: Ilia State University, Georgia)

We took inspiration from Sandro’s drawing. Since natural springs are located in the middle of the city, we left water and a park in the middle. We introduced public and private bathing houses, which we incorporated into the landscape. We left the Sandro tower, since it was such a unique and dominant feature.

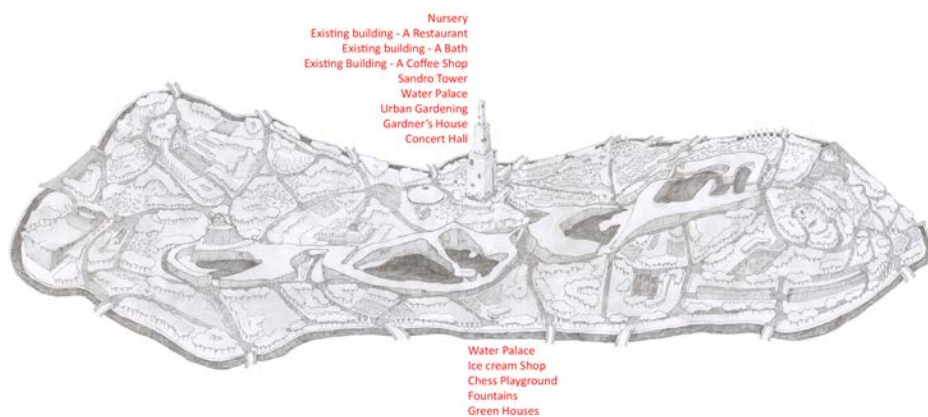


Fig. 10. City Tskaltubo - Conceptual project (Credits: Ilia State University, Georgia)

The man-made landscape with its natural warm water springs will take us back to “wild baths” that were initially so popular with the inhabitants of the region. Several new activities will be added to the park, which we hope will be interesting for young generation [Fig.10].

Conclusion

The concepts, in both cases are extreme utopias, and we have to admit that utopian projects are rarely realized. However, it is clear that the developments created during the Soviet regime have ceased to function. This is because the Soviet regime did not consider the

republic's culture, its needs and abilities. It only thought holistically about how the city would function in the USSR. Today, Stalinist architecture cannot offer any functional elements, although it is rich with ideological and artistic features.

The motivation behind both projects must be to fulfil the needs of local inhabitants, try to give new functions to the city and by this interest a young generation in *Chiatura* and *Tskaltubo*. Research labs, educational institutions, commercial companies, healing and having fun activities will bring more energy to the cities. Open public spaces with different functions together with the existing community will create attractive socially active surroundings. Creating living spaces and comfortable zones will ensure the stability of the areas.

The artistic concept thus has a big role, since it has to absorb Stalinist architecture pseudo classical pomposity from contemporary liberal ideology, where the liberal ideology must win. We had to find universal artistic approach to triumph this concept.

Acknowledgments

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Destruction or decay? The outlook of socialist industrial heritage of Belgrade and Serbia

Abstract: *After the end of World War II in Yugoslavia, the new government had a very important and difficult task – extensive modernization and the creation of a socialist society. Industrialization was an important part of this plan and had started as early as 1946 with the construction of the railroad Brčko-Banovići and continued rapidly in the following years. The goal of this paper is to stress the importance of preserving industrial complexes created after World War II as witnesses of the industrialization progress that happened in Yugoslavia. The ideology that created these industrial giants has long gone leaving behind a society in transition where socio-political and economic changes are taking their toll on the country's industry and especially on the factories and industrial complexes created during the socialist era. The most important question asked in this paper is whether there is a destiny for these structures other than decay or destruction. The paper presents several factories in Belgrade and Serbia that were constructed during the socialist era and points out their importance in a historical context but also their condition and state today. The research was conducted not only by investigating historical sources, but also by stepping into the field, visiting, or trying to visit, the factories and communicating with the people who once worked there or are currently connected to these places in one way or another. By telling the story of these industrial complexes and trying to understand their place and role today, this paper aims to provide different suggestions for their continued life in the future.*

Keywords: *deindustrialization, industrial heritage, Yugoslavia, regeneration, reuse.*

Introduction

Cultural heritage is an important factor in the life of a country. However, new development and rapid construction are constantly putting cultural heritage, especially built heritage, at risk. It is undisputed that industrial heritage has great impact on cities today and due to its architectural, social, historical and technological significance it could be an important factor in a city's identity. (Cizler, 2012: 224) Even though there are numerous examples of industrial landscapes in complete physical and functional decadency, contributing to enlarge the negative public perceptions about these places (Loures, 2008: 24) they also represent the potential for urban regeneration and sustainable development.

Yugoslavia has experienced rapid industrialization after World War II and for several decades, industry has been an important if not vital element of the country's policy. After the 1990s and during the transition period, most of these factories and industrial complexes

¹ Museum of Science and Technology, Belgrade, Serbia. E-mail: ada.vlajic@muzejnt.rs

created during the socialist era have declared bankruptcy and have been shut down. The degradation of industry has gone hand in hand with the destruction of socialist identity and common heritage, as well as inventing new traditions and interpretations of the past. Heritage is not a relic of the past, but an important asset in the process of sustainable development and the well-being of communities (Dragičević Šešić & Rogač Mijatović, 2014: 10) and its safeguarding is imperative. However, new development is a very real and very present threat to heritage sites with the impact of construction becoming more noticeable at nationally important sites as well as local areas. The danger is even greater for the sites that are not recognized as heritage by the public and are only perceived as obstacles in new construction. Both socialist and industrial heritage are problematic in their own ways, often seen as dissonant and even unwanted and as a result industrial complexes constructed during the socialist era and now out of business are usually not recognized as heritage, therefore not protected. This paper will try to shed light on the importance of these industrial buildings and landscapes and the importance of their preservation and protection.

Cultural memory and heritage

In South-eastern Europe, as a territory where new states have been created and different ethnic groups have been in search of identity, issues relating to memories are of great importance. (Dragičević Šešić, 2012: 70) One of the main characteristics of cultural memory is identity, especially the process of creating and reconstructing identity. In addition to identity, cultural memory is perceived in relation to memory, society and its culture, transmission of knowledge in the institutionalized heritage of a society. (Assmann & Czaplicka, 1995: 129-130) There is a relation between memory and specific horizons of time and identity on the individual, generational, political and cultural levels. This relation is what distinguishes memory and knowledge. Memory is knowledge in correlation to identity, it is knowledge about oneself. While knowledge has a universal perspective, memory, even cultural memory is local, egocentric and specific to a group and its values. Cultural memory is not the past as such, but the past as it is remembered. It is based on fixed points in the past. These fixed points or 'figures of memory' are fateful events of the past whose memory is maintained through cultural formations such as narratives, texts, monuments, festivals etc. (Assman, 2008: 112-114) When talking about memory in the context of culture, we must take into consideration forgetting and we can distinguish two forms of forgetting: active and passive. Active forgetting is implied in intentional acts such as trashing and destroying while the passive form of cultural forgetting is related to non-intentional acts such as losing, hiding, neglecting or abandoning. In this case, objects are not physically destroyed, but they fall out of the frames of attention, valuation and use. Forgetting is a part of life and we can acknowledge that it is the normality of personal and cultural life. In this case, remembering is the exception which requires special precautions, especially in the cultural sphere where they take the form of cultural institutions. Remembering as well as forgetting can have its active and passive form. Active memory refers to preserving the past as present through selecting and collecting for example. Passive memory indicates preserving the past as the past through accumulating. Cultural memory is based on these two separate functions: the presentation of a small selection of the selected and chosen sacred texts, artworks and historic key events and the storing or accumulating of artefacts and documents that are interesting and important enough not to be left to vanish or to total oblivion. (Assman, 2008: 97-101)

In the context of the city, memory also has an important role. If we think about cities as places where lives have been lived, we can talk about urban memory. This can be anthropomorphism – the city having a memory, remembering through its buildings as an analogy with the preservation of memories in the human mind. However, more often urban memory indicates ‘the city as a physical landscape and collection of objects and practices that enable recollections of the past and that embody the past through traces of the city’s sequential building and rebuilding’. (Crinson, 2005: xii-xiii) The French historian Pierre Nora places these sites of memory, or *lieux de mémoire*, in the middle of the contrast of history and memory. He states that *lieux de mémoire* exist only because there are no more *milieux de mémoire*, real environments of memory; that history has destroyed memory. (Nora, 1989: 7) These places of memory have taken on the role of fixing the broken bonds of identity and incarnating memory. These sites can be many things such as historical figures, books or commemorative events, but also buildings and places. (Crinson, 2005: xiv)

Industrial heritage

The concept of industrial heritage has been introduced in England in the twentieth century. Coined in reference to the buildings and landscapes of the industrial era, up until now the term has moved much further in the past, but also much closer to the present. At the beginning of the twenty first century the Nizhny Tagil Charter was originated by TICCIH, the world organization for industrial heritage. According to this Charter, ‘industrial heritage consists of the remains of industrial culture which are of historical, technological, social, architectural or scientific value.’ The Charter also stresses the importance of identification, recording and research of the industrial remains as well as its protection, maintenance, conservation and interpretation. (The Nizhny Tagil Charter for Industrial Heritage, 2003) Even though architecture is not the only or the main part of industrial heritage, it is of great significance and it is necessary to recognize that architectural heritage is a capital of irreplaceable spiritual, cultural, social and economic value and the destruction of any part of it leaves us poorer since nothing new that we create, however fine, will make good the loss. (European Charter of the Architectural Heritage, 1975)

The study of industrial heritage of present-day Serbia in the 19th and early 20th centuries has begun back in the 1990s and an official department was formed at the Museum of Science and Technology in Belgrade in 2001. The research was only recently expanded to include the time period after World War II.

The industrial journey: from Yugoslavia to Serbia

Industry in Serbia has been developing since the middle of the nineteenth century, but it is after World War II that a bigger and more organized industrialization has occurred. By the time the war has ended, Yugoslavia was facing great demographic and material losses. More than a million people have lost their lives, another 3.5 million have lost their homes. In 1945 more than a third of all the country’s industry has been destroyed, none of the mines were operational and most of the roads and railways as well as bridges were left in ruins (Čalić, 2013: 228).

One of the first and most important goals of the new Yugoslav government was rebuilding the country in order to provide the foundation for the development of the country’s economy,

infrastructure and industry. The next step was creating long-term development strategies such as the Five-year plan. One of the goals was increasing industrial production especially concerning basic industry, energy and mechanical engineering (Latifić, 1997: 41). Even though investments were made in reconstructing and renovating existing industrial facilities, the most important and biggest undertaking was constructing around 200 new factories. More often than not bigger investments were made in the construction of the buildings than the machinery (Dobrivojević, 2009: 105).

The industrial transformation Yugoslavia has experienced in the twenty-year period after 1945 has influenced almost every aspect of life. The changes were visible in social and professional structures, cities and villages, architecture, family structure and gender roles as well as traditions. Yugoslavia in the sixties was neither a rural and traditional nor an entirely urban and industrial society, but was on the road of self-reflection with a will for change (Čalić, 2013: 253). Nevertheless, cities were growing and industrialization has promoted significant changes in the landscape even greater than before.

However, over the past decades' globalization, deindustrialization, industrial relocation and economic reconversion has had a profound effect on industrial areas all over the world and produced a number of obsolete industrial facilities (Loures, 2008: 24). This scenario can also be seen in Serbia, although the events leading up to it may be slightly different. The years of civil war during the 1990s and the transitional period since have left most factories in bankruptcy and their facilities have fallen into disuse. The physical and functional decadency of these places has contributed to the negative public perception about these spaces.

The destiny of these buildings in the past thirty years has been very turbulent as have been the lives of the people who once worked in these factories.²

The Ivo Lola Ribar (ILR) machine factory was built in Belgrade's neighbourhood Železnik in 1948 as one of the first factories constructed following the First Five-year Plan. Only one production hall was finished by the year's end when the production started, but the factory's capacities were expanded over the years creating a great industrial complex on the periphery of Belgrade. Once an industrial giant hiring over 9000 people, ILR has closed its doors in 2001 (Radovanović and Milojević, 2017: 445). Today, most of the buildings are shut down and locked with no possibility of entry. Others have been sold or rented out. The factory no longer exists and the only memory of it is kept alive through a small organization of 'Lola's people' and the monograph of the factory they have published.

A very similar situation can be found in Belgrade's municipality of Zemun and the Zmaj factory. Founded in 1927 as an airplane and hydroplane factory, after the war it changed its orientation and started producing agricultural machines becoming the most important one in Yugoslavia. After the factory was sold all the production stopped and the industrial landscape has lost its integrity. Hypermarkets were built in the factory complex and the remaining buildings are either being used for different purposes or are left abandoned and partially demolished.

Drawing closer to the centre of Belgrade the industrial complexes get smaller, but the damage gets more severe. An industrial complex in Karaburma neighbourhood, once a part of Minel Corporation is being demolished in order to open up space for a new residential and commercial space. Some of the facilities of the same company have already been destroyed in Čukarica municipality, near the Ada Island, where a new shopping centre is being built.

² The factories presented in this paper were a part of the field research conducted at Museum of Science and Technology.

Tearing down industrial buildings in order to bring up a shopping mall is not an isolated occurrence. The facilities of the IPM (Industry for Precise Mechanics) factory have been torn down in the summer of 2018 and a shopping mall is being built in its place. The location of IMT (Industry of Machines and Tractors) in New Belgrade is considered to be a prime location and is in very high demand. Since the factory was sold and put out of business, the coherence of the industrial landscape has been long gone as different structures lost their original functions. The buildings haven't been demolished yet, but there is little space for optimism since plans for the construction of a residential/commercial area have been announced.

Outside of Belgrade industrial landscapes are more often abandoned and left to be turned into industrial ruins by time. Once a thriving chemical industry with over ten thousand employees, Viskoza in Loznica is now a run-down industrial complex with almost no whole buildings left. The main administrative building, constructed by one of the prominent Yugoslav architects, Ivan Antic in a modern and progressive architectural expression (Šterić, 1961: 11), is still standing although mostly stripped of its interior. What is left of most of the other buildings are concrete beams and partially demolished walls. A slightly better first impression is gained when entering Šamot factory in Arandelovac, but by taking a closer look it is obvious that the abandoned complex shares the fate of Viskoza and many others.

Conclusion

Deindustrialization, no matter the reasons for it, has produced obsolete industrial facilities all around the world. What will become of them is up to us. Will they be demolished or left to be destroyed by time? Sometimes, destruction is the only option, but more often than not there are other choices. The adaptation of an industrial site to a new use is usually an acceptable choice and it avoids wasting energy and contributes to sustainable development while providing psychological stability for the community. (The Nizhny Tagil Charter for Industrial Heritage, 2003) The reasons for protecting these industrial landscapes are usually very clear. They are an important part of the history of the place and provide the testimony to the cultural, social and economic change and development of a society (Loures, 2008: 25).

However, their connection to history is not the only reason for the protection of these industrial sites. The essential notion for their protection is their connection to memory. Once the pillar of the country that no longer exists, industry has become a marginal activity in the past thirty years in Serbia. What remains are debts, buildings and people with their memories. Through careful urban planning these buildings still standing can become more than carcasses of their former functions, the industrial landscapes can become more than hazardous areas that should be avoided. Demolitions can be substituted with regeneration and reuse in the context of sustainable development. Neglect can be traded for the preservation of memory and creating the connection between the past, present and the future. Raising public interest in the industrial heritage of the socialist era as well as the appreciation of its values is curtail for its preservation.

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The three layers of the city of Kukes: a proposal for revitalizing collective urban memory

Abstract: *The city of Kukes, Albania, as seen today is a result of the special circumstances of the decision to inundate the old city in favour of the construction of a HEC, and the top-down socialist urban planning of residential blocks and industrial chromium mines co-living on the vast underground network of nuclear tunnels. The new city, shaped like a peninsula, is surrounded by the fluctuating waters of Fierza, which allow the ruins of the old city to resurface several times during the year. At the same time, the underground “city” is practically leftover space. These three layers testify each for a different period of time in the history of the creation of the city: pre, mid, and post socialism. The paper investigates a symbiotic relationship between the past and the present: a multi-layered concept that will combine one historical idea to a contemporary counterpart creating a dynamic proposal. A multi-scale analysis is conducted based on literature written by native authors of Kukes, as well as universal concepts such as landmarks, urban artifacts, nostalgia, authenticity, and cultural preservation are interpreted contextually. A framework for the inclusion of a contemporary architectural intervention enables adaptive site reuse in order to provide a city with a positive social, cultural, and economic impact. More specifically, the connection among the three layers of the city of Kukes is proposed with a focus on the revitalization of the unused underground network of tunnels and improvement of the overall cityscape.*

Keywords: *urban memory; historical layers; cultural preservation; nuclear bunkers.*

Theoretical Background

The main theoretical concepts on which this paper is centred are “social relatedness”, “the image of the city”, and “locus”. During the peak of the top-down planning approach, when the city was regarded only in its physical state, and the human scale was overlooked, Lewis Mumford sought to question the city as a social institution in his famous “What is a City?” speech (1937). Deeming the physical quality as secondary, according to him, what is primary for a city is its relationship with the environment it is set on and the spiritual values of its community (Mumford, 1937). To him, people living in the same urban conditions are “related” by the physical components of these conditions.

What men cannot imagine as a vague formless society, they can live through and experience as citizens in a city. Their unified plans and buildings become a symbol of their social

¹ Epoka University, Albania. E-Mail: rbrecani12@epoka.edu.al

relatedness; and when the physical environment itself becomes disordered and incoherent, the social functions that it harbours become more difficult to express (Mumford, 1937).

In his book "The Architecture of the City", Aldo Rossi describes the city as seen from two different perspectives: the city seen as a gigantic man-made object, and the city as urban artefact with its own history and form. According to Rossi, urban history and geographic position go hand in hand raising thus the concept of locus. The locus is a relationship between a certain location and the buildings within it (Rossi, 1966). The urban artefact gains its uniqueness from this fact meaning that the things that have happened in one place make it singular, and like no other, since the experiencing of certain events belongs to one place only (Rossi, 1966).

In his famous work "The Image of the City", Kevin Lynch categorizes the elements of the city into paths, nodes, landmarks, districts and edges. As Lynch suggests, the observer needs to find order in the chaotic reality that is the city, thus when designing for a city, one should try to give it a form that facilitates the organizing efforts we undergo for our surroundings. A design proposed for the city should be comprehensive; it should capture the essence of the culture and history of the place in an attempt to preserve authenticity.

The strength of paths relies in that they are close to special features of the city. But on the other hand, one might argue that the strength of important features of the city relies in that they are in close proximity to important paths of the city and thus within easy reach for locals and tourists. "Elements placed at junctions gain more relevance from their location" (Lynch, 1960). Hence, the establishment of a symbiotic relationship between the path and the special features is ideal in increasing the importance of both the element of paths and the one of nodes/landmarks.

On the Communist Regime in Albania

In 1847, the communist manifesto written by political theorists Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels attacked capitalism defining it inherently unstable and promoted the elimination of social classes such as bourgeoisie and proletariat. The Marxist ideals were embraced by several countries, among which also Albania. The socialist regime in Albania lasted 45 years (from 1945-90). The heads of the state ruled the country harshly while instilling terror and fear among the population. The regime used physical and mental tortures to gain the fear and the disruption of the population; it saw the end of private property, with everything being taken by the state, and the censoring of all kinds of art. Albania lived isolated during the years post World War Two, preserving political connections only with a few countries like Russia, Yugoslavia, and China, but ultimately breaking them off too with the excuse that the country was self-sufficient. The reforms taken by the communist party led to extreme poverty of the state.

After the establishment of the communist regime in Albania, the country was surrounded by NATO powers, a fact that led to Enver Hoxha's extreme fear of being attacked and to Albania's isolation. The bunkarization of Albania began in 1967 and ended in 1985 (Resta, 2015). The defensive system of Albania, as portrayed in [fig. 1], consists of mushroom-like concrete structures called bunkers, underground tunnels, and a linear series that follow the ground morphology (more than 700,000). Giuseppe Resta considers the bunker system of Albania an ornament, i.e. a waste of money, time, and labour. In Kukes, as well as in other

Albanian cities such as Tirana, Bajram Curri, Fier etc., we can find a network of underground tunnels built during this period.

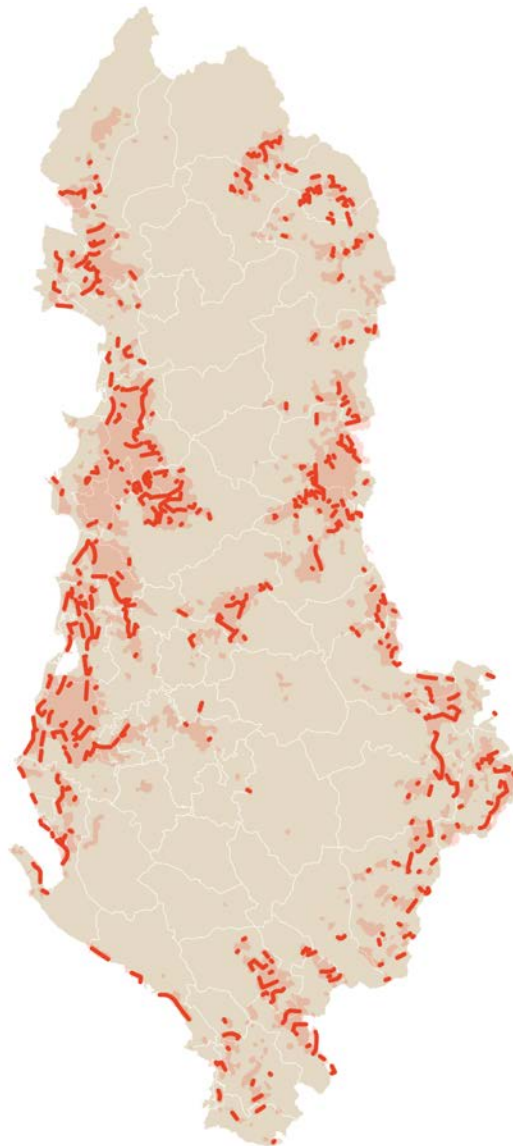


Fig. 1. The former secret map of the Albanian defensive system (based on Resta, 2015).

On the tunnels of Kukes

Several factors have affected the lack of information on the underground network of tunnels in Kukes, and elsewhere. For starters, until 2014, the so-called military map of Albania was not shared with the general public. The opening of the Bunk'Art: the underground tunnel network located in Tirana which has been repurposed as a thematic museum, marked the disclosure of some information on the topic. On the other hand, most of the citizens that recall the constructions for it because they witnessed them, fear repercussions in providing too much information.

Nevertheless, during a questionnaire-oriented site trip to Kukes, some precious data was gathered. Citizens of the age 50-60, who were in their teenage years when the construction of the tunnels was being carried out, stated that five residential buildings were connected with the tunnels by their basements. Each of these buildings belonged to a different building block,

thus five building blocks were connected to the tunnels. Besides, the hospital, the high school, and the court had a connection with the underground network as well, according to a hand drawn map that was still intact. The network has six known openings, which are oriented two by two in different directions: North-West, West, and South-West. The network spreads from 320-25 m above sea level: 25-30 m below the level of the new city of Kukes.

The tunnels of the map allegedly had a capacity to shelter approximately 20,000 people. The main tunnel/corridors had doors leading to individual rooms on either one or both sides, as illustrated in [fig. 2]. Furthermore, a hospital with 300 beds, a bread factory, a printing room etc. were also included in the network. These facts make of the tunnel network of Kukes a legit underground city, differently from the Bunk'Art in Tirana which was designed only for the heads of the state. The tunnels are inaccessible today, and the initial reluctance of the citizens to answer questions regarding them can be attributed to their nowadays use for drug abuse.

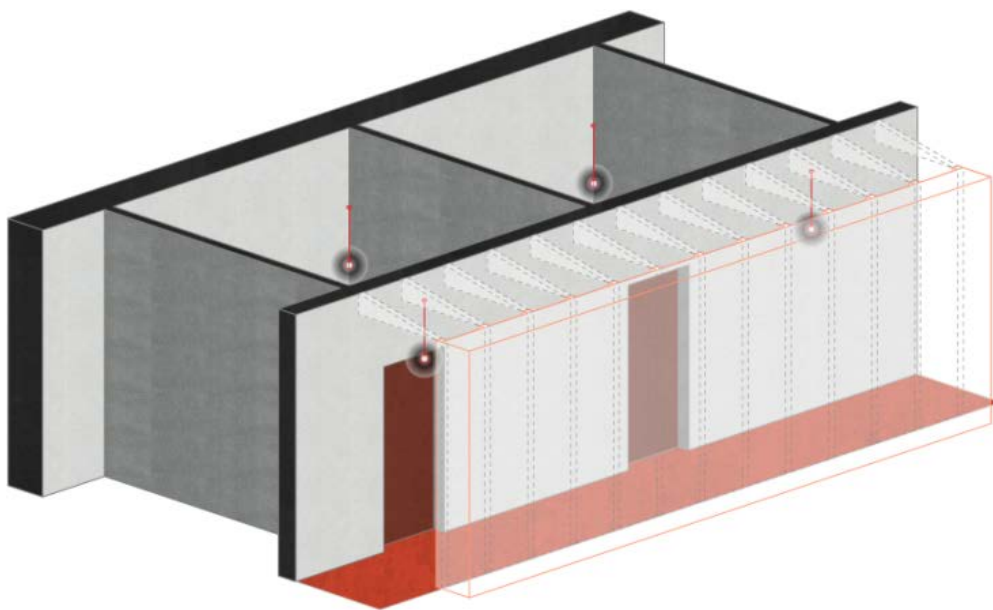


Fig. 2. Close-up partial axonometric drawing of the inner construction of the tunnels (Brecani and Dervishi, 2019).

Historical data

The favourable position of Kukes has made it a preferred path to traverse to other adjacent cities and establishments. This preference of Kukes has existed since ancient times. Hence, the region of Kukes has developed throughout the centuries paying a special attention to the development of an infrastructure to seize this flux. Nowadays, Kukes plays a key role in the connection of Western and Southern Albania to the Northern region and to the adjacent countries. One of the most important roads of country, the National Road, passes through here. The ancient roads, combined with the bridges and fords constitute one of the key historic features that have been so important to the defining of Kukes as a strategic location.

Though the city of Kukes is the newest city in Albania, having started construction only in 1961 after the decision to inundate the old city in favour of the construction of a HEC, the findings in the region of Kukes show that this establishment is as old as the Bronze Age (Dokle, 2013). The old city of Kukes held the history of the entire region from the creation of Mt. Gjalica and the rivers of Drini until the day it was inundated. The city was a crossroad for the transportation of

not only people and merchandise, but also information from Albania and abroad. On the other hand, the second layer of Kukes, the network of underground tunnels could tell a lot about the 55 years Albania spent under the communist regime if it was recovered and repurposed.

The old city of Kukes was situated in the north-western part of Mt. Gjallica. The city looked mainly like a peninsula, but according to weather conditions it assumed the look of an island when the rivers of Drini submerged Qafe Palush. The old city is described as a triangular terrace 10-12 m above the normal mirror of the flow of the two Drini Rivers. The decision to inundate it was taken in 1960 and since, the construction of the new city began. Ten years later, when the population migrated to the new city, and the HEC was constructed, the old city was flooded. Among the citizens of Kukes, many eye witnesses claim that the remains of the old city are visible every year when the water level of the lake lowers. Furthermore, at certain times, such as 2012, the water level of the lake was so low that you could see the whole old city. There is no infrastructure to connect with the old city however, even as much as to see it. Moreover, its existence is not a known fact for foreigners and people that do not live in Kukes.



Fig. 3. Physical map of the county of Kukes

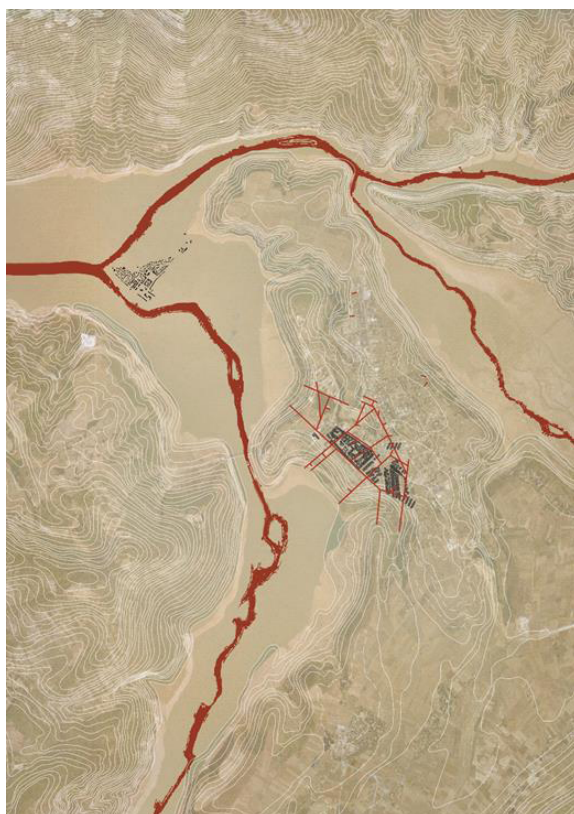


Fig. 4. The city of Kukes in 1976 (left) and the city of Kukes in 2017 (right).



Fig. 5. Maximum water level (left) and the "dead point" level (right).



Fig. 6. Graph on the variations of the water level of the Lake of Fierza².

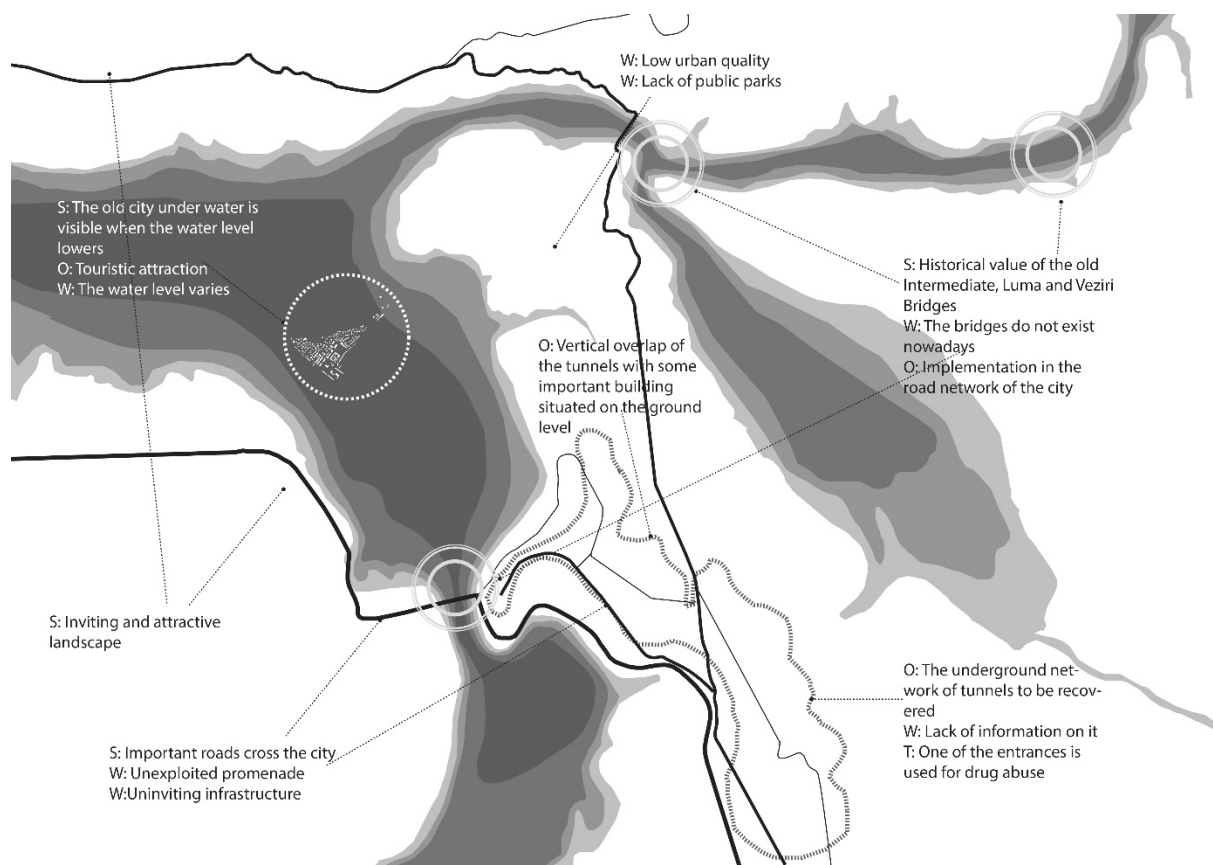


Fig. 7. SWOT for the city of Kukes

In [fig. 4, left] the old city of Kukes is illustrated alongside the new apartment blocks and the underground network of tunnels. In [fig. 4, right] the new city of Kukes, as expanded until 2017 sits on the peninsula in the lake of Fierza; the ruins of the old city are inundated. The

² based on information provided in the 2015 Yearly Report on Energy published by ERE

fluctuations of the Fierza lake level are illustrated in [fig. 5-6], together with the visibility of the ruins of the old city. In [fig. 7] some important observations of Kukes are translated into an illustrative SWOT map.

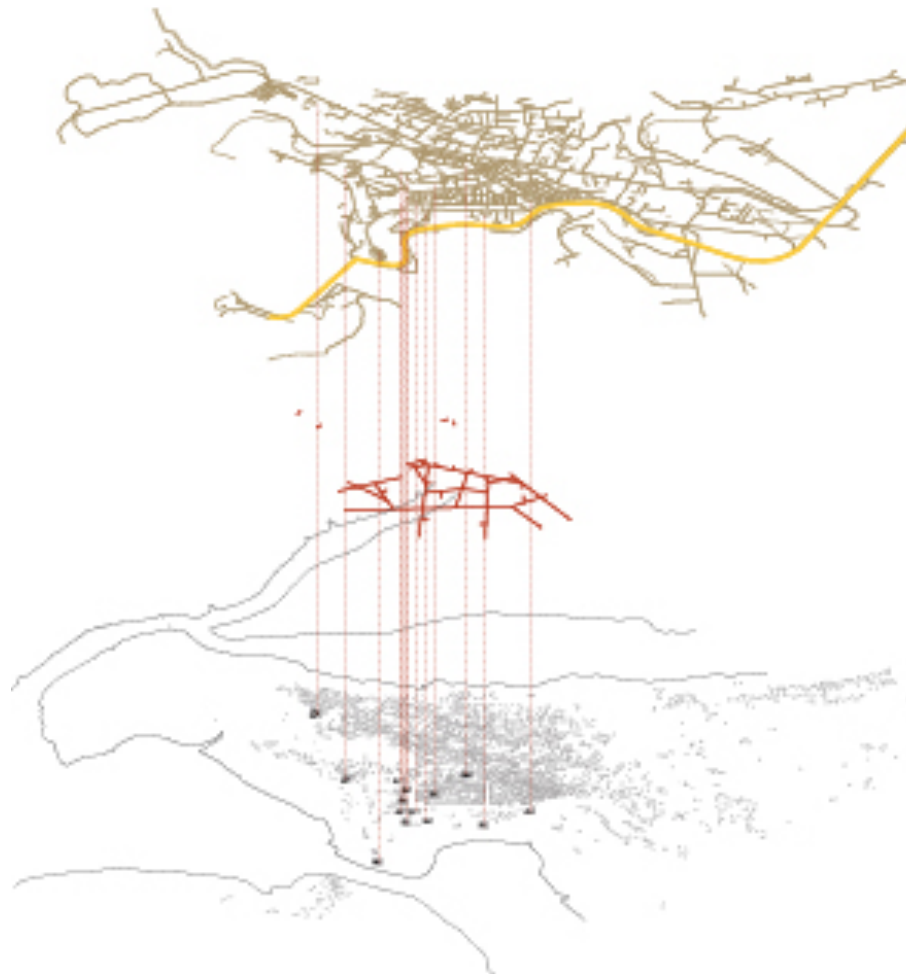


Fig. 8. Overlap of the tunnel network with road network and landmarks.

Proposal

An interpretative analysis of the overlapping of the network with features of the city was carried out. During this stage landmarks, important paths, and historical features were considered, as depicted in [fig. 8].

Following up on the concept of locus, the specificities that are unique to the underground network of tunnels of Kukes were identified; they begin with the different layers of historic evolution. We have the underwater city, the oldest and lower level. The second layer consists of the tunnels: underground and intermediate. The third layer, overlapping with the latter, is the new city of Kukes, which is the higher level and above ground. The thorough analyses of the urban fabric and historic development of the region of Kukes firstly, and then of the city itself, conclude the best way to connect the three main layers of the city is through an intermediate mean, which is the underground level of the network of tunnels.

Secondly, the natural prominence of the city is what paints the mental image of it. We have the peak of Gjallica, the hilly landscapes surrounding the lake of Fierza, and lastly, but not less importantly, we have the water feature which poetically brings everything together. It is

only natural, since the old city can be found underwater too, to make use of the water presence as a mean to connect the three layers of the city. Lastly, regarding function, the tunnels were built in Kukes so that they could provide shelter for a large amount of the locals. Hence, taking in consideration all of the above-mentioned factors, a contextually fitting adaptive reuse scheme proposes to use the tunnels as an underground thematic hostel first (partially), with the museum as an additional secondary feature.

The concept of the proposal is portrayed in [fig. 9]. The proposal focuses on the connection of the old city, the underground city, and the new city. The different levels consist in the ruins of the old city that are underwater, two specific galleries of the underground tunnel which have a strategic placement in regards to the above ground city plan, and the city centre of the new city of Kukes. The old city and the underground network are connected by the extension of one gallery through a floating bridge. The underground network and the new city are connected by a staircase in the middle of the city centre and a walkable path in the park.

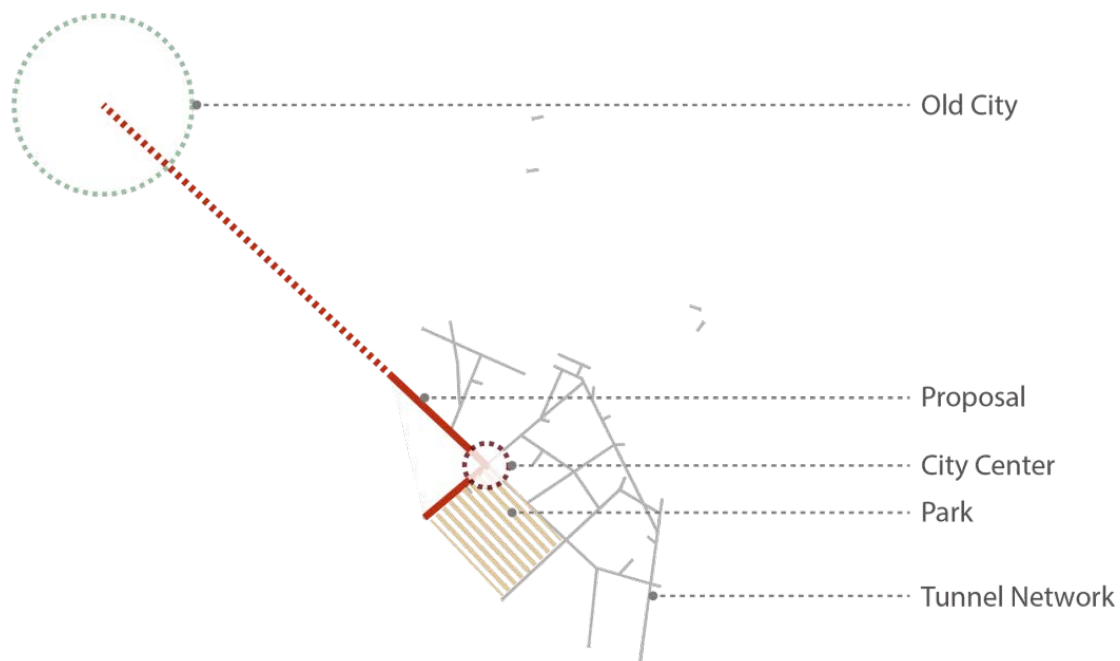


Fig. 9. Concept Diagram

The floating bridge adapts to the varying water levels of the lake of Fierza. As such, the bridge is composed of three main parts: a static part that is an extension of the existing tunnel, a flexible part that adjust to the slope of the terrain when the water level changes, and the floating part that is secured by anchors at the edges. The type of tourism proposed in this pilot project targets a specific group of tourists. The tourists experience everything inside the tunnel network: the descending from the tall 25 m staircase, the sleeping in the museum, and the connection with nature and history via the interventions in the landscape.

Since the network is wide and spread throughout the whole new city, only a segment of it can provide more than enough rooms in order to accommodate the tourist flux. An estimated total of 111 rooms of the average size 3,2x5 m to be found in the segment of the network proposed for adaptation. The conceptual section that connects the three layers of Kukes is portrayed in [fig. 10].

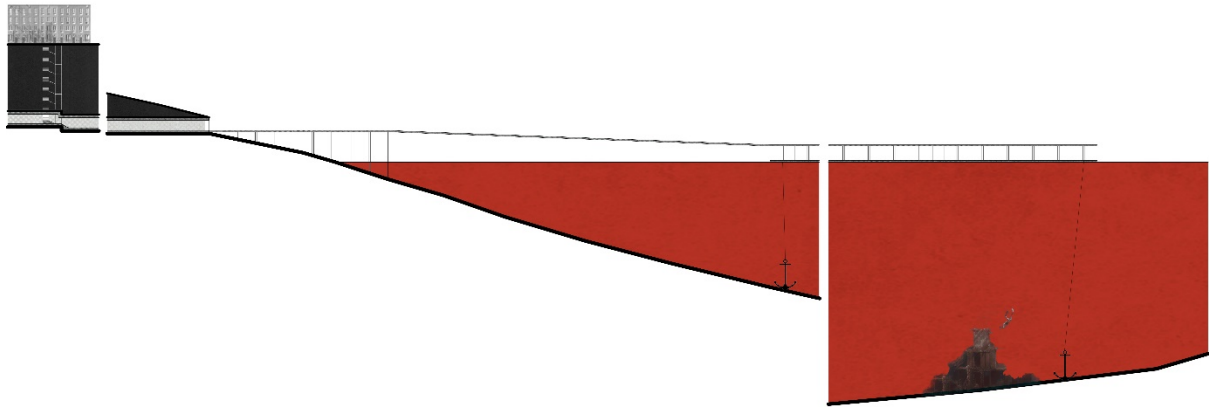


Fig. 10. Conceptual section of the proposal.

Conclusion

Kukes is unquestionably a city which holds a lot of potential and has an interesting story to tell. Unfortunately, not even Albanian citizens are familiar with the history of this city and the local citizens feel discouraged to enthrall in it. This research has tried to explore the historic background of Kukes as well as give a proposal on the revitalization of the tourism activity and local everyday life in the city through the enhancement of some characteristic post socialist heritage.

Based on the different scale analyses done on the city of Kukes, as well as the historic data provided by local authors, the thesis concludes that the most proficient way to connect the three historic layers of the city is through the intermediate level: the one of the underground tunnels built during the communist regime. This network is to be recovered, but not with disregard to the concept behind its construction. This paper proposes the adaptation of the underground rooms targeting a specific group of tourists that thirst for the authentic components of places. The proposal influences the life on the city above ground by the simple implementation of small acupuncture interventions connecting leftover spaces in the collective memory of the citizens.

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Post-socialist spatial and functional restructuring of external margins and internal residential courtyards (dvors) in mikrorayons of Yekaterinburg

Abstract: *In the post-Soviet period, the system of a mikrorayon (micro district) was often criticised for being over-structured, prescriptive and architecturally homogeneous. Despite these problematic sides, mikrorayon also contained a large number of progressive and socially important attributes envisaged to provide a higher quality of life of its communities. Today, many of these attributes are facing a risk of being removed under the force of commercial development and individual interests. It is essential to revisit the system of a mikrorayon in order to identify its valuable planning characteristics and preserve its remaining socially useful elements which can be recreated within existing and new urban residential environments. This paper provides a historical insight into the creation of a Soviet residential infrastructure of sotsgorods (socialist cities) and mikrorayons (micro districts) in the Russian industrial city of Yekaterinburg (formerly Sverdlovsk) and charts spatial and functional change of the latter during the period of the post-socialist restructuring. The method of surveying of the external margins of the mikrorayons and their dvors (internal courtyards) was used to identify the specifics of this ongoing transformation process, which often includes the conversion of comprehensively planned car-free communal areas into the spontaneous and organised car parks, sub-division of open areas into gated self-managed residential dvors and demolition of public infrastructure. Such spatial change also coincides with the changing social relationships between the residents of mikrorayons, who often tend to form unequal communities of residents of these gated residential blocks within the post-Soviet micro districts. The success and positions of these communities depended largely on their ability to cooperate and combine the efforts in negotiation of common interests with each other and with the local authorities.*

Keywords: post-socialist urban change, post-Soviet mikrorayons, Yekaterinburg.

Planning and performance of socialist residential infrastructure in Soviet Sverdlovsk (now renamed in Yekaterinburg)

The first Soviet Masterplan of Sverdlovsk of 1930, the Greater Sverdlovsk Masterplan (Bol'shoi Sverdlovsk), proposed the construction of several large industrial enterprises on the peripheries of existing historical town and indicated the areas of founding of new self-sufficient residential settlements – sotsgorods (socialist cities) for the workers of the factories

¹ The Bartlett School of Architecture, UCL. E-Mail: nadezda.gobova.14@ucl.ac.uk

and their families.² This early Soviet development was supposed to transform a relatively small regional town into a large and important Soviet industrial centre.

New sotsgorods, Uralmash, El'mash, Khimmash and Vtorchermet were built near associated industrial enterprises and were named after them. The comprehensive planning and construction of sotsgorods on previously unoccupied land allowed the implementation of a variety of spatial and social experiments, which were largely inspired by the early Soviet architectural and planning debate, dedicated to a distinct identity and function of a socialist city. The spatial and functional planning of early sotsgorods sought to materialise the socialist idea of the egalitarian way of life of its communities and the concept of equal spatial and social distribution of material and non-material values. The question of accessibility of the industrial site as a place of work and of an associated residential settlement as a place of everyday life and leisure was a particular focus of planning at the time and defined the morphology and spatial relations between production and residential infrastructure.



Fig. 1. Sotsgorod Uralmash in the 1930s and 40s. Source: the Museum of Architecture and Design UrGAKhU in Yekaterinburg.

All Sverdlovsk's sotsgorods contained two major functional zones: the dominant industrial site and subservient to it residential settlement. The housing infrastructure for the workers and administrative personnel of the factory contained permanent residential apartment blocks, dormitories and different types of temporary shared living facilities. The important functional characteristic of the early sotsgorods was their planned state communal infrastructure, which

² Bol'shoi Sverdlovsk Masterplan. *Kratkoe Opisanie Skhemy Pereplanirovki Goroda*. [The Greater Sverdlovsk Masterplan. The Concise Description of the Scheme of Replanning of the City.] (Sverdlovsk: Izdanie Ural'skogo Oblastnogo Proektno-Planirovochnogo Byuro, 1930).

provided everyday services as well as cultural and educational facilities to the residents and it often included communal kitchens, public canteens, kindergartens, communal laundries, bathhouses and workers' clubs.

During the following period of the 1940s–50s the architects and planners were less concerned with the functional efficiency of *sotsgorods*, and instead, became preoccupied with the creation of a representative image of public spaces concentrating their design and planning efforts on the achievement of the greater visual effect of the public plazas, main streets and pedestrian boulevards. The internal spaces of the city quarters, which were created by the housing blocks and semi-enclosed communal courtyards (*dvors*), in contrast, became out of focus of the authorities and architects of that period. Such planning priorities soon transformed Sverdlovsk's *sotsgorods* into distinctly hierarchical, spatially subordinated and ideologically charged industrial settlements.

From the middle of the 1950s, the new strategic course of the Soviet economy was set to provide every Soviet family with an individual apartment. The development and progression of mass housing construction techniques instigated the creation of a new type of residential districts in Sverdlovsk, which became known as *mikrorayons*. Located on the peripheries of the city and on the back fringes of industrial sites, *mikrorayons* were largely independent residential complexes with strictly defined boundaries and were spatially and functionally disconnected from the structured hierarchy of *sotsgorods*. They were built up by the typical residential blocks of flats, which were freely distributed on the designated plot of land and did not form the linear profiles of conventional streets (Uzkikh, 1973). In the 1970s–80s *mikrorayons* largely represented places of a long-awaited social and spatial liberation for many residents of Sverdlovsk, who were able to resettle into new individual flats from barracks, dormitories and communal apartments. The spatial and functional organisation of *mikrorayons* aimed in the creation of equal social and spatial opportunities for all the residents and were based on the rhythms of people's everyday life (unlike later *sotsgorods*, which largely represented the ideology of work and prosperity of industrial enterprises).

The non-hierarchical and homogeneous urban environment of *mikrorayons* also signified a relative political and ideological release standing in opposition to the previous preoccupation with the order and representative role of the traditional city streets, while focusing instead on the functional and environmental performance of internal residential areas. In the 1980s, the local architects and planners proposed the improvement of open communal residential areas of *mikrorayons* aiming to transform them into more comfortable, continuous and shared spaces. Both indoor and outdoor communal infrastructure became a focus of design and management during that period and facilitated various educational and cultural programs as well as everyday services for the community of residents (Davidson, 1988).

The new system of a *mikrorayon* set the new planning priorities, which echoed the original planning intentions in the construction of *sotsgorods* in the 1930s. It aimed in achieving an equal distribution of residential and communal infrastructure, the creation of a comfortable car-free environment within the residential areas and the provision of short walking distances between residential blocks, schools and kindergartens as well as convenient access to public transport (Saprykina, 2002). Additionally, the new ecological planning approach developed at the time by Sverdlovsk's planners and architects aimed to ensure sufficient solar insulation and aeration of residential *dvors* and their protection from the negative impact of industries, industrial railways and the city roads (Alferov, 1980).

The post-socialist process of transformation and dismantling of a mikrorayon system in Yekaterinburg (formerly Sverdlovsk)

After the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991 and replacement of the state-planned economy with the market economy, the mikrorayons of Yekaterinburg underwent a series of transformations. Many of the Soviet social and retail facilities designed and built to accommodate strictly specific functions became privatised and subdivided into smaller commercial businesses. At the beginning of the 2000s, these private enterprises accumulated sufficient marketing strength and capital, which started to expand their spatial and functional boundaries further into the fabric of the mikrorayons and partially took over the functions of residential buildings. During this period many of the ground floor flats of the apartment blocks, which located on the boundaries of mikrorayons and faced towards the major pedestrian walkways and transportation routes, became converted into commercial facilities. The flats were repurposed to contain independent entrances directly from the street, their window openings were enlarged to fit in the glass storefronts and colourful signboards were constructed to inform the residents about new businesses. The continuous chains of shops, pharmacies, bakeries and beauty salons shifted the centre of commercial activities and public life towards the margins of mikrorayons, which became more reminiscent of a traditional market street in the city [Fig. 2].



Fig. 2. Mikrorayon VIZ in Yekaterinburg. The ground level flats of typical housing blocks converted into shops. Photo by author, 2019.

Such transformations of busy and commercially attractive margins of the mikrorayons largely contrasted with a rather dormant condition of their internal residential areas, where the physical state of both residential buildings and common areas had noticeably declined. Managed and regulated during the Soviet period by the state authorities, the communal infrastructure of the mikrorayons became gradually neglected during the post-Soviet period. The previously existed mechanisms of its management and control soon became obsolete while far less state resources were allocated for the maintenance. Among the problems were the absence of the sufficient street lighting, irregular cleaning of dvors and negligence of the common and recreational areas.

The new governmental reform of ZhKKh,³ first presented in the 1990s and developed in the following decades, proposed a multistep system of renovation and modernisation of the old communal economy of the post-socialist residential districts proposing a new approach in their management and control. The residents of each apartment block or a group of blocks were

³ The Reform of ZhKKh (Zhilishchno-Kommunal'nogo Khozyaistva) is the housing and utilities reform originally proposed in the 1990s and developed during the following decades. It intended to create resources and mechanisms for the modernisation of the entire housing and utilities sector of the country.

encouraged to create the Independent Self-managerial Associations of the Homeowners (Tovarishchestva Sobstvennikov Zhil'ya or TSZh). These Associations could elect a representative director, appoint a financial manager and hire various specialist consultants to be able to conduct the necessary building repair works in their apartment blocks as well as to provide general maintenance of the adjacent dvors.⁴ The state reform also created a small fund for the renovations, but the substantial part of the works still had to be covered by the residents themselves.

In order to secure both state funds and collect private finances, the residents should have possessed many specific skills, such as the knowledge of the state bureaucratic procedures, construction management expertise and organisational and supervisory experiences. Lacking such complex proficiencies, many of the homeowners were unable to collaborate efficiently and in many instances the new TSZhS struggled to function according to the state plan.

Today, surveying one of the post-Soviet mikrorayons in Yekaterinburg, Novaya Sortirovka, it becomes apparent that the state reform of ZhKKh created rather unequal opportunities for the residents of this mikrorayon. While tenants of a few residential blocks were able to receive the municipal funds and to secure the private finances for the building renovation works and modernisation of dvors, tenants of other residential blocks could not do so. Only a small number of apartment blocks were renovated to a greater extent, while many still remain in a problematic condition. Such differentiated physical states of the typical residential blocks within a single mikrorayon soon started to stimulate variances in the market value of their flats, splitting once equal residential communities into more and less privileged.

The discrepancies between the residential blocks were further extended onto the surrounding landscape of the mikrorayon. For example, the residents of some residential blocks in Novaya Sortirovka initiated construction of a metal fencing around their buildings and adjacent spaces of dvors in order to separate themselves from the rest of the common areas. [Fig. 3, 4]. Such enclosures of several residential buildings and dvors inevitably changed the original planning function of the microrayon. Thus, the subdivision of the common areas onto a series of gated and publicly inaccessible dvors significantly disrupted existed fluid transition and continuous communication within different areas of the micro district and interrupted its previously unrestricted pedestrian movement. At the same time, the fences outlining the boundaries of specific housing blocks and residential dvors encouraged their tenants to more closely identify with these areas and more actively participate in their maintenance.

⁴ Alternatively, the tenants could delegate these responsibilities to external specialising housing management companies.

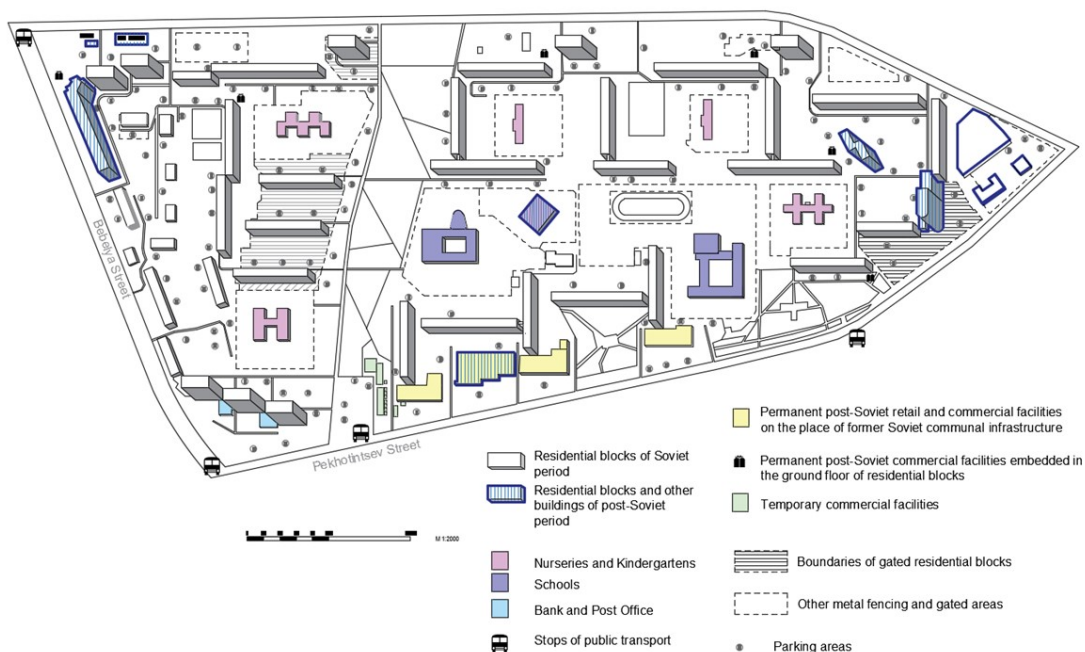


Fig. 3. Fragment of a functional map of Mikrorayon Novaya Sortirovka.
Drawing by author, 2019.



Fig. 4. Gated housing blocks in Mikrorayon Novaya Sortirovka. Photo by author, 2019.

Another functional and spatial change within the system of a mikrorayon in Yekaterinburg is connected with the significant growth of a number of private cars during the post-Soviet period. The masterplan of Sverdlovsk developed in 1972 indicated that only 11 private cars per 1000 residents existed in the city at the time.⁵ The current statistics show that this parameter increased to 302 private cars per 1000 residents and only continues to grow.⁶

⁵ K. Uzikh 'General'nyi Plan Goroda Sverdlovsk' [Masterplan of Sverdlovsk city] (Sverdlovsk: Sverdlovskgrazhdanproekt, 1973), p. 8. Museum of Architecture and Design UrGAKhU in Yekaterinburg.

⁶ Source: <https://www.autostat.ru/news/29682/>, <https://www.autostat.ru/press-releases/29680/> (accessed: 26 January, 2019).

Such an increase in the number of private transportations consequently increased the demand for the parking spaces in the city, creating a particularly problematic situation within the post-socialist residential mikrorayons. Originally designed and built as car-free residential complexes, they did not provide reserved areas for the large dedicated car parks.



Fig. 5. Spontaneous parking spaces in Mikrorayon Novaya Sortirovka. Photo by author, 2015 and 2019.

Because of a lack of the parking spaces, the residents started to adopt much of the available common areas in the mikrorayons for parking purposes: many spontaneous open car parks appeared around the housing blocks, kindergartens and schools, occupying vacant green areas and recreational zones [Fig. 5]. Additionally, new commercial car parks emerged within the internal landscape of the micro districts creating another type of gated infrastructure. Such a situation had negatively affected the ecology of the mikrorayons as well as the ecology of the whole city. The cars parked on a soft landscaping would often destroy its vegetation also turning the soil bed into a mud and dirt, which would be spread by cars around the mikrorayons and the city streets. Additionally, the close proximity of the open car parks to the schools and kindergartens disrupted the original planning policy of the mikrorayons, which sought to position these facilities within the internal protected car-free areas, further away from the noise, pollution and the dangers of the transportation roads. As a result, the spaces of dvors and playgrounds, which were being surrounded by cars, would become unsafe and unsuitable for leisure and children's play.

It is generally understood that the ongoing process of transformation of the mikrorayons is inevitably connected with the rapidly changing needs of their post-socialist dwellers, who often tend to adapt a rigidly planned infrastructure and strictly prescribed functions of Soviet planning to the shifting personal needs and new economic situations. However, a more serious risk to a mikrorayon system in Yekaterinburg, as it has been witnessed recently, present even not the informal initiatives of its residents and dynamics of small businesses on the margins described above, but rather different and much more powerful external forces associated with the large commercial development. These forces start to interfere with the fabric of the mikrorayons substantially disrupting the balance of their social and residential functions and breaking the established patterns of the everyday life of their communities.

One of the examples of such disruptive interventions occurred in 2018 in the Mikrorayon Khimmash, which is located on the south-east of Yekaterinburg. For a long time, the Khimmash's Palace of Culture was perceived as a heart of social and cultural life of the district. It housed an auditorium for performances, various educational studios, a library, ballet classes and sports clubs which were all regularly attended by more than 800 children and the adult population of the Mikrorayon. The Palace was privatised in 2004 and since then the physical condition of the building started to deteriorate until in 2018 the owner of the Palace announced its closure and demolition with the purpose to build a large residential tower on its place. Such intention caused a protest among the residents of the Mikrorayon Khimmash who publicly complained to the city mayor's office and initiated several protests and a media campaign to inform the broader community about the ongoing tension. The residents had expressed their protest and fears saying that their children will be deprived of access to the educational, cultural and sports activities that the Palace has provided for the past decades, and many of these children are much likely now 'to spend their after-school time on the streets becoming an easy target for criminal activities' [Fig. 6,7].⁷



Fig. 6. The Palace of Culture in Khimmash Mikrorayon in 1970s. Source: The Museum of Architecture and Design UrGAKHu in Yekaterinburg.

⁷ www.znak.com/2018-12-12/vysokinskiy_poobechal_zabrat_dk_himmash_u_saveleva_cherez_3_mesyaca (accessed: 17 January 2019); www.e1.ru/news/spool/news_id-66108907.html (accessed: 3 June 2019).



Fig. 7. Proposed residential complex to replace the Palace of Culture in Khimmash, 2018.

Source: www.e1.ru/news/spool/news_id-53633401-theme_id-5521.html (27.01.2019)

This case demonstrates that the uncontrolled interference of the private interests and investors' capital into a mikrorayon system is likely to create a serious threat to its spatial integrity and important social functions, negatively affecting the quality of life of its communities.

The survey of the post-socialist spatial and functional transformation of a mikrorayon system in Yekaterinburg demonstrates that this process is highly dynamic, complex and multifaceted. It involves various actors, conflicting private and public interests and causes environmental problems. Additionally, the process of disassembling a mikrorayon system has largely an informal character, which has not been officially acknowledged by the city planners and authorities. In this situation, it is necessary to conduct a practical and expert evaluation of the ongoing process of the post-socialist change of a mikrorayon system and develop effective regulations and design guideline, which could help to prevent its further unthoughtful dismantling.

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CHAPTER 5

1989-2019 CEE urban transformation revisited: city visions, self-made transitions and alternative development models

Urban transformation of post-socialist cities, as envisaged by national and municipal governments, was from the start marked by the ambition to move away from 'compromised' solutions of the past into the bright 'European' future with the Western city positioned as an ideal model of this transformation (Young & Kaczmarek, 2008). Instead of facilitating those ambitions, the early transition period, however, reinforced informal and makeshift urban solutions. In particular challenging economic context, legal loopholes and uncontrolled privatisation processes reinforced phenomena such as: spontaneous commercial activities (Vasilevska et al., 2015), self-built construction and self-made housing extensions (Hirt, 2012; Salukvadze & Golubchikov, 2015) and/or growth of informal settlements (Tsenkova, 2009). Consequently, some aspects of the urban transformation in CEE resembled trends occurring in the Global South rather than in Western Europe, with variety of ad-hoc and add-on structures (Grubbauer, 2015) representing a form of "confused eclecticism" (Hirt, 2008). These phenomena, nowadays overlap with the remains of the previous era, that is, the "frozen mirrors of socialism" (Sýkora & Bouzarovski, 2012: 45), as well as the outcomes of the private and public sector led planning processes.

This panel invites papers, which explore these phenomena from diversity of disciplinary, methodological and institutional perspectives. Those may include citizens' responses ranging from resistance, formalisation or transformation as well as public sector's responses such as eradication, integration or passiveness. Examples of interesting themes include (but are not limited to): self-managed (housing) developments and extensions, informal trading, appropriation of common and public spaces, different forms of 'adjustment of urban patterns' (Jacobsson, 2015: 11) or the creation of new symbolic landscapes. The panel encourages papers, which build parallels with the processes occurring beyond the region and the conventional conceptual frameworks shaping the discourse on post-socialist transition. Simultaneously the session seeks to investigate process occurring beyond mere physical structure: therefore, contributions that explore "an inextricable link between social and material changes" (Hirt, 2012: 39).

Sonja Lakic, Independent researcher, Banja Luka

Jakub Galuszka, Faculty of Architecture, Technical University of Berlin

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- 1** Beyond the Global North and South: contemporary studies of local activism in post-soviet Russia / Zhelnina, A., Tykanova, E.
 - 2** Stigmergic behaviours in urban transformation of post-socialist cities: case of Ukraine / Fonseca, M. A., Chabanyuk, O.
 - 3** Post-socialist reality: from informal settlement to detached suburbia, case of Niš, Serbia / Jovic, Dj.
 - 4** Civic engagement in the (post-socialist) transitional society: two case studies / Prilenska, V., Paadam, K., Liias, R.
 - 5** Reclaiming positions and reimagining the city? Lviv urban experts since the late 1980s / Otrishchenko, N.
 - 6** Typological narratives of a fragmented urban landscape—case of Skopje / Noev, I.
 - 7** "Authorities' point of view is to keep silence": interaction between initiative groups and local authorities in the urban planning policy / Shevtsova, I., Bederson, V.
 - 8** From block to city and back: post-1989 transformation of residential neighborhoods in Podgorica / Dragovic, S.
 - 9** Social production of space in Kazan: between urban entrepreneurialism and bottomup activism / Turowska, A.
 - 10** Transitions at the central marketplace of Sofia: Changing values and architectural plans from the 1980s until 2013 / Venkov, N.

Beyond the Global North and South: contemporary studies of local activism in post-soviet Russia

Abstract: *Since the mid-2000s, Russian cities experience an increase in protest activities: urbanites rise up to address their housing rights, to protest new urban developments, or to require new policies that would improve the quality of life in cities. In these efforts, they are often confronted by city administrations and business corporations, the initiators of urban transformations in question. Our goal in this paper is to identify the features of contestations over urban space in post-socialist cities to challenge and develop the existing theorization of these processes developed by scholars in the Global North and Global South. We argue that the evidence from post-socialist cities can contribute to theory building across the regional contexts. The existing studies of local activism in Russian cities often revolve around “pacifying” the conflicts in cities, offering advice for the regional and local governments. The permeating presence of the state is a feature of Russian urban activism along with the low availability of what we call “civic infrastructures”: networks of neighbours and local activists, citizen-run media and social media platforms, non-profit organizations assisting the citizens, physical spaces for cooperation among citizens. Civic infrastructures are key to analyse the preparedness of civil society to engage with urban issues and its ability to make gains in the interactions with powerful and resourceful actors, state and business corporations. The configurations of state involvement and the availability of civic infrastructures vary across countries, and researchers in different national contexts tend to overemphasize one or the other. We argue that post-socialist cities offer evidence for a balanced theorization of these concepts. In our paper, we will elaborate on the specificity of state involvement and civic infrastructures in the Global North and South and will make a case for studies of activism in the “global middle” of post-socialist countries.*

Keywords: *Post-Soviet Russia, urban space contestation, civic infrastructures.*

The mass protests against the monetization of benefits in the mid-2000s marked a new era in civil society development. From that time on, the number and intensity of the protest actions in Russian regions keep increasing: they address labour rights, housing issues, as well as undesirable interventions in the urban environment (Clément, Miryasova & Demidov 2010). This paper reviews the scholarship about urban space contestation and local activism in contemporary Russia and aims to reveal the specificity of Russian urban activism. To do so, we

¹ Sociological Institute of the Federal Center of Theoretical and Applied Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, Russia. E-Mail: azhelnina@gmail.com

² Sociological Institute of the Federal Center of Theoretical and Applied Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, Russia. E-Mail: elenatykanova@gmail.com

apply the concept of “civic infrastructures” to structure the domain of local urban activism, and distinguish between “formal” and “informal” civic infrastructures.

We define local activism as collective actions of urbanites and their self-organizing with the goal to participate in urban governance, including their mobilization against the undesirable urban development (in-fill construction, destruction of green spaces, reconstruction, renovation, and demolition of buildings). An analysis of local activism inevitably includes some degree of attention to the role of the state, and to the structures of civil society, or civic infrastructure, available to the citizens.

Civic infrastructures: formal and informal foundations of citizens’ participation in urban development

The studies of civil society in the countries of the so-called “Global North” traditionally focus on what we call *formal civic infrastructures*: formal, legally established tools of participation available to citizens, such as voting, membership in voluntary associations, municipal self-governance, homeowner associations and cooperation, participatory budgeting. These tools regulate the relations of citizens and governmental bodies. At the same time, recent studies of civil society, including the evidence from the countries in the “Global South,” show that formal infrastructures are often complemented or, indeed, replaced by informal networks and relations of civic self-organization, *informal civic infrastructures*. This type of organizing that slips the attention of traditional studies includes informal associations, networks of family and friends, which focus on the creation and maintenance of some kind of a common good. An important element of informal infrastructures are the citizens themselves, activists and their supporters, who share a certain vision of their place in the system of urban governance, of their rights and opportunities to influence their living environment. We summarize the examples of both civic and governmental infrastructures in their formal and informal dimensions (see Table 1).

	Governmental infrastructures	Civic/ participatory infrastructures
Formal	Specialized committees, governmental services, the city administration	Voting, participatory budgeting, legally established forms of citizen cooperation and organizing, municipal self-governance, community-based non-profits, other formal organizations
Informal	Coalitions, corruption, informal agreements	Networks, DIY, grassroots self-organizing, subjectivity

Table 1. Dimensions of governmental and civic infrastructures

It is important to emphasize that informality is present not only in everyday life and activities of urbanites: it is also present in the activities of other players, businesses and governmental institutions. One of the best-researched examples of these are the “growth coalitions,” which are virtually a system of players and arenas that exists parallel to formal governance bodies and do not always reveal themselves in the public domain.

Civic infrastructures are necessary, first of all, to enable citizens to become active participants, players in the political process. Infrastructures are necessary equipment for interactive and dynamic processes of coordination of interests in urban development. They allow the players to communicate, reach a consensus, formulate an agenda and make decisions for the city's future. To analyse these processes, we apply the *strategic interaction perspective*, SIP, which gives us the language of interactive arenas and strategies of players entering the political process. According to Jasper and Duyvendak (Jasper & Duyvendak, 2015) arenas are the spaces where players interact, such as courts, public hearings, street actions, etc. In this paper, we view these arenas as elements of civic infrastructures. The availability of interactive arenas for citizens, businesses, and city authorities is crucial for successful coordination of their interests and the inclusivity of urban governance.

Data and methods

For this paper, we use the insights from our own research, as well as analyze the body of literature on Russian local activism. We conducted the literature search in scholarly databases based on keywords in Russian and English: “городской активизм,” “urban activism” + “Russia” / “Russian.” The resulting database includes 124 publications.

Formal and informal civic infrastructures

In contemporary Russia, urbanites have access to a variety of formal tools of participating and influencing the fate of their cities: (1) creation of territorial self-governance; (2) public hearings; (3) participatory budgeting; (4) crowdsourcing; (5) referendums; (6) filing a formal complaint; (7) submitting an official letter to the authorities.

The use of these tools is de-facto limited. We may conclude that there is a lack of real opportunities for citizens' participation in decision-making processes regarding urban territories; these processes are controlled by heads of administration and specialized committees, city administrations, and governors.

Apart from resources and tactical repertoires of collective action, civil society needs a tool kit of concepts and appropriate responses to injustice. Clément suggested that the activist potential of citizens depends on accepting certain ways of feeling, thinking, and action (Clément 2015: 211). Discursive practices of activists, “framing” of problems is an important focus in studies of protest action: it allows us to reconstruct the conceptual and ideological dimension of the “infrastructures.” Ideas and perceptions are as important for the motivation to act as is the availability of material resources and time (for some examples, see the analysis of “Delai Sam” festival by Enigbokan (Enigbokan, 2016) and Ivanou's research of Taganka activists in Moscow (Ivanou, 2016).

The development of an activist subjectivity, the gradual elaboration of activist repertoires, internal dynamics of neighbourhood initiatives, - these are “worldview” elements of the civic infrastructures, which are essential for the full-fledged civic participation in urban development. Clément, Miryasova, and Demidov provide a detailed analysis of the evolution of “ordinary” citizens without previous collective action experience into activists (Clément & Miryasova 2008; Clément, Miryasova & Demidov 2010). Gladarev discusses the process of learning to participate in public life and discussing public issues (Gladarev, 2011). Shomina et al. (Shomina et al., 2002) observe that educational attainment may affect the level of civic engagement,

which may indirectly confirm our thesis that worldview characteristics are an important element of the civic “equipment,” or the infrastructures. A specific challenge for citizens engaging in collective action regarding urban development at the local level is the demographic heterogeneity of neighbourhoods and lack of neighbourhood solidarities (Tykanova & Khokhlova 2014; Zuykina 2017; Zakirova 2008).

Learning new forms of urban space contestation is part of the formation of the civic infrastructure. Some scholars observe that citizens need to “learn” or “practice” using the tools that are already available to them (Shomina et al., 2002: 268). However, not only “learning,” but also creating new elements of the civic infrastructure is necessary: people, networks, and organizations that once made their presence known may become parts in a chain of future activist projects. Gladarev observed that “Zhivoy Gorod” (The Living City) activists in St Petersburg not only came up with new ways of acting (expanded their activist repertoire) but became a resource (informational and organizational) for other potential activists (Gladarev, 2012: 41): they became an element in the civic infrastructure.

In line with this observation, Antip'yev states that, through their action, citizens create a foundation for future action (Antipiev, 2015:30). Petrova concludes that local conflicts may create a foundation for the development of civil society in a region. First of all, it is an opportunity for activist leaders to emerge: another important element in the infrastructures with a potential of developing into public figures and politicians, participants of the electoral process (Petrova, 2018:124-125).

A gradual politicization of urbanites involved in collective action regarding the urban space is a well-researched subject. Researchers find examples of politicization of urban grassroots protests in Perestroika years: specifically, the “Spasenie” group in Leningrad (Gladarev 2011; Vasiliev 2016; Pavlova 2017). The dynamics of politicization and local protests were studied in detail by PSlab sociologists who explored the effects of the acceptance of the “small deeds” ideology by former political activists (Zhuravlev, Savel'yeva & Yerpyleva, 2014). However, not all examples of local urban activism have signs of politicization, and the activists announce that they are apolitical (Russian non-political activism 2012; Kovin 2014; Tykanova & Khokhlova 2019). The gradual politicization of local urban protest is evidence of emerging new repertoires and scenarios of urban space contestation, something that was not available without the public participation experience.

Infrastructures and interactions in the political process

Research on activism often focuses heavily on activists at the expense of other participants of the process of the coordination of interests. This imbalance can be partially attributed to the “underdog sociology” approach (Becker 1966): sociologists take the side of politically weaker groups, try to give them more voice and presence. Such research is often qualitative and is based on ethnographies, depth interviews, and participant observation.

On the contrary, in Russian literature, qualitative ethnographic studies are rather rare (Clément et al. 2010; Terentyev 2015; Gladarev 2011; Zakirova 2008; Zhuravlev, Savel'yeva & Yerpyleva; Zuykina 2017; Zverev 2017). Researchers tend to take a position “above” the conflict, observe it from the point of view of the authorities and developers, rather than citizens, and come up with “practical recommendations” on “prevention,” “softening,” or “clearance” of the conflict (Glukhova, Kolba & Sokolov 2017; Kolba & Sokolov 2017; Kolba & Ilchenko 2012; Kolba 2015, Raskhodchikov 2017; Shilov, Yakovenko & Nagovski 2014). Such an approach

sometimes is based on media and discourse analysis, the study of social media, rather than ethnographic research (Druzhinin 2011; Nosikov et al. 2017). Sometimes, researchers choose to focus solely on the governance bodies and their actions during urban conflicts (Baynova, 2015a). We believe that this is an interesting effort by Russian researchers to fill the gap in civic infrastructures by acting as “mediators” between the players: let the authorities and corporations pay attention the urbanites’ position. It is one of the results of the lacking interactive arenas where players could interact immediately. Mobilized citizens can not make use of the existing formal infrastructures, and are not integrated into the arenas where the decisions are made.

However, researchers sometimes blame society for being “passive” or “hibernating,” for not using the existing tools enough (Baynova 2015b:107). Thus, informal civic infrastructures (lack of motivation to participate, lack of trust to the institutions) resonate with the lack of motivation on the side of powerful groups to interact with the citizens. However, research shows, that people do mobilize in response to urban issues, but they often are disappointed by the lack of reaction to their needs from the authorities. Low efficiency of the existing participatory tools also doesn’t improve the motivation of citizens to be engaged: one of the reasons of political alienation and rejection is the “deafness” of the formal institutions, lack of full-fledged formal civic infrastructures.

Conclusion

The integration of formal and informal civic infrastructures, of formal institutes of civic participation with the informal processes in urban communities, is a foundation of a healthy civil society and of efficient solutions for urban conflicts. Civic infrastructures allow citizens to interact with other players. In Russian cities, formal civic infrastructures can’t keep up with the development of the informal infrastructures: citizen communicates, create activist networks, however, when they try to enter arenas where the authorities and other powerful players can hear them, the efficient communication rarely happens.

The topic of interaction among players in political arenas is insufficiently researched in Russian cities. Only a few studies acknowledge the internal heterogeneity of protest groups and interaction of multiple sub-players within the protest movements (Nosikov et al, 2017), the interaction between local authorities and activists (Shevtsova & Bederson 2017). Few authors map out and classify the players involved in urban conflicts, as well as their repertoires and outcomes (Tykanova 2014; Nosikov et al. 2017; Glukhova, Kolba & Sokolov 2017, Zverev 2017; Kolba & Ilchenko 2012).

Focus on the interactive aspects in studies of urban conflicts in Russia is rare; the existing research mostly focuses on either the formal civic infrastructures or the activist groups. We believe that a more balanced and complex approach, focusing on the interaction of various players and interplay of formal and informal civic infrastructures, is necessary.

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Stigmergic behaviours in urban transformation of post-socialist cities: case of Ukraine

Abstract: *The transition of the post-socialist city to the open society, private ownership and market economy in Ukraine during almost last three decades crucially resulted on the chaotic urban development, degradation of large-scale residential areas in the cities and industrial territories. The inertial urban theory of post-USSR countries does not envisage the rapid informal processes, self-organization activity in urban environments, informal trading, which are going on in the cities, especially after the state planning system approach as 'administrative planning design' during 1917-1991. This context is not limited only to the case of Ukraine but depicts the challenges in broader margins of post-socialist territories. Thus, the central goal of the paper is to work out the approach to understand the context of self-made transitions. The preliminary studies of self-organisation in the urban context allowed to apply the interdisciplinary concept of stigmergy in the research. The studies carried out around the concept of stigmergy in the urban environment reveal sets of variables that imply the definition of adequate units of space as well as stigmergic behaviours (actions and reactions in the context). However, it is assumed that although analysis is possible in morphologically defined units of space, stigmergic behaviours can often occur outside previously established rigid boundaries, and this establishment of morphologically defined space units contains constraints and limits of analysis. The methodology of the research is built on the application of 'above morphology level' in stigmergic behaviour. In similar cases, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development established as a criterion the use of the concept of functional urban areas for the analysis of relations with the incidence in urban and regional territories. The use of this concept extends the observation of stigmergic behaviours, as well as alternative development models of post-socialist transitions.*

Keywords: *post-socialist, Ukraine, stigmergy, stigmergic behaviour, functional urban area*

Introduction: the context of the research

Urban transformation of post-soviet cities in Eastern European countries features non-systematic changes and informal interventions since 1991 when USSR collapsed. The transition from socialist ideology to democratic society influenced the urban planning and design mechanism in the development of the post-soviet cities. The urban planning system in the socialist city was strictly organized according to the socialist ideology implemented in the 'administrative planning design' during the USSR. This approach included administrative centralized urban planning and

¹ CIAUD FA ULisboa, Architecture Faculty, University of Lisbon, Portugal. E-Mail: miguel.ar.fonseca@gmail.com

² Department of Architectural Environment Design, Faculty of Architecture, Kharkiv National University of Civil Engineering and Architecture, Ukraine. E-Mail: oxichabanyuk@gmail.com

design, which had been performed only through state design institutes, and was persuaded according to the cities' master plans. The administrative design process covered all functional infrastructural networks in the Soviet cities as well as residential areas. The Soviet Union cultivated the statement 'no private housing for the citizens - the state was the only owner'. This led to the mechanism of obtaining the dwelling for free by the workers directly from the organisation, where they were working. Thus, there was caused the citizens' dependence from their place of work. The collapse of the USSR in 1991 resulted on the urban development process along with the total changes through privatization scheme of the state property in all spheres of city infrastructures, where the owners became different actors from state to citizens. The post-soviet territories featured similar challenges as non-systematic urban development and informal interventions, which depict the transition steps.

The research is focused on the case of Ukraine as the country, which is not fully covered by the researches in the international scientific environment. This context is not limited only to the case of Ukraine but depicts the challenges in broader margins of post-socialist territories. Unfortunately, these transitions of the post-socialist cities in Ukraine during almost last three decades crucially resulted in the chaotic urban development, degradation of large-scale residential areas in the cities and industrial territories. The contemporary urban theory in post-USSR countries is inertial and does not envisage the rapid informal processes, self-organization activity in urban environments, informal trading, which are going on in the cities, especially after 'administrative planning design' in 1917-1991. Self-organization activity in the urban environment and informal trading comprises the self-made housing extensions, informal retail trade places in the nodes of the residential areas and chaotic transformation of apartments on the ground level of housing blocks from residential function to commercial.

The informal trading in the post-socialist city resulted 'from a lack of trading space, the need of convenience and flexibility in retail locations, an absence of seed capital and weak state regulations' (Bradshaw & Stenning, 2014). The informal retail trade in the post-soviet cities during the 1990s mostly appeared in informal open-air markets, sports stadia, sites around bus and rail stations, or metro stations. Furthermore, informal trade sites appeared in the residential areas in the form of "informal trade on the streets and rail stations" (Bradshaw & Stenning, 2014), or chaotically expanding open-air markets in the form of self-organising processes. The informal sites of concentration of retail trade as a self-organizing process were mostly situated around the nodes in residential areas of large-scale post-socialist housing estates in the cities after 1991. The transformation of informal trade during the last 25 years changed from the 'trade on 'a portable table', later to 'kiosk as relatively stable feature of the post-Soviet urban space' (Bradshaw & Stenning, 2014), and appeared functional transformations of apartments on the ground floor of residential blocks from residence to commerce or services from 2000.

Nevertheless, the cities' authorities do not possess the clear strategies for the urban transition of post-socialist residential areas, the ongoing functional transformations of ground floor residencies to commerce and self-made interventions made by the inhabitants as the new housing extensions in prefabricated housing blocks.

The central goal of the paper is to work out the approach to understand the context of self-made transitions. For this reason, we aim in applying the interdisciplinary concept of stigmergy and stigmergic behaviour framework in the research. The article is structured as follows. The "Stigmergic behaviour framework: earlier stigmergic studies" section describes the preliminary studies of *the concept of stigmergy* as a self-organisation form and *stigmergic behaviour* in general as an interdisciplinary approach in the urban environment. The section "Methodology

of the research” defines and explains the content of the objectives, hypothesis and methodology of the study, which form the research design structure. The following section “Functional Urban Areas” defines and explains the ‘*above morphology level*’ using the concept of functional urban areas. The “Case study analysis: stigmergic behaviour in urban transformation” section aims to analyse the context of self-made transitions under stigmergic behaviour. The “Conclusions” section summarizes the key findings of understanding of self-made transitions in post-socialist city contexts under the stigmergic behaviour concept, opens the floor for further research.

Stigmergic behaviour framework: earlier stigmergic studies

The preliminary studies were conducted on *the concept of stigmergy* as a self-organisation form and *stigmergic behaviour* in general and as an interdisciplinary approach in the urban environment. The concept of stigmergy has already definitions of its meaning, is still to be explored in different disciplinary areas (Heylighen, 2016). *Stigmergy* is a model where a collective of agents exhibits the ability to face complex problems in self-organization, contributing to the development of the disciplinary areas of Collective Intelligence, Swarm Intelligence or Emergent Behaviour (Gordon, 2004). The capacity for self-organization, without benefits of central control or direct communication between different actors, is determined by the agents' reaction to continuous environmental changes (Mason, 2003). *Stigmergic behaviour* is the process when actions are done by actors of the environment, which are using indirect communications to continue the previously finished action.

The research comprises the earlier stigmergic studies of self-organisation in the urban contexts of the case studies of post-soviet residential areas of prefabricated housing in Ukraine. The context for an examination of stigmergy in the urban environment defined as the developing environment of post-socialist cities, which receive challenges in the liveability of the urban environment, and residential areas in particular, which are much more significant than in the developed societies. At the same time, the residential areas in the post-socialist cities face non-systematic transformations and changes, informal interventions after the collapse of the USSR in 1991. The applied research contextualized within the environment of residential areas of low quality in the post-socialist city in the post-USSR territory with the case of Ukraine.

The studies carried out around the concept of stigmergy in the urban environment of post-soviet residential areas with functional self-organised transformations revealed sets of variables (actors, time, place, actions) that imply the definition of adequate units of space, functional urban areas, as well as stigmergic behaviours (actions and reactions in the context).

Understanding of implication of interdisciplinary conceptual approach, as a stigmergic concept will allow working with the interaction of actors in the urban environment under the self-organizing process. The stigmergic approach provides the lens to understand how the environments and contexts influence the actors' actions. Stigmergic behaviour becomes a theoretical base for understanding the self-organising process in an urban environment.

The methodology of the research

The analysis is possible in morphologically defined units of space. Although, stigmergic behaviours can often occur outside previously established rigid boundaries, as the process of actions and reactions in the context that receives the influences from the environments (political, economy). The establishment of morphologically defined space units contains constraints and

limits of analysis. From another point of view, informal interventions in the urban environment are not based on any strategy or project of regeneration, thus, self-organisation spreads out of the morphological units as certain housing estates, nodes in urban areas or just functional areas. At the same time, the informal process remains under the influence of the conditions in the environment as *time, politics, economy, place*, and defines stigmergic behaviour in urban areas. The above study suggests building the methodology of the research on the application of 'above morphology level' in stigmergic behaviour. In similar cases, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development established as a criterion the use of the concept of *functional urban areas* for the analysis of relations with the incidence in urban and regional territories. The use of this concept extends the observation of stigmergic behaviours, as well as alternative development models of post-socialist transitions.

The case study analysis of self-made transitions materialize stigmergic behaviour in urban transformation of post-socialist residential environments (Kharkiv, Ukraine) are defined in the next levels: (a) informal trade interventions (from kiosks to large-scale markets); (b) self-made change of the function of residential apartments into commerce in prefabricated block of flats; (c) self-made interventions on the facades of prefabricated housing ('patch-work' insulation, glassed balconies, increasing of window openings).

The study is guided by the conjecture that defines the *research hypothesis*: the application of the transdisciplinary concept of stigmergy and stigmergic behaviours in urban planning in *above morphology level* is building the approach to understand the context of self-made transitions, informal processes, self-organization activity in urban environments on the example of post-socialist cities. The observation of stigmergic behaviours is extended and covers the functional areas, which are not limited to administrative and planning units.

Functional Urban Areas

The concept of functional region arises in opposition to a framework of territorial delimitation of a political-administrative nature (Ferrão et al., 2012). In fact, the political-administrative nature of these territorial delimitations does not consider the set of relational functions that are established with other territories that cross and surpass these spatial delimitations. As mentioned by Ferrão J. (Ferrão et al., 2012), this non-coincidence of different realities (ecological, socioeconomic and cultural) in the context of administrative delimitations generates costs '(...) of the inefficiency of solutions of institutional and logistical organization, the use of resources or of the production of services ' (Ferrão et al., 2012).

Attention to this problem is intensified, on the one hand, by increasing the mobility of people, goods and services and, on the other hand, by increasing the interaction and interdependence between different political-administrative territories where, in turn, they identify themselves many natural and human phenomena of a systemic nature. In this context, the territories must be characterized according to new concepts, in addition to the delimitation models of a political-administrative nature, understanding different geographies by their morphological and functional nature, among others.

It is recognized that the concept that best identifies these geographies is that of 'functional region' (Ferrão et al., 2012). However, it can be observed that this concept because it presents different meanings as well as distinct foci of analysis, is polymorphic. According to the same author, it is essential to characterize the 'functional region' in terms of relevant interactions as well as a well-defined and hierarchical spatial structure.

For these reasons, and with the attention of the European Union, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) or even the European Spatial Planning Observation Network (ESPON), different concepts for 'functional region' are identified, such as: a) Travel-To- Work Area, in the context of studies carried out by the Department of Communities and Local Government of the United Kingdom; b) Functional Urban Areas, in the context of ESPON; and, c) Functional Region, in the context of the (OECD). The definition of 'Functional Region', promoted by the OECD, stands out as a territorial unit that is the result of the organization of economic and social relations in the territory, or where economic flows and different links are grouped, not considering the political criteria administrative or historical-geographical (OECD, 2013).

The relevance of this concept is manifested on the one hand as an analytical model and, on the other hand, as an intervention model, recognizing that it is based on a territorial basis relevant to the development and integration of sectoral public policies.

Consequently, the analysis and performance in the functional regions are considered by the potential of support to different initiatives and dynamics. Being that, in the present case, stigmergic phenomena are not limited to spatially defined and watertight morphological units (streets or squares), diluting themselves in larger territories, assuming that in different orders of magnitude and intensity and thus justifying relations in functional territories.

Case study analysis: stigmergic behaviour in urban transformation

Stigmergic behaviour is defined as a process of actions, which are fulfilled by actors in the environment under indirect communications that continue the previously finished action. Heylighen is defining 'stigmergy as a mechanism of indirect coordination in which the trace left by an action in a medium stimulates subsequent actions' (Heylighen, 2016). The process of stigmergic behaviour may continue unless there are changes in the context as the change of the economy, politics during the transition of the country from one political system to another.

A case study approach is used to investigate the concept of stigmergy and stigmergic behaviour in urban transformation of post-socialist environments (Kharkiv, Ukraine) in functional urban areas with residential and public use, and are defined in the next levels: (a) informal trade interventions (from kiosks to large-scale markets); (b) self-made change of the function of residential apartments into commerce in prefabricated block of flats; (c) self-made interventions on the facades of prefabricated housing ('patch-work' insulation, glassed balconies, increasing of window openings; added extensions).

The city of Kharkiv is chosen for the case study as one of the biggest city in Ukraine with a population of 1,45 m citizens (2016). This city received the prefabricated housing estates during the 1950-80s. The scale of large post-socialist residential areas differed accordingly to the scale of the city. Thus, the biggest prefabricated residential area in Kharkiv is Saltivka with the population 385 000 residents (2010) and built during the 1970-80s.

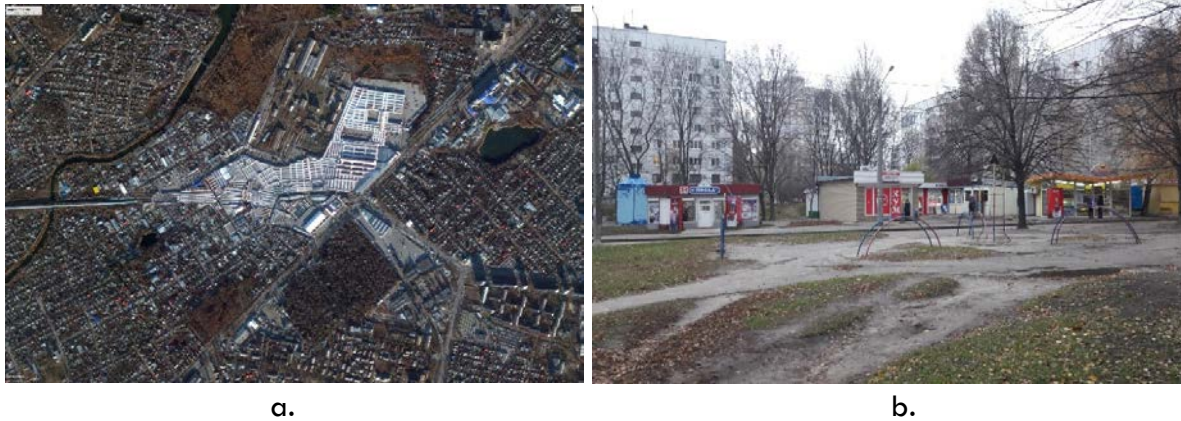


Fig. 1. Informal trade interventions in urban environment: a – macro level: market area Barabashovo around the node with metro station by Academic Barabashov, Saltivka, Kharkiv, 2015 [Google Earth Pro; retrieved in 2017]; b – micro level: kiosks inside the estate, Saltivka, Kharkiv, 2018 [source: (c) O. Chabanyuk, 2018].

The territory of living area Saltivka (Saltovka) occupies more than 700 hectares and is not limited as one administrative area, moreover, comprises all the above (a)-(c) informal transformations: (a) informal trade interventions in urban environment in macro (large-scale market: Barabashovo market) and micro (kiosks around the metro stations, nodes, inside the estate) levels [fig. 1]; (b) informal non-systematic transformations of the residential function to commerce on the ground floors of multi-storey housing blocks with extensions, changed facades, added staircases, entrances [fig. 2]; (c) informal built residential extensions to the flats of the ground and first floor that cause the changes of the facade in the buildings; installed windows by the residents to the balconies and loggias; installed insulation of the facades only on the surface of the walls, which belong to one owner by himself [fig. 3].



Fig. 2. Informal transformations of the residential function to commerce on the ground floors of residential blocks, Saltivka, Kharkiv, 2018 [source: (c) O. Chabanyuk, 2018].



Fig. 3. Informal built residential extensions to the flats on the ground floor, glassed balconies by the residents, installed insulation on the facades, Saltivka, Kharkiv, 2018 [source: (c) O. Chabanyuk, 2018].

These transformations are not under urban policies and appear as a result of indirect communication of the actors (inhabitants, owners). This depicts the stigmergic behaviour of the actors by means of their reactions on the stimuli such as variables of the context (economy, politics, time). The territory of interventions is not limited by planning units and morphology. The stigmergic behaviour in changes of the residential apartment to commerce on the ground floor, for instance, does not identify the time or style when the building had been constructed.

Conclusions

Stigmergic behaviour becomes a theoretical base for understanding the self-organizing process in urban and regional space. The particular contexts of economy and politics in the transition of post-socialist cities densify informal transformations and self-made interventions. The study expresses the post-socialist transition as the action for the concentration of stigmergic behaviour in the urban and regional environment.

The research is seeking to involve the quantitative data of urban transformations to the next stage of the study to use the concept of stigmergy as a machine-learning tool for the analysis of transitions and trends.

The stigmergic behaviour in urban transformations of post-socialist cities still lacks the regulation by urban policies. However, it depicts the reality of societal changes and needs in the developing society during the transition of the post-socialist environment as alternative development models.

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Post-socialist reality: from informal settlement to detached suburbia, case of Niš, Serbia

Abstract: Compared to Western Europe, industrialization was introduced with a significant delay in most post-socialist countries. In Niš, the biggest city in southeastern Serbia, the Electronic Industry (EI) was one of the main generators of the explosive urbanization during the second part of the XX century. This qualitative research was focused on three suburban settlements around the EI complex (Brzi Brod, Suvi Do, and Nikola Tesla) that were a part of this process, mostly developed in a way that was not considered regular or formal by the urban practice. This paper contains the analysis of their demographic and spatial development, before and after the downfall of the EI, influenced by multiple socio-economic and political shifts in Yugoslavia and wider. Comparison of available urban plans, from the half of the last century until modern days, along with statistics containing economic and demographic data, induced conclusions on the actual impact of the nearby industrial force, on dynamics of the individual physical growth and potential tendencies to merge but also on obvious spatial limitations. Findings brought new questions; besides those on the urban scale, the author perceives the ones on the human scale equally important – trying to disintegrate the perspective of ‘suburban tissue’ into singular frames of its material, focusing on its units, internal and external forces that shaped it, observing the ‘informal and illegal’ as ‘induced, accelerated and unforeseen creating of a habitat’.

Keywords: industrialization, urbanization, suburban settlements, informal settlements

Introduction

The paper is addressing a belated process of intensive urbanization, defined as a 'new model of modern urbanization' (Enyedi, 1990). The studied region in the eastern suburban area of the City of Niš, Serbia, is determined by the Electronic Industry (EI) complex and Mediana archeological complex in the west, Nišava River in the north, and Niška Banja in the east, encircling three suburban neighborhoods positioned along the road from Niš to Niška Banja – Brzi Brod, Suvi Do, and Nikola Tesla [Fig. 1a]. Industrialization of this region has caused simultaneous growth of these three settlements in the second half of the twentieth century. Today, they create a connection between the City of Niš and Niška Banja (the city spa). This has been noted, but uncontrolled by planning documentation. The main objective of the paper is to complement the research of the urbanization conditioned by industrialization, i.e. the importance of foreseeing, understanding and controlling urban changes.

¹ Faculty of Technical Sciences, Novi Sad, Serbia. E-Mail: djordjejovic@uns.ac.rs

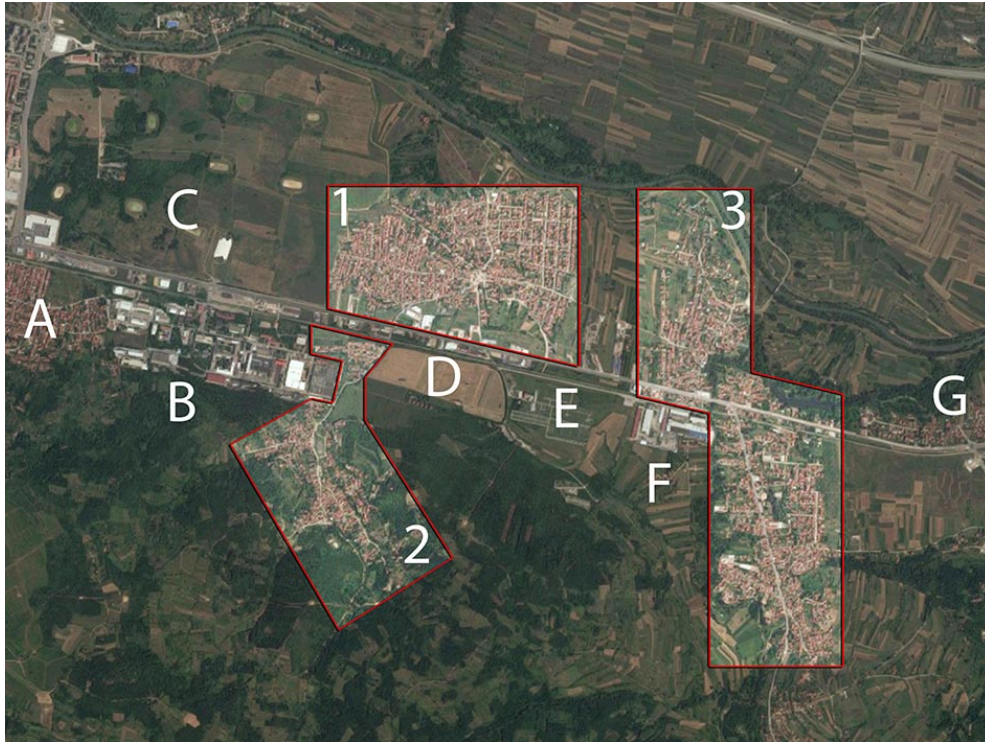


Fig. 1. The whole area: 1-3) settlements, A) the city, B) EI complex, C) Mediana complex, D) Winegrowing Institute, E) substation, F) 'Nissal' complex, G) Niška Banja

Socioeconomic framework

After the Second World War, one of the largest investment projects for the newly established state (SFRY) was the construction of Radio and X-ray machines Institute, known as 'Zavodi RR', started in 1948, which would be restructured and transformed into the Electronic Industry of Niš in 1962 (Randjelović, 2003). The location by the road from Niš to Niška Banja satisfied all the conditions (building area, distance from the city, transportation costs etc.). New workforce from Niš and its surroundings has been engaged almost every day, making it a secure substitution for a vast number of people transiting from agriculture to non-agricultural activities. This was the start of a perennial rural exodus, which brought significant socioeconomic changes to the suburban area of Niš, for which 'the city was not prepared. Informal settlements were appearing in the suburban area over the night.' Expenses for housing unit's construction were too high, it is 'left to labour organizations. The status of the labour organization became measurable in percentage points of how well such organizations managed to accommodate their employees' (Ristić Trajković et al.). The EI has invested in the construction of multifamily housing buildings and complexes within the city boundaries, but there was no existing plan concerning the accommodation of workers immigrating to its surroundings, so newly arrived workers started settling near the factories, fostered by already existing villages around them, and low land use fees in industrial zones (Igić, M. et al., 2016).

Political/economic transformations and economic decisions of the former government (Randjelović, 2003) induced the collapse of the EI – its fragmentation, privatization, and

transformation into a Holding company. The number of employees started reducing rapidly - a vast number of workers were on forced leave, declared redundant, or lost their jobs [table 1].

Year	1989	1993	2000	2010
Employees	30.000	10.000	1000	100

Table 1. Decline in the number of employees in the EI from 1989 to 2010

Demographic and physical development

Brzi Brod

Brzi Brod lies by an archaeological site – Mediana complex (3rd and 4th century AD). From 1955, Brzi Brod, a village, started developing explosively [table 2]. After the construction of 'Zavodi RR', the settlement started sprawling towards west, and along the road. The proximity of the river and a possibility of connecting with villages across it fostered working immigration, which changed the indigenous population, so the village has radically changed its socioeconomic structure. In 1971, the census results show that Brzi Brod counted 26 agricultural, 29 mixed and 497 non-agricultural households. From rural, it transformed to mixed-suburban, and during the seventies and eighties to urban, since it has gained a form of a workers' settlement. In terms of its physical appearance, Brzi Brod has kept its rural characteristics. Even though the EI collapsed, Brzi Brod preserved its attractiveness thanks to the position in relation to the city and good traffic connections. Its spreading towards north, west, and south is completely limited, it could only grow towards the east, which would cause merging with Nikola Tesla.

Year	1878	1930	1948	1953	1961	1971	1981	1991	2002	2011
Housing units	13	57	108	119	278	552	855	1.114	1.477	1.510
Inhabitants	111	416	568	595	1.055	1.935	2.945	3.665	4.452	4.642

Table 2. Population change in Brzi Brod

Suvi Do

Suvi Do has been a small agricultural village until 1949. The construction of 'Zavodi RR' and the proximity to the city have induced the immigration of workers [table 3] and socioeconomic restructuring of Suvi Do, reducing traditional rural characteristics (15 agricultural, 9 mixed and 153 non-agricultural households in 1971, while the non-agricultural households made 69% of the total number in 2006 [Turnšek, 2003]). From 1960, Suvi Do started gaining mixed-suburban, and later urban characteristics (workers' settlement), yet retaining a rural form. The 1963 elaborate states that new inhabitants immigrated from more than 30km far from Suvi Do, searching for employment in the mentioned industry.² The morphology limited the growth to the south, so the construction area widened towards the industry and the road, reducing the arable land. With certain deviations, the predicted number of inhabitants for Brzi Brod and Nikola Tesla made in 1963 is far closer to the real situation in 1971 and 2002 (years of the census),

² Introductory considerations of the elements of the organization and conditions for development of the conurbation of Niš – Suvi Do, 1963

then in the case of Suvi Do [table 4]. This means that the immigration initiator in Suvi Do (and Brzi Brod) was weak in 2002, the most critical period for the EI.

Nowadays, the settlement leans both to the EI and the road. The electrification has been carried out in 1946, and the water system in 1962, but urban plans still highlight the poor state of utility infrastructure as one of the main obstacles for further development of Suvi Do and its complete rural-to-urban transition.

Year	1878	1930	1948	1953	1961	1971	1981	1991	2002	2011
Housing units	20	45	61	63	118	157	189	237	321	341
Inhabitants	152	275	319	326	442	564	631	807	935	1.010

Table 3. Population change in Suvi Do

Settlement	Prediction for 1972	1971	Prediction for 2001	2002
Brzi Brod	2.100	1.935	6.000	4.422
Nikola Tesla	1.800	2.360	4.000	3.710
Suvi Do	700	564	3.000	930

Table 4. Predictions made in 1963 and the real number of inhabitants

Nikola Tesla

Nikola Tesla is separated from Suvi Do by the Winegrowing Institute and the Electrical Substation. Even though it had more than 1.000 inhabitants in 1960, it is new, compared to the other two settlements, hence the different social structure. Building by the road towards Nišava and Gornja Vrežina started in 1951, while more intensive immigration started after 1955 (Istorija Niša, 1995), due to its proximity to the EI and 'Nissal' (another industry). With two industries, immigration, and new catering facilities by the crossroad, the settlement started growing, with a tendency of further demographic and physical growth. 'Istorija Niša' states that 'it was not before the seventies when Nikola Tesla was included in the Plan of detailed regulation', but the first elaborate was completed in 1963, recognizing the urgency of urbanization, since 'the residential area has enlarged drastically in the past few years, threatening to merge with Niška Banja and Brzi Brod'.³ This prediction came true - the northern part is separated from Brzi Brod only by a belt of arable land; the southern part reached the border zone of Niška Banja by spreading along the roads. Planning documentation in 1970 addresses the settlement as one of two residential suburban agglomerations, difficult to define as a city or a village since it was partially equipped with communal infrastructure, and still, it was considered informal until 1974. The percentage of non-agricultural households has always been high, reaching 84% in 2006 (Turnšek, 2006, 145-146). On the other side, the population and individual housing units still grow today [table 5]. This process was and is happening on account of arable land which reduced drastically, disabling the inhabitants to turn to agriculture.

Year	1948	1953	1961	1971	1981	1991	2002	2011
Housing units	181	237	431	663	899	1159	1214	1512
Inhabitants	686	880	1500	2360	3029	3672	3532	4651

Table 5. Population change in Nikola Tesla

Urban plan analysis – comparison of planned and actual

With many difficulties in finding General urban plans dating from 1953, 1973 and 1995, the oldest available urban documents concerning these settlements date from 1963. Detailed

³ Detailed urban plan for the residential settlement Nikola Tesla, 1963

research (demographic analysis, historical background, and guidelines for further development) was done for Brzi Brod and Suvi Do. Nikola Tesla has been observed as an informal settlement, hence the lack of information on its demographics or previous development, but the study has produced several plans for its thorough reconstruction and urbanization. Following is a comparison of actions planned in this document and the present state of the area:

- 1) A protective zone - a green belt along the main road has been planned for all the settlements, and along the industrial complexes. This step has been implemented, but today Brzi Brod has almost leaned to the road with its western part, the northern part of Suvi Do did the same, bypassing the El. Nikola Tesla spread from the southern side of the road, around 'Nissal', all the way to Brzi Brod in the north. Commercial buildings have occupied both sides of the road from the El to 'Nissal'.
- 2) Reconstruction/regulation of streets – In Suvi Do, the implementation is partial, (paving the streets and correcting their shape where it was allowed by morphology and built structures [Fig. 2]). Brzi Brod kept several radial directions extending from the center, only the northeastern part is regulated. The southwestern, illegally built part, has been slightly reshaped by extending dead-end streets [Fig. 3]. Only the southeastern part of Nikola Tesla shows an attempt of regulation (rectangular blocks), the rest of it kept an informal, ribbed shape [Fig. 4].
- 3) The central square with public functions - In Brzi Brod, the street grid defined the square position, decentralized towards the south. Suvi Do kept most of its rural characteristics, due to its morphology and lack of public functions, while the central functions are located in the south. Nikola Tesla kept its purely residential character, lacking other functions, which is characteristic for informal settlements, especially for workers' settlements. A square with a church in the southern part of Nikola Tesla is the most similar to the idea of a central square, while the northern part has no organized public areas.
- 4) The study states that the 'mechanical population growth has a temporary character, therefore there is no need for dislocating the building area boundaries for Brzi Brod and Suvi Do since the final migration point is the city with its nearest surroundings.' Nevertheless, a new building area was defined - 34 instead of 19 ha for Brzi Brod, and 30 instead of 15 ha for Suvi Do, if certain measures were going to be explored and applied (concentration in the city – high labor productivity and humane living conditions; dislocation of economic capacities; modernization of technological process of the industry – less need for massive unqualified workforce; suburban traffic connection with industrial sites). The analysis of these measures in further research might help with defining reasons for unsuccessful plans implementation and an inability to control the process of urbanization.



Fig. 2. Street grid of Suvi Do. Modified by the author. Source: <https://www.google.rs/maps/>

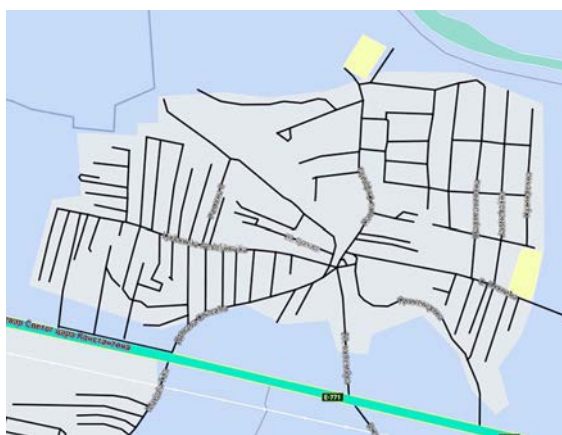


Fig. 3. Street grid of Brzi Brod. Modified by the author. Source: <https://www.google.rs/maps/>

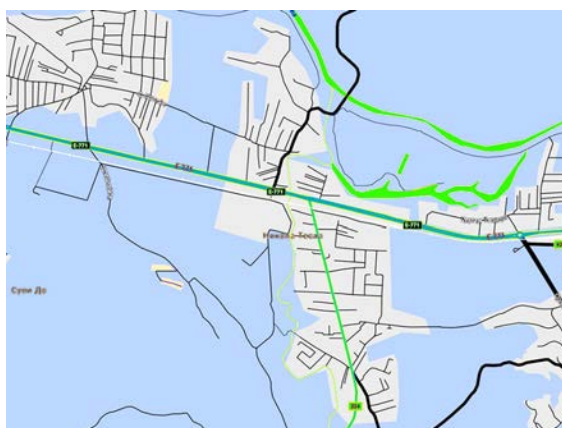


Fig. 4. Street grid of Nikola Tesla. Modified by the author. Source: <https://www.google.rs/maps/>

In lack of an actual General urban plan from 1953, the author relied on a document from 1970 which analyzes the previous plan and suggests its modifications and additions. Following are some of the research related observations in this document:

1. Former government decisions changed the established land use which affected the required additional green areas, e.g. working and residential areas being expanded on account of the third functional zone (green area and recreation). This has fostered

the informal settlements' occupation of the surrounding green area, and the urban tissue surrounding and 'absorbing' industrial sites, causing their incorrect position today, which was recognized in this document. In the context of the contemporary urban area, both industries complexes had been positioned without consideration of possible effects on demographic and urban changes. The document forbids any new industrial facility in this region, in order to preserve the green area and the fresh air inflow.

2. It is stated that the content between the EI and Niška Banja created a homogenous urban whole. However, uneven deployment and intermittent placement of functions are obvious - the area is cut from the city by the EI and Mediana complex. Brzi Brod and Nikola Tesla are practically merged today, but in 1970 there was a large plot of land between them, with only two built complexes (EI and 'Djuro Salaj'). Previously mentioned parts of Suvi Do and Nikola Tesla, with commercial objects, interrupted the sequence.
3. This micro-region's potential as a tourist and recreational centre was stated, but no measure was taken in order to foster its development, and their sprawl has reduced the opportunity for a future transformation.
4. Removing a developing settlement at the foot of Niška Banja - The present situation shows that the removal never happened, allowing it to nearly merge with the eastern part of Nikola Tesla neighbourhood.

Conclusions

Within a framework of a couple of decades of the industrial golden age in Niš, the immigration of these three settlements might be observed as a favourable circumstance in terms of providing the workforce with low transportation costs and creating a compact urban zone. However, the present state shows that one of the growing problems is mono-functionality, which 'doesn't date back to the settlement origins, but is a consequence of the loss of functions due to development circumstances' (Dinić, Đurić, Mitković, 2016).

Nevertheless, the process of urbanization must be observed and approached from various points of view. One of the main remarks after the examination of the available planning documentation is that the process of urban planning lacks multidisciplinary approach, e.g. close cooperation with economic subjects that have, or might have, a significant influence on society. Some of the main reasons for the uncontrolled spreading of informal settlements were: lack of accommodation plans, belated treatment by legislative documents, and inconsistency in their implementation. The same pattern of negligence and inertia in urban actions is more and more obvious today in the city of Niš (uncontrolled construction of whole neighbourhoods, unplanned spreading of the suburban area without improving living conditions etc.). This is present even in archiving the previous planning documentation, which represents legislative architecture and urban planning documents. Active preservation and availability of urban plans are of invaluable significance for the work of students, researchers and professionals.

In the case of Brzi Brod, Suvi Do, and Nikola Tesla, the measures of their 'inclusion' must be implemented. Infrastructural reconstruction and functional content enrichment should be carried out within the active period of the current General urban plan. Also, detailed plans should be made in order to foresee and monitor the further spreading towards the east, or merging of neighbourhoods. Future purpose of the former EI complex, as well as of the former Winegrowing

Institute should be thoroughly reconsidered, in order to create an opportunity for inclusion of local inhabitants and to finally attach this region to the city, in terms of form and function. The following phase of the research will be focused on finding and examining former planning documentation, in order to create conditions and knowledge needed for comparison with active and future plans. The research conducted in 1963 by M. Živković should be repeated in the present time to define the social structure of the three settlements and facilitate the production of plans for their future development.

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Civic engagement in the (post-socialist) transitional society: two case studies

Abstract: *The case studies examine community engagement in the design of detailed plans for urban areas of strategic importance - Mezapark in Riga and Kalarand in Tallinn. The detailed plans caused public outcries and lead to long-lasting negotiations between local communities, developers, designers and municipalities over the design and use of these areas. The debates highlighted the increasing public interest in planning related issues and the demands for greater civic engagement. At the same time, the debates demonstrated the inability of national and local planning frameworks to meet public expectations.*

The cases were studied through the analysis of national and local legal and institutional planning frameworks, documentation related to the detailed plans of Mezapark and Kalarand, stakeholder opinions, which were collected through a series of semi-structures interviews. The data was thematically organised into a code matrix, which set facts against opinions and reflections from scientific publications on civic engagement. From the code matrix a number of themes emerged, which reflect, arguably, the key challenges of civic engagement in the (post-socialist) transitional society.

The preliminary conclusions are: (1) stakeholder opinions about the outcomes diverge from each other and from the actual facts, which is caused by deeply emotional engagement into the process; (2) the local communities are capable to deliver high quality contributions, as community activists are usually professionals in planning, architecture and/or legal fields; (3) community activists, designers, developers and local authority are in antagonistic relationship and have biased perceptions of each other; (4) civic engagement is regulated by national legal frameworks, which are valid for all municipalities, and thus, are rather basic; (5) the public is poorly represented during the process, as many potentially affected groups are left out; (6) local authority does not usually take a role of a mediator in solving conflicts. All in all, there appears a salient need for change of local planning culture.

Keywords: *civic engagement, conflict, Kalarand, Mezapark, public space.*

Introduction

Following the worldwide planning practice Latvian and Estonian legislation introduced the requirement for public display and discussion of urban plans by including the corresponding regulations into the legislation in the end of 1990s. The actual activities, however, emerged

¹ Tallinn University of Technology. E-Mail: vprilenska@gmail.com

² Tallinn University of Technology. E-Mail: katrin.paadam@gmail.com

³ Tallinn University of Technology. E-Mail: roode.liias@ttu.ee

towards the end of the first decade of the 2000s when two plans of public waterfront redevelopment were launched, respectively for Mezapark in Riga (2010 - 13) and Kalarand in Tallinn (2003 - 16). Both attracted public attention and were followed by protests from the part of the residents in adjacent neighbourhoods. The debates about detailed plans demonstrated the increasing public interest in planning related issues, the demands for greater civic engagement, and, at the same time highlighted deficiencies of local engagement strategies. There appeared a salient need for changing the planning culture, which undoubtedly is a long-term and continuous process assuming advancement of skills of all parties involved.

The experiences from Kalarand and Mezapark demonstrate the importance of an analysis to be specific about the context as well as the implementation strategies applied in civic engagement practice. The initiatives of waterfront redevelopment having produced the highest resonance in the planning fields of both cities need to be understood in the context of the past 25-year history of Latvian and Estonian sovereignty and, hence, the transforming societal circumstances. The evidence from case studies show how the advantages of participation can be counteracted by poor participation strategy, which is concerned only with informing the public about the redevelopment plans without a clear intention to incorporate the public into negotiations, and as such leads to mutually biased dispositions instead of creating trust. These plans having provoked an outcry from local residents, resulted in long-lasting fierce debates between communities, developers, designers and municipalities. Although the opponents of the initial plans finally managed to reach a (partial) consensus with the plan initiators, all parties were unanimously dissatisfied with the process.

Latvia and Estonia - planning legislation

Following international practices, planning legislation in Latvia and Estonia requires public consultation prior to adopting binding urban plans. Until 1991 Latvia and Estonia were parts of the Soviet Union, therefore the built environment was planned and developed by governmental institutions in the framework of planned economy and rational planning (Paadam, 2009). Since 1991, after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Latvia and Estonia transferred to a democratic governance model paving the way to market economy and, hence, market driven urban development. The transition was impetuous, thus, initially planning legislation was copied from other European countries and later modified to fit local conditions. Currently, urban development is regulated by relatively fresh documents: 'Spatial development planning law' (Latvian Parliament, 2011) and regulations Nr. 628 'Regulations about municipal spatial development planning documents' (Latvian Cabinet of Ministers, 2014) in Latvia and 'Planning Act' (Estonian Parliament, 2015) in Estonia.

In their essence planning legislations of Latvia and Estonia are similar. Municipality manages its own spatial development by means of *comprehensive* and *detailed* plans. *Comprehensive* plan applies to the whole area of municipality, whereas *detailed* plan is concerned with a particular land plot or a group of land plots, and accordingly, in greater detail. Both plan types are binding and consist of graphic (maps) and textual (regulations) parts. The requirement of public *display* with subsequent public *hearings* of a plan before sending it for approval to a municipal council is enacted. Public *display* is a time span of one month when any citizen can familiarise oneself with a plan and submit an opinion or a proposal about the plan. Public *hearings* is a meeting where citizen opinions and proposals are presented, evaluated, accepted or rejected. If an opinion or proposal is accepted, the plan is modified accordingly. If an opinion or a

proposal is rejected, the legislation requires a rationale. In both countries the final decision on acceptance or rejection is taken by the City Council.

Mezapark and Kalarand - the urban areas in focus

Mezapark (Forest park) [fig. 1] is a ~420 ha culture and recreational park located ~8km by the Lake Kisezers. The park area was included in the city area in 1904. Forest areas, which constitute 80 percent of the park area, were shaped between 1920 and 1940, cultural and sports infrastructure was built in 1950-1965 and 2008-2011 (Grupa93, 2013; Latvian Riga Forests, 2017). Currently, Mezapark houses the zoo, Song and Dance Festival open air theatre, BMX track, obstacle park for children and adults, playgrounds for children, a beach, a small boat harbour and multiple cafes.

Kalarand [fig. 1] is a ~7ha brownfield area located between the Northern edge of the Old Town and the sea. In the Soviet time the area was a shipyard for the Union of Fishermen and was not accessible to the public (Pro Kapital Eesti, 2016), as the rest of the central waterfront area with mostly military industries, port and severely controlled passenger harbour. After 1991 the area was privatised, industrial buildings deteriorated and demolished, and the area became physically accessible to the public (Pro Kapital Eesti, 2016). Currently, the area houses a small yacht harbour, a fish market and an informal pop-up beach.

Plan for Mezapark and plan for Kalarand have a number of similarities and differences. Both plans redesign a strategic space in the city. The size, history and function of the space are different. Both plans deal with waterfront design and accessibility issues. In case of Mezapark the de facto private space was designated for public use, and in case of Kalarand the de facto public space was threatened to become inaccessible. Both were subjected to a substantial public critique, which lead to changes in plans. In Mezapark these changes were minor compared to Kalarand where the changes were relatively substantial. Participatory process, however, was similar, and caused dissatisfaction among all stakeholders.



Fig. 1. Top left: location of urban area Mezapark in Riga; right: location of urban area Kalarand in Tallinn (authors). Middle left: map of Mezapark; right: map of Kalarand (Open Street Map, 2017). Bottom left: Mezapark waterfront; right: Kalarand waterfront (authors).

Methodological approach

The goal of this research was to understand how the planning system in Latvia and Estonia should be modified to meet the growing demand for community engagement in planning. For an advanced understanding, the following research questions were defined: (1) Why were the stakeholders dissatisfied with the civic engagement process in cases of Mezapark and Kalarand? (2) How would the stakeholders like to change the civic engagement process in the future?

The authors started with general study of the cases, adjusting the research questions and data collection techniques as new information was discovered. Main data collection techniques were semi-structured interviews with stakeholders, analysis of planning documents, and analysis of relevant scientific publications. The interviews were conducted with five stakeholder groups: neighbourhood associations, developers, designers, Planning Department officers. The interviews were recorded in March - June 2016, September - November 2016 and December 2018. Nine interviews were conducted in Riga and nine in Tallinn. For the interviews the key representatives of each stakeholder group were selected, assuming they had plenty of information to share about their distinct experience and, thus, different perspective on the cases.

Planning documents were of two categories, Latvian and Estonian planning laws and regulations, and detailed plans for Mezapark and Kalarand. Most information was available online. Some plan related documents for Kalarand were derived from the designer and developer. The original cover text for Mezapark plan (in Latvian) was reviewed. The text included building regulations for the planned area, citizen proposals and designer comments on these proposals. The cover text for Kalarand plan (in English) was derived from the task for an architectural competition for a housing project in the area in focus. The text briefly described the historic background of the area, future vision and architectural assignment, which was developed in accordance with the detailed plan. Additionally, the report describing the sequence of events during the planning process for Kalarand was examined. The information on the cases in two cities was available to a different degree. As for Mezapark there was more official factual information about the process and outcomes, as well as thoroughly documented resident opinions about the plan with designer comments.

Findings

Quality of Contributions

Neighbourhood associations had professionals among their members, lawyers (both), architects (Kalarand) and spatial planners (Mezapark). Secondly, citizen feedback about the plans was precise and constructive. The designer of Mezapark plan received and documented 21 comments on 55 A4 pages. Three of these comments were letters from neighbourhood associations, containing 13, 18 and 19 points each. Four of these comments were letters from private persons containing 4, 6, 10 and 48 points each. Comments were well-structured and well argued. The residents supported their arguments with a community wide survey about the values of Mezapark, with response rate of 10 percent. Moreover, some comments pointed out mistakes and inaccuracies in planning documents, which were, later, corrected by the designer. For Kalarand plan a similar document providing information about the resident comments was not available. However, judging by the interviews with community representatives, the residents studied the plan thoroughly, highlighting controversial points.

Furthermore, the community hired a professional consultancy to evaluate the plan, which revealed the deficiencies of the plan, including the mismatches between the plan and higher-level planning documents (Lindmae, 2014).

Mutual Perceptions

The communities expressed mistrust in developers and designers, and, at the same time, were sceptical about the ability of municipalities to protect their interests. The citizens were struggling rigorously for precise wordings in the building regulations to avoid any later misinterpretation. They feared that kind of ambiguity would be interpreted in favour of developer, allowing developers 'tricks' as it was expressed with reference to developer's true intentions. 'In professional language [the designer] can put it in a way, that no one pays attention...and it gets through...', says a community representative from Riga. '[The developer and the city] haven't agreed that... this [area] is in public use. Legal... agreements behind it... the contracts... everything was missing', adds a community representative from Tallinn.

Mode of Engagement

In case Mezapark there was a working group with a limited public access, which discussed solutions proposed by the plan as it progressed. In case Kalarand there were a few mediation meetings between the stakeholders with an aim to reach a consensus about the solutions proposed by the plan. The working group and mediation meetings are not required by the legislation. The working group was established due to the strategic significance of Mezapark for the city. The mediation meetings were held to address the protests of individual local residents and neighbourhood association.

Planning officers from both countries agree that detailed plans are redundant, as they are similar to construction projects, i.e. most of them for one land plot at a time, and are developed by private planning or architecture offices. Thus, detailed plans and construction projects should be merged to save the resources. Civic engagement will benefit from the merging of the two, as residents would be able to see a planning proposal, and a design proposal, which follows the plan.

Representativeness

Citizens involved into the discussion of plans were limited to local communities. Mezapark residents were represented by Mezapark neighbourhood association and Pavu Street community - total of 51 participants (counted by contributions). Kalarand residents initially were represented by individuals. Since 2012 the case was overtaken by Telliskivi Selts neighbourhood association - total of ca. 2400 participants (counted by signatures). Despite the significance of both areas for the cities, residents from the neighbourhoods, which do not border the areas of detailed plan, were not involved in negotiations.

Roles of Planning Departments

The stakeholders blamed the municipalities for taking passive positions. Residents unanimously criticised municipality for showing no initiative in mediating the conflicts. Furthermore, residents repeatedly expressed the concern, that the municipality is not exercising its 'legal rights', 'legal power' to steer the development of the city towards equilibrium, where the interests of the stakeholders are balanced, and towards sustainable environment. The developers, in turn, urged

the city to define the priorities and take the decisions fast, as the circumstances for development change rapidly together with economic situation.

Conclusions

The quality of contributions from the part of neighbourhood associations is high due to the presence of experienced professionals in the planning field, architects, geographers, lawyers, etc., among the members of community associations. The profile of a 'usual' member of a neighbourhood association is different from those often described in scientific publications (cf Nienhuis et al., 2011). The active members of neighbourhood associations are usually highly educated working individuals, socially and politically active and capable of producing an alternative vision for an urban area in focus.

The attitudes of stakeholders towards other stakeholders are mutually biased. On the one hand, neighbourhood associations mistrust developers and designers, claiming that developers have hidden agendas, and designers, in turn, are masking these agendas by means of professional jargon. On the other hand, developers claim that neighbourhood associations resist any change. This attitude of developers is often supported by the representatives of planning departments, and exacerbated by their concerns, that the neighbourhood associations are unable to provide any other information except for the information about the identity and values of a place.

Civic engagement is regulated by national legal planning framework. The national planning framework is valid for small and big municipalities with various financial and professional capacities, therefore, the requirements for civic engagement procedure are limited to a public display with a subsequent public hearing. Despite having capacities to introduce additional engagement procedures, big municipalities, like Riga and Tallinn, fulfil only the basic legal requirements. The redundancy of planning framework, which requires public displays for each and every detailed plan, leads to expenditure of resources on plans, which might not require public display at all. These resources could be redirected to introduce engagement procedures for plans of strategic importance.

Residents engage into negotiations about detailed plans on their own initiative. Although, planning officers, designers and developers acknowledge the need to involve wider audience, then the immediate residents, into discussion, there are no efforts to inform or involve residents beyond those required by planning legislation.

Planning departments and planning levels in Riga and Tallinn are fragmented, hence the duties and responsibilities of individual planners are limited, and the scope of planning documents is limited. The fragmentation turns planning departments into institutions which supervise the conformity of lower level plans with the upper level plans, rather than into institutions which steer the development of the city. The duty to protect residents' interests is transferred to the neighbourhood associations and individual residents, which causes dissatisfaction from the part citizenry.

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Reclaiming positions and reimagining the city? Lviv urban experts since the late 1980s

Abstract: Lviv experienced turbulent times during the twentieth century. Depopulated by the Second World War, it was an experimental field where Soviet planning ideas were envisioned and enacted. During the next decades Lviv became an important industrial and scientific centre of the region of western Ukraine. After the collapse of the USSR the city inherited educational and scientific institutions developed during the state socialism as well as specific practices, cultural patterns, and systems of reference. Different actors started to be involved in the development of a new urban “identity,” which in the case of Lviv combined both “local,” “regional,” “pan-Ukrainian,” and “multicultural” aspects (Hentosh & Tscherkes, 2009: 276). I am focusing on these actors, which could be called “urban experts” – professionals who were imagining and directing the “shape” of the future of the city. In early 1990s their connections with the central planning schools in Moscow was shattered (Van Assche, Kristof, Verschraegen & Salukvadze, 2010); thus, architects had to look for new frameworks – either borrowed from European context or rather “hybrid” ones. Based on Lviv case my paper reveals how the social milieu of these professionals adapted to the paradigmatic shift or continued to reproduce habitual practices. I would delineate their personal strategies of navigation within changed social conditions: how they (re)assembled their expertise and what were the shifting boundaries of their authority. With such actor-driven and *longue durée* approach my project contributes to the discussion about the “legacies of communism” (Beissinger & Kotkin, 2014). The paper’s source base includes semi-structured interviews with the key actors in the field: architects, urban planners, municipal workers, local urban activists, as well as it uses open archival collections of a number of institutions (for instance, the State Institute for Urban Planning “Mistoprojekt” and Lviv region department of the National Union of Architects of Ukraine).

Keywords: architects, authority, city visions, Lviv, urban expertise, urban planning.

Introduction

Lviv – formerly Lwów, Lvov, or Lemberg – experienced turbulent times during the twentieth century. Depopulated by the Second World War, it was an experimental field where Soviet planning ideas were envisioned and enacted (Tscherkes, 2005). During the next decades this city became an important industrial center of the region of western Ukraine. For almost half a century Lviv was incorporated into the Soviet project and was gradually transformed by socialist urban planning.

¹ Center for Urban History of East Central Europe, Lviv, Ukraine. E-Mail: n.otrishchenko@lvivcenter.org

After the collapse of the USSR, the urban spaces of the former 'socialist cities' started to be redefined. Different actors were involved in the development of a new urban 'identity,' which in the case of Lviv combined both 'local,' 'regional,' 'pan-Ukrainian,' and 'multicultural' aspects (Hentosh & Tscherkes 2009, 276). Lviv's example is not unique – similar processes occurred with varying intensity across different locations in the region. There is a growing body of publications aiming to conceptualize spatial reconfiguration in the CEE after 1989–91 (Andrusz et al. 1996; Darieva et al. 2011; Kleims & Dmitrieva 2010). Another group of studies deals with the transformation of social landscape (Kubicek 2003; Lane 2011). My research aims to combine spatial and social approaches using the lens of actor-driven 'transitive methodology' (Schäfer 2017). With such optics I will analyze the process of post-socialist urban transformation as an outcome of a number of decisions and practices of human agents with authority to plan the future of the city. This decision leaves behind a series of political and economic factors, but such human-centric methodology allows me to see macro processes through the micro level and shift the perspective to issues of personal agency. The research is developed on the base of in-depth semi-structured interviews with urban planners (a total of 25 hours of conversations with nine persons – three females, six males with average age of 72 – as for mid-May 2019) and archival collection of the Mistoprojekt State Institute for Urban Planning, formerly Lviv Branch of the Dipromist State Design Institute for the Cities, as well as published materials such as the history of the Urban Planning Department at the Lviv Polytechnic National University (Petryshyn 2013). I am focusing on the milieu of professionals, who could be called 'urban experts' – architects and urban planners who were and are imagining and directing the development of the city. Philip Elliott ([1972] 2014: 96) describes an 'ideal type' of professional in more details: the characteristics of such person include, for instance, ability to perform non-routine tasks, independent decision-making, strong occupational identity, extensive education, broad theoretical knowledge, achievements in the field, etc. Some of those features are either personal traits or self-evaluation (like occupational identity), while the others are defined by the community of peers (achievements in the field) or by larger social structures (independent decision-making).

My research in general aims to reveal how the social milieu of urban experts adapted to the paradigmatic shift or continued to reproduce habitual practices and what the effects of such reconfiguration were on the urban fabric of Lviv. As the scope of this short paper does not allow for a detailed discussion of the whole range of possible strategies, I am going to outline two examples in broad brushstrokes: creating or enforcing connections with European institutions and other external sources of authority (based on the chair of urban planning at the Lviv Polytechnic) and building on the practice from the socialist period (based on the case of Lviv's master plan, or as it is called in Ukrainian, general plan [general'nyi plan]).

Development of new connections: the case of urban planning professors

The year 2013 marked the 100th anniversary of urban planning education at the Lviv Polytechnic. However, the continuity of architectural education was torn apart – the one of a few professors from pre-war academic milieu who remained in the city after the Second World War was Jan Aleksander Bagieński (Petryshyn et al. 2013, 14-5). During the post-war decade architects studied at the department of engineering and construction. Khrushchcev's condemnation of Stalinist 'excess' in architecture led to unification and restructuring of the field – there was no architectural program in Lviv Polytechnic between 1956 and 1959. The

specialization in urban planning was restored as architectural sub-specialization in 1966, while the separate department of architecture was organized only in 1971 (Ibid., 16), possibly due to the efforts of Andrii Rudnytskyi (Professor 1942, 2019). Newly established chair of urban planning was headed by Andrii Rudnytskyi, who was Bagieński's student (1971–82), and Bohdan Posatskyi, who was Rudnytskyi's student (1982–93); therefore, a continuance with pre-war architectural education remained.

All plans for architectural education were developed in MARKhI (Petryshyn et al. 2013, 49), and such a centralized approach was maintained through all Soviet period. The period of 1990–3 in the history of this academic unit is described as 'a fracture time' (Ibid, 103). In similar way it is described in the interviews (Professor 1942, 2019). Academics continued to maintain contacts with Moscow institutions, as a few PhD dissertations were defended there in late 1980s–90 (for instance, by current chair Halyna Petryshyn, Mykola Bevz, Yurii Kryvoruchko). Yet, the connections with the central planning schools were shattered in the early 1990s (Van Assche et al. 2010); thus, architects had to look for new frameworks – either borrowed from the European context or rather the ones that combined the local tradition of urban planning with straightforward political and economic challenges.

The teaching practice has not undergone substantial changes since the 1980s. However, for the first time during the second half of twentieth century a foreign professor was invited to give lectures for architecture students in 1992: Michał Rościszewski from Śląsk Polytechnic taught a course on urban planning in Western Europe (Petryshyn 2013, 104). That year marked the beginning of international connections in the format of conferences. There were also ties with the Ukrainian diaspora: Professors Radosław Żuk² (McGill University) and Taras Halibei (Illinois Institute of Technology) gave lectures at Lviv Polytechnic (Ibid). Since 1993 international cooperation has intensified both through conferences and teaching as well as the development of policy programs such as 'Ukraine – Carpathian Euroregion. Urbanistic.' Gradually academic staff formed ties with a number of European institutions, for instance, cooperation with TU Wien was manifested in the format of internships, joint workshops, and a conceptual project of regeneration of the Pidzamche district in Lviv in the early 2000s. These connections allowed access to both professional literature and resources that were previously hard to come by. Knowledge of either German (learned in high schools during the Soviet period) or Polish (well-known in the region of western Ukraine because of family ties, radio broadcastings, and press) languages was a huge advantage in this regard as it allowed direct communication.

The chair of urban planning relatively quickly adapted to new social and political conditions, reorienting from Moscow first to Poland and then to Germany and Austria. This was mainly due to personal contacts, which step by step were institutionalized. Such a strategy was quite successful with regard to the transformation of social and cultural capitals (in terms of Pierre Bourdieu) into political ones: Yurii Kryvoruchko, the chair of urban planning between 1993 and 2011, was chief architect of Lviv for six years (2006–12) (Ibid, 243). He was also a founder of the International School of Church Architecture (1991–8), which itself is an interesting case. There was a renaissance of sacred architecture with a boom of reconstruction and new projects during the first decade after the collapse of USSR. Church architecture in contrast to city planning was an area that actively developed even during the 1990s crisis. The above-mentioned school

² He is the author of one of the key construction projects in Lviv during the period of independence: The Church of the Nativity of Holy Mother of God (1995–2001, project – 1993). Therefore, his stay in city has left quite visible material traces.

received major support from the clergy: it was blessed by theologian Yuri Novosilskyi and a number of religious figures were among the teachers.

The case of the chair of urban planning shows that during the period of radical structural changes, appealing to external sources of authority (either from same field but from other counties or from different spheres such as the religious one) was quite a successful strategy not only to preserve, but also to strengthen positions in the city.

Advancing previous experience: the case of Lviv's master plans developers

The second example is a brief story of two of Lviv's master plans, developed throughout the 1980s (adopted in 1993) and during the late 1990s and early 2000s (adopted in 2010) by a team from the Mistoprojekt State Institute for Urban Planning. This organization started out at a Lviv Branch of the Dipromist State Design Institute for Cities established in 1940. In September 1944, the Lviv Regional Architectural and Design Bureau under the name Oblproject resumed its activity under the supervision of the Office of Architecture of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR. It returned the previous name in 1955 and became Mistoprojekt in 1993.³ The institute is engaged in the development of urban planning and design documentation at various levels and preserves its role as one of the key actors in this field in western Ukraine. It inherited the building that was constructed in 1978–87 and designed by local architects including the head of this institute during 1977–99, Zynovii Pidlisnyi (Shuliar 2012). Spatially, infrastructurally, and partly socially, this institution has remained almost the same throughout the last forty years. However, the number of workers has shrunk from almost 600 at the end of 1980s to 120 today (Urban planner 1947, 2018).

During the decades of state Socialism every five years the institute prepared 'Projects of the placing the first stage of construction,' which contained detailed information on the state of implementation of urban development plans as well the prospects for the next five years. Each such document contained sections on the amount and location of construction (residential, communal, industrial etc.), engineering infrastructures, road-street network and transport, engineering-geological conditions and preparation of territory, environmental protection, expected cost of the work, and construction base. The development of this type of documentation later became the basis for the work on master plan.

In regard to Lviv urban planning, it is important to mention the role of Yaroslav Novakivskyi, the head of the #2 architectural planning workshop of the Lviv branch of Dipromist. As a person of 'huge creative energy' (Urban planner 1952, 2018) and a son of famous painter Oleksa Novakivskyi (1832–1935), he was dreaming to work on Lviv master plan. The previous ones, from 1956 and 1966 respectively, were designed by Dipromist in Kyiv. Due to his personal agency as well as the role of the director, Zynovii Pidlisnyi (Professor 1934, 2019), the Lviv branch of Dipromist obtained the possibility to develop a new Lviv master plan directly (Urban planners 1947, 2018). Urban planner who used to work with Yaroslav Novakivskyi recalled:

And when the question was raised about the need to make changes in the master plan, which was adopted in the [19]66, then at *Derzhbud* [State Construction Committee – N.O.] [people] have taken into account the request of Novakivskyi, who on his part, so to speak, insisted on that we can do it, we are able, and he proved it with that placement projects that we are able to do... Novakivskyi managed to prove to current leadership of *Derzhbud* that we have the

³ The history of Mistoprojekt is presented on the web page: <http://mistoprojekt.com.ua/about-us/> (as for 01.06.2019).

appropriate personnel here, there is a potential that can work on the master plans also of such large cities as Lviv... And basically, we started to make a new master plan in [19]81. Well, we started, Novakivskyi was preparing for a long time before, he had somewhere, maybe some materials were preserved there. The whole tables, then, of which sections should it [master plan] consist of, and who could be the potential executer of those sections in Lviv and so on. He had been preparing for a long time (Ibid).

The experience of the 'Projects of the placing the first stage of construction' became a base for the development of master plan, which unlike the rest of master plans from big cities was held not in Kyiv but in Lviv. Master plan's technical and economic foundation (TEO) was developed during the early 1980s, as the team was organized in 1980 (Novakivskyi et al. 1983). The initial data for this document was calculated as of 1981 with the first stage in 1990 and the estimated period till 2005 (Ibid, 10). Lviv branch of Dipromist gradually received resources and authority to work on planning documentation in the whole region of western Ukraine – the 1980s was an important time to build a network and establish connections with city administrators. Subsequently, contacts as well as a variety of archival material (master plans and detailed plans of the territories) became a lifesaver after the collapse of the USSR and a base for further developments.

Ten years passed since the completion of all calculations before the master plan was approved in 1993 and for the ideas and practices of the late-socialist period in the independent state to be grounded. The same people who worked on this document – Vitalii Dubyna, Zynovii Pidlisnyi, Roman Mykh, Oleksandr Bugaev – started to develop a new one in the 1990s and had to remake it substantially after the national census in 2001, as it gave new figures in the number of populations – 725,000 instead of the expected 800,000. One more substantial change arrived due to public participation: 'There is one object of urban planning, which is master plan and a territory. Previously there were a few subjects – a city and architects, and now each citizen is a subject of urban planning' (Urban planner 1947, 2018). The master plan is a key example of a collaborative project conducted by a community of people who share the same ideas of zoning and who consider the transportation system – roads, interchanges, traffic circles – a priority for urban development. So, the future of the city is described mainly through a conceptual apparatus that was developed during the late socialist period. Mistoprojekt remained one of key players in the field of Lviv urban planning both due to intellectual resources and the possession of unique information about ground plans.

These two cases aimed to illustrate different strategies of urban experts' adaptations to structural changes, which occurred after the fall of the Iron Curtain. Both of them are success stories, as each group of professionals managed to preserve their positions even under the new political and economic conditions. In this regard, they applied different resources and appealed to various sources of authority: either external or ones developed during the last decades of state socialism. Further research is going to describe these and other strategies in a more nuanced way as well as to show alternative, competing visions of Lviv's urban development.

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Typological narratives of a fragmented urban landscape—case of Skopje

Abstract: *This abstract introduces the urban landscape of Skopje, shedding a light on its historical background leading to typological diversity and particular urban identity. During the 20th century the city of Skopje survived three typological shifts embodied in three urban design proposals. At the end of the 19th century the city is developed mainly on the left side of the river Vardar appearing as “traditional city” with irregular structure of narrow streets merged to the local topography context. The first typological shift was envisioned by the project of Josif Mihajlovic in 1929. Within this project, the city fabric ought to extend, becoming an accurate top-down planned structure, hence transforming from de facto to de jure. The second typological shift emerges within the project of Ludjek Kubes in 1948, which abandons the previous “Genius Loci” and envisions a new model, following the concept of the functional city. In 1963, after the strike of a big earthquake, Skopje faces the third typological shift represented in the masterplan developed by Kenzo Tange and his collaborators. This time the focal point is the central city area which is almost completely developed on the right side of the river appearing as an ornamented megaform. Hence, Skopje encloses the 20th century partially carrying out these projects, portraying a collage of various typological models. Although these typological shifts originated from three conceptually divergent projects, these share several common features e.g. the plans did not take into account many cultural and social aspects of the local context and anticipated complete destruction of the historic bottom-up fabrics, an idea that never got realized. Lastly, with the latest project “Skopje 2014”, more than ever, the urban identity of Skopje faces many challenges. The most provoking one is how to include diverse typological narratives to coexist and further develop.*

Keywords: *Skopje, typological shifts, diversity, urban memory*

*“Everybody knows that the dice are loaded, everybody rolls with their fingers
crossed
Everybody knows the war is over, everybody knows the good guys lost
Everybody knows the fight was fixed, the poor stay poor, the rich get rich
That’s how it goes, everybody knows...”
(Leonard Cohen, 1988)*

¹ Politecnico di Milano. E-Mail: noevigor@yahoo.com

Introduction

The lyrics of the song “Everybody knows” performed by Leonard Cohen (1988) express a pessimistic and humorous illustration of the reality and the phenomena that are well-known and yet remain unspoken. Repeating the same phrase at the beginning of almost every verse, Cohen express his moral protest and reveals an uncanny reality underneath the justified world of the modern society. Although this paradoxical condition of overlooking the occurrences that are evident might be an outcome of the frustration being incapable to control or to provoke positive changes, one can be certain that voicing such questions could bring a significant benefit to the social discourse. The urban development of the city of Skopje starting from ninetieth century until present shares the analogy of Cohen`s lyrics, revealing a self-referential paradox. The authors of the most significant proposals for urban development of Skopje in many instances turned a blind eye on the local urban context as well as the legacy of the preceding projects, despite those occurrences were recognizable and well known. Thus, as each new idea attempted to illustrate a new narrative of an ideal city, their partial implementation and the practice of abandoning preceding projects entered Skopje in the ‘vicious circle’.

Typological shifts and discontinuity of urban landscape

Foundation of the city

The first planned settlement built in the region of today Skopje is the ancient city Scupi (Colonia Flavia Scupinorum), founded in the first century of the common era. The city was planned according to the Roman design principles for foundation of the city, with polygonal form accommodated to the geographical configuration, and orthogonal street network parallel to the cardo maximus and decumanus maximus. After numerous war devastations in the 4th century, there were records of city revival in the 5th century as a powerful religious center of the Christian oecumena (Jovanova, 2008). The city was destroyed again in a catastrophic earthquake in 518 with its ruins completely abandoned, where today remain the oldest trace in its urban palimpsest. The new city was founded in near vicinity at the top of the hill, a location convenient for construction of city walls and proper defense from the barbarian attacks. After the turbulent medieval ages with periodical turns of empires and rigorous wars, the city finally falls under the Ottoman Empire in 1392, changing once again its location next to the old fortress walls. As a most prominent public space, the City Bazar was the core of the settlement arranged by unique organizational unit of manufacturing production, retail trade and other daily activities. However, due to lack of the prescriptive urban texts, commonly observed for the Islamic cities (Choay & Bratton, 1997), scientific data for the city urban development particularly from the early Ottoman period are rather scarce [fig. 1].

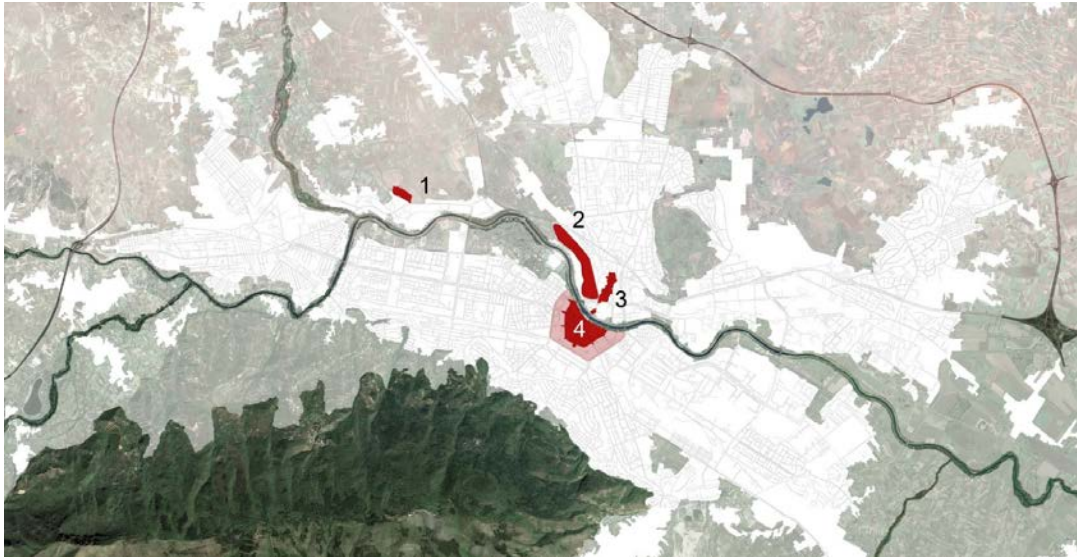


Fig. 1. Ruins/Signs/Traces

Locations of the historic city centers: 1. Ancient; 2. Medieval; 3. Ottoman; 4. Contemporary (Illustration by Noev Igor)

De facto to De jure

Skopje entered the twentieth century as a growing city connected to the European railway network (Popov *et al.* 1975), developed mainly on the left side of the river Vardar. It appeared as 'traditional city' [fig. 2] with irregular structure of narrow streets following the "paths matrix" (Caniggia and Maffei, 2008) taken form property and topography context. The urban fabric was segregated in districts, divided generally by the ethnical and cultural characteristics of the residents.



Fig. 2. 'Traditional' Skopje

Interpretation of situation plan of Skopje from 1890 (Illustration by Noev Igor)

The first typological shift [fig. 3] was envisioned in the project signed by Josif Mihajlovic from 1929 designed according to the masterplan of Dimitrije Leko in 1914. Within this project, the city extended to the right side of the river and the city fabric appeared as an accurate top-down planned system, transforming from *de facto* to *de jure*. This project emphasized the artistic approach in the city design, illustrating a picturesque city image, giving significance to the spirit of the place as a key figure of the city iconography. In this scenario, the city fabric was composed by closed perimeter blocks, new street axes and a network of wide streets and long avenues forming closed public squares at their joints. Besides the new typologies, the expansion and the transformation of the existing urban fabric, a new concept for the formation of the public spaces was introduced (Korobar, 2007). Although the masterplan of Dimitrije Leko strongly referred to Camillo Sitte's (1965) planning according to artistic principles and the narrative of a picturesque city image, the final version of the Mihajlovic' general plan was barely congruent (Lynch, 1981) with the existing cultural and local urban context. Thus, the traditional and generic bottom-up city fabric was planned to be completely demolished and replaced with modern and regulated top-down structure.



Fig. 3. De facto to De jure
Interpretation of the master plan made by Josif Mihajlovic in 1929
(Illustration by Noev Igor)

Genius loci to Zeitgeist

The second typological shift refers to the project of Ludjek Kubes from 1948 [fig. 4], which in contrast to the previous one, proposed a new model for Skopje according to the concept of 'functional city' as presented in CIAM (1933) and Corbusier's model *Le ville radieuse* (Le Corbusier, 1935). At that point in time, Skopje abandoned the previous model that celebrated the idea of "*genius loci*" (Norberg-Schulz, 1980) and following the principles of the modern movement, started to praise the spirit of the time. There were several aspects of this project that created dramatic changes in the city structure. The new typological narrative for Skopje, this time interpreted 'as a machine', for the first time emphasized the development along the East-

West axis over the previously favored South-North axis. The typological extensions of the city took place mainly along the riverside and the city was divided in residential, administrative, industrial and recreational zones. Previously planned closed perimeter blocks with isolated private courtyards were this time replaced with a grid of long linear blocks and wide open spaces extended through the entire city. The new project was once again detached from the historical and the existing urban context.



Fig. 4. Genius loci to Zeitgeist

Interpretation of the master plan made by a team of architects led by Lujek Kubes in 1948
(Illustration by Noev Igor)

Modern to Postmodern

Third typological model for Skopje [fig. 5] appeared after the disastrous earthquake in 1963 that left nearly 80% of the city in ruins (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1968). Foreign experts of the United Nations led by Doxiadis Associates from Greece, Polservice from Poland and Wilbur Smith and Associates from the UK presented the draft for the new masterplan for Skopje that in 1964 was finally approved. As a result of the urgency for an immediate reconstruction, an international competition for the devastated city center was conducted by the United Nations (United Nations Development Programme, 1970), when the concept of the team led by Kenzo Tange came to light. Thus, Skopje faced the third typological shift becoming a postmodern stage set (Venturi *et al*, 1972) narrated as an ornamented megaform (Frampton, 2012). Tange and his team proposed a futuristic model by the principles of the Japanese Metabolism, where the mega-structural urban elements dominate over the socio-economic, cultural and artistic aspects (Arsovski, 1989). The model at this time emphasized both axes which structure the city, the East-West axes was determined as a direction of the contemporary development, while the South-North axes due to its strong historical significance has been interpreted as an urban figure of the memory. Besides the fact that by this model some important historical sites were preserved, (e.g. the old bazaar was transformed into a historical landmark), still similarly as the previous masterplans it did not adopt

well to the preceding models as well as to the local urban context and cultural background. While the historical sites as 'antique ornaments' were preserved and imbedded in the new urban milieu, the core of the city became even more detached from the typological extensions realized with the previous plans. Finally, between these two defined urban entities, the city core and the extensions, fragments of bottom-up enclaves remained to exist as a parallel in-between universe.

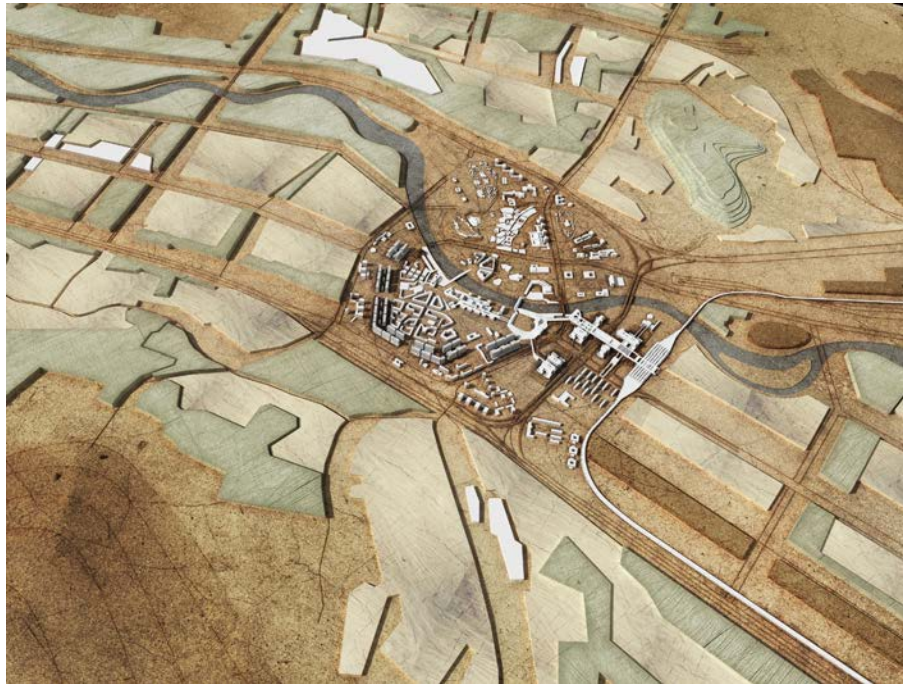


Fig. 5. Modern to Postmodern;
Interpretation of the master plan made by a team of architects led by Kenzo Tange 1965
(Illustration by Noev Igor)

Socialistic to Post-socialistic

After the fall of the communism and the dissolution of the Socialistic Federation of Yugoslavia in 1991, Skopje became a capital of a newly declared independent country, The Republic of Macedonia. The upcoming long period of post-socialistic transition caused dramatic transformations of its spatial structure. The idea of Kenzo Tange` model was slowly forsaken and unlike the former historical turnovers, the city developed without pursuing a new urban model. Namely, the large-scale idea for the city fell into a deep crisis. Additionally, the lack of capacity of the urban planning system to govern the development, and the process of denationalization of the state-owned enterprises made possible the capital and the market-oriented economy to steer the urban growth and development. As a result, two parallel processes were undergoing; firstly, the practices of informal urban actors boomed in various forms such as building extension, enclosures or superstructures (Bouzarovski *et al.* 2011), and secondly, the dramatic erosion of the public space occurred (Korobar, 2007). Consequently, a new masterplan for the central area was made in 1997 by Miroslav Grčev, Vlatko P. Korobar and Mirjana Penčić. This project by some means didn't articulate a new typological narrative but rather proposed a step back, reconsidering once again the idea of closed perimeter blocks.

From concise urban landscape to fragmented city

Interestingly, although the three major typological shifts originated from three conceptually divergent projects, they all shared the same idea, a complete eradication of the informal, unplanned, bottom-up fabrics. Ironically, these ideas never got completely realized leaving rich spontaneous urban phenomena (Noev, 2013) recognizable even in Skopje's present urban structure. Hence today, the city urban landscape appears as a collage of various abandoned models (Bakalcev, 2011) with extraordinary neighborhoods appearing in-between its fragments, as signs of memory of a resilient spontaneous urban process. In particular, the following four settlements, distinguished as fragments between fragments [fig. 6], have an identity which cannot be clearly defined neither as formal nor informal:

The neighborhood *Novo Maalo*, dating from the Ottoman Empire period (Kaceva *et al.* 2002), today divided by the large boulevard that circulates the city center. *Madzir maalo*, one of the oldest planned settlement of Skopje with orthogonal streets system influenced by the new tendencies of European city planning (Arsovski & Tashkovska-Arsova, 1988). The area of *Krnjevo*, located on the left bank of river Vardar originating also from the Ottoman period, recognized in the past by the large river beaches along the river side. The settlements *Topaana* and *Dukjandzhik Maalo*, located at the foot of the hill of Kale fortress. Residents of these areas are mainly of Romani ethnic group, who settled in this place after the fall of the Ottoman Empire. Today, these neighborhoods appear neglected and dilapidated, lacking public domains as well as the basic infrastructural system.

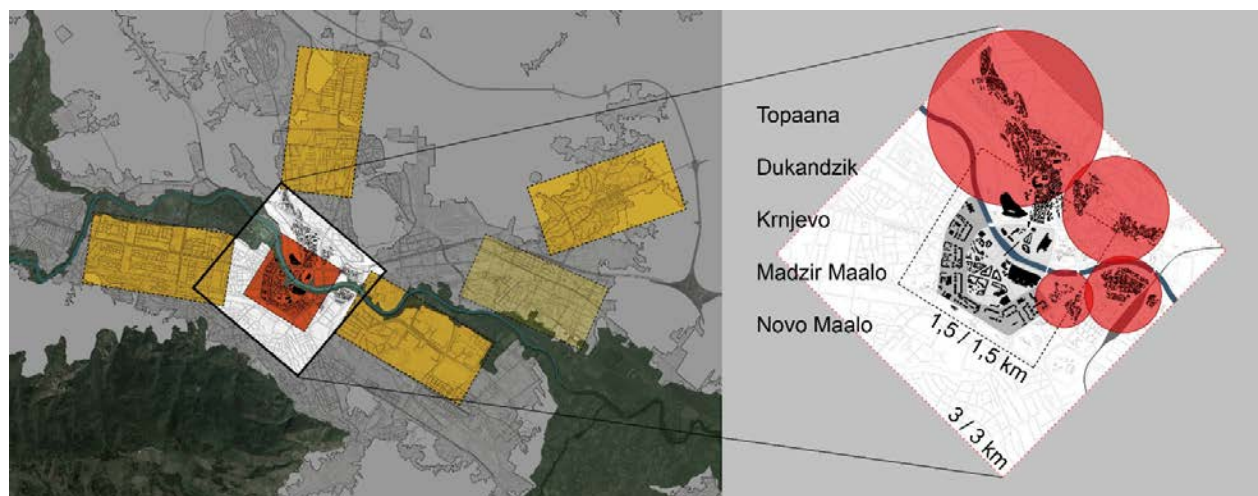


Fig. 6. Fragments between fragments;

Extraordinary neighborhoods appearing in-between the planned urban fragments. (Illustration by Noev Igor)

It is indeed intriguing that these neighborhoods which were intended to be eradicated in all formal plans, still exist witnessing the deficiency and the failure of the so-called conventional planning methods, widely debated in the past century. Therefore, instead the simple method of “unslamming” the neighborhoods by demolition (Jacobs, 1961), the spontaneous character of the urban realm requires “open systems” (Sennet, 2010), projects outside the box of the typical and over-deterministic planning. Nevertheless, the planners of Skopje today continue to force ‘detail urbanistic plans’ based on the conventional methodology of joining the lots and forming large perimeter blocks, instead of introducing extraordinary methodologies for development taking into consideration all those settlements together with their shared values.

From ideal city to the capital of kitsch

As shocking as it can be in the twenty-first century, the Macedonian authorities in 2010 forced an initiative of 'beautification' or rather 'disneyfication' (Warren, 1994) of the Skopje city central area. The so-called "Project Skopje 2014" (2011), presented as an animation video uploaded on YouTube, initiated a large debate and open critique from the vast majority of architectural mainstream as well as the wider cultural public. The government widely criticized as populist and authoritarian, relentlessly advanced this project ignoring the city greater urban challenges as unregulated growth and densification, discontinuity of the urban landscape, increased air pollution etc. The project that aimed to attract more tourists and 'reclaim history', introduced new pseudo-classical buildings, monuments and overlaid the existing buildings with newly made but old-looking ornamented facades. The real author behind this project of creating "Petrifying memories" (Heynen, 1999) was never revealed, while the idea first and foremost remained a sociopolitical and economic venture aimed to construct a new city identity. Hence, the gain for Skopje was a new title as "Europe's new capital of kitsch" (Gillet, 2015). Presently the great debate continues, especially after the recent political changes in the country. More than ever, the future development of Skopje poses a dilemma; to accept some features of Skopje 2014 (Bakalcev, 2017), or enter again into the spiral of self-destruction?

Summary

Cities are the greatest and most resistant creation of humans. Cities survive throughout centuries facing serious challenges as wars, empires, devastations, transformations, and political interweaves (Sassen, 2013). The process of surviving leaves historical traces (De Rubertis, 1998) in the palimpsest and the layers of the city, making it composed of wider specter of built and un-built references and paradigms (Rossi, 1970). In the case of Skopje, the endeavors to create a new and better city illustrated urban narratives which are indeed detached from such referential points. Thus, on one hand the authorities insisted and forced the implementation of "Skopje 2014", in spite of the numerous constructive critiques from the leading architects, planners and urban thinkers. On the other, the focal point of the public discourse remains the question of its eradication, although at present it is clear that a complete demolition of this project is impossible. That's how it goes, "everybody knows" that the same story repeats for Skopje for ages, still everybody dreams to be the one to write the next one. That's how it goes, everybody knows...

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"Authorities' point of view is to keep silence": interaction between initiative groups and local authorities in the urban planning policy

Abstract: *Local authorities are often considered by initiative groups to be a target of their actions due to possessing of powers to regulate the sphere of urban planning. Urban activists are forced to appeal to local authorities trying to solve a problem regarding the transformation of urban space. Yet in some cases, interactions between activists and local authorities on urban planning issues turned to be fruitful, in other cases they do not.*

We argue that interactions between local authorities and urban activists are going to be rarely cooperative. Generally, local officials have no enough incentives to cooperate with urban activists and help them. The cooperation is going to be possible and having fruitful outcomes when officials have some additional incentives. We illustrate this point by cases of urban planning conflicts in post-socialist Russian city - Perm. In some conflicts, cooperation turned to be possible and in other ones it absolutely did not. We are testing our argument on the databases 'Contentious Politics in the Russian Regions' and 'Perm Urban Conflicts: Struggle for Space', as well as on series of semi-structured interviews with activists and officials related to Perm urban planning sphere.

We conclude that interactions between initiative groups and local authorities are rarely cooperative, while 'revealing' of a problem within urban public space and appealing of activists to higher levels authorities (e.g. to a regional governor or the President) boost a chance that a problem is going to be solved. We propose the variation of local authorities-activists' interactions, show conditions contributing to activists' success, as well as conditions in which participation of authorities in urban planning conflicts is perceived as a hindrance.

Keywords: *Local governance, local urban planning, urban activists*

Introduction

Local authorities are often considered a target by initiative groups due to their powers to regulate the sphere of urban planning. Urban activists are forced to appeal to local authorities when trying to solve issues regarding the transformation of urban space. In this regard, all grass-roots initiatives occurring in the urban planning sphere which aim towards the transformation or conservation of public space must approach local authorities (Moskaleva & Tykanova, 2016).

¹ The Sociological Institute of the RAS – Branch of the Federal Center of Theoretical and Applied Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. E-Mail: vsbederson@gmail.com

² The Sociological Institute of the RAS – Branch of the Federal Center of Theoretical and Applied Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. E-mail: irinashevtsova777@gmail.com

The urban planning sphere is the 'growth medium' for urban activism (Gorodskyye dvizheniya, 2013). Some researchers highlight the concentration of urban protests at a local level and the shifting of protestors' claims from a political agenda towards a non-political one (Gorodskyye dvizheniya 2013; Zhuravlev 2015). Other researchers argue that protests advocating the transformation of urban space have been on the rise (Semenov 2016). Our exploratory analysis of the agenda of local protests in the city of Perm shows that urban planning issues are dominant—between 2000 to 2016, the share of protest actions related to urban planning issues was one-third of all protest actions that occurred in Perm. Meanwhile, our analysis of targets which urban planning protest actions are aimed to shows that regional authorities are mentioned more frequently as a target of claims than local ones. In other words, when trying to solve urban problems activists prefer to appeal to a higher level of authority.

We infer this is a significant indicator of communication quality between activists and local authorities. Activists appeal to higher levels of authorities when they cannot communicate fruitfully with local officials. We argue that interactions between local authorities and urban activists are rarely cooperative. Generally, local officials lack incentives to cooperate with and help urban activists. Cooperation and fruitful outcomes are possible when officials have additional incentives. By 'revealing' a problem within urban public space and appealing to higher levels authorities (e.g. to the regional governor or the President), activists boost the chance that a problem is going to be solved.

To explore these issues, we use comparative qualitative analysis (QCA) based on the databases 'Contentious Politics in the Russian Regions' and 'Perm Urban Conflicts: Struggle for Space', as well as series of semi-structured interviews with activists related to the Perm urban planning sphere. To provide variation we use data on resolved urban conflicts with different outcomes, where participants had claims towards local authorities. After conducting the preliminary analysis to evaluate the significance of interaction with local authorities in solving urban conflicts, we continue with an analysis of interview data in order to clarify specific mechanisms of interrelations between activists and authorities influencing conflict outcomes. To illustrate these mechanisms, we explore the experience of 7 initiative groups having successful outcomes of their initiatives.

We begin by providing a theoretical framework for defining conditions significant for cooperation between activists and authorities. We then explore the results of our QCA analysis to offer preliminary suggestions about the significance of cooperation between initiative groups and authorities. The results of the preliminary qualitative comparative analysis are complemented by the interview data.

What determines 'successful' outcomes?

Attempts to assess whether initiative group activity is successful faces obstacles. First, any evaluation of success risks being subjective. Second, it is hard to evaluate initiative group activity as a whole since group activity often includes a large number of different initiatives (Zhelnina, 2016). In this regard, researchers use concepts which could be better operationalized to define a degree of group activity success. One of these concepts is the concept of impact (Amenta, Young 1999, p. 22).

Social sciences literature offers numerous strategies to evaluate the results of initiative groups activity (for an overview, see Amenta, 2014). As W. Gamson shows, a social movement that

achieves its goal is a successful one (Gamson, 1975). In this sense, to evaluate the extent of success, we can simply compare a movement's goal with the outcomes of the movement activity. To explore the quality of cooperation between local authorities and local initiative groups we rely on findings explaining the political outcomes and diversity of social movement activities. Scholars analysing the political consequences of social movements have examined these consequences in two general ways. One body of explanations examines the organizational structure of a social movement when a social movement performs the role of a mediator (political mediator model). For example, W. Gamson emphasizes organizations which have **sustainable and developed infrastructure** can reach a successful outcome easier than those which do not. The infrastructure of a social movement, including the quality of **organizational structure**, resources structure and leadership features, is crucial to achieving influence on the political decision-making process. K. Andrews, as a result of studying the movement for civil rights in the U.S. state of Mississippi, found that the quality of infrastructure contributed to an increase of funding for social programs as well as access to political processes (Andrews, 2004). Structures of mobilization possessed by social movements influence **the scale of a public protest**, inducing authorities to take into account social movements' claims (Andrews & Gaby, 2015).

The choice of a partner for coalition-making among initiative groups is another organizational condition contributing to the success of an initiative (Banaszak, 1996). A coalition partner can be selected from a range of social movements or, for example, be a member of a local assembly who runs for elections and benefits from the support of activists. An elected member of the assembly is expected to contribute to the promotion of an initiative group's interests (Andrews, 2004).

The organizational structure of an initiative group contributes to political consequences of the group's activity as well as the scale of protests. However, a public protest at a scale which provides particularly destructive outcomes is not always influential on political consequences, such as voting results in assemblies (Mc Adam & Su 2002; Gamson, 1975). Protest events can be influential at the earliest stages of the decision-making process, but their influence begins to decline at the subsequent stages (Protest events ... 1999; Olzak & Soule 2009).

An initiative group's capability to maintain its activity and gain lasting promotion is an important condition to achieving desired political impact. The capability to maintain a collective action for a long time is per se a core prerequisite of social movement origins (Tarrow, 1998).

The qualities of an organizational structure become particularly significant in the context of an authoritarian regime. Prior organizations (members, resources, connections, networks etc.) serving as a backbone of a social movement and cross-sector coalitions allowing for flexible tactics and include different groups into a social movement. Such flexibility contributes to the sustainability of a social movement when facing repression (McRae, 2012).

The second body of explanations following **the political opportunity structure theory** emphasizes the external context of initiative groups' activity (e.g. Tarrow, 1998; McAdam 1999). The degree of groups' effectiveness in the achievement of their aims varies according to structural conditions defined by institutions (Amenta, 2014). For example, the key political structural conditions shaping the success of the U.S old-age pension movement (*Townsend Plan*) in the 1930s–1940s were the disfranchisement of local communities and absence of patronage-based political parties in the Southern states in the U.S. (Amenta, 2014).

According to the logic of the political opportunity structure, an initiative group is expected to be more effective when coinciding with authorities' actions and/or city political agenda. Allies from political elites can significantly contribute to promoting the goals of a social movement

(Dixon & Martin, 2012). An initiative group can reach its goals more quickly if authorities gain clear benefits from helping them (Amenta, 2006). The quality of interactions between activists and elites is estimated to be crucial in providing the success of initiative group activities. As J. Skrentny points out, policy-elite perceptions of the meanings of social movements and the groups they represent can influence a social movement's success (Skrentny, 2006). Embeddedness into political networks gives additional advantages to activists, and their **alliances** with political elites on an individual level contribute to providing a necessary outcome (Böhm, 2015; Santoro & McGuire 1997).

Initiative groups' embeddedness into the political agenda matters for achieving the goals as well (Baumgartner 2002; Olzak & Soule 2009). The influence of public initiative groups' activities is higher **at earlier stages of the political decision-making process**, for example at the stage of public hearings (Olzak & Soule 2009).

What should you do to be a loser? Qualitative comparative analysis (QCA) of conditions influencing outcomes of an initiative group activity.

To understand what place interaction with local authorities takes among factors of success or failure of urban planning and civic initiatives, we use the method of qualitative comparative analysis (QCA).

As a dependent variable (OUTCOME), we consider a tactical success/failure of an initiative. We define an outcome on the criterion of goal achievement, namely, whether activists have achieved the goals that they put forward. Based on the literature we divided conditions (independent variables) into internal (related to organizational structure) and external ones (related to political opportunity structure), where internal includes (1) organizational sustainability of an initiative group and (2) scale of a public protest; external: (3) a location of a contested territory, (4) coalition partners.

Operationalization of conditions (independent variables) was carried out along the rules of dichotomization required by the QCA:

- (1) Organizational sustainability:
 - Grassroots initiative (GR): 1/0
 - Organizational sponsor (OS): 1/0
- (2) A scale of a public protest:
 - An initiative group used public protests or direct actions (Actions): 1/0
- (3) Location of a contested territory:
 - A contested territory is located in the city center or on a city periphery (Location): 1/0
- (4) Coalition partners:
 - A counterpart of an initiative is the city authorities (1) or a developer (0) - Partner1
 - Did members of the local assembly or other officials provide support (Partner 2, yes/no): 1/0

The data consists of 23 cases. The cases are the events related to the transformation of urban territory with the participation of citizens (group or organization) as an initiator and actor. The

time period of the coverage is 2006–2017. For the QCA we used the software *Tosmana*, which operates on the principles of Boolean algebra.

The results of the QCA are quite contradictory. Comparing cases on the criterion of a “successful” outcome, we observe a poorly structured variety of combinations of factors, where stable patterns leading to success are difficult to be identified. Neither a location of contested territory, nor assistance from the city authorities or a member of the local assembly, nor appealing to public protests, or even a combination of these factors leads an initiative to unambiguous and unconditional success.

$$\begin{aligned}
 &GR\{1\} * OS\{1\} * Location\{1\} * Partner1\{1\} * Partner2\{1\} + \\
 &GR\{1\} * OS\{1\} * Actions\{0\} * Partner1\{1\} * Partner2\{1\} + \\
 &GR\{0\} * OS\{0\} * Actions\{1\} * Location\{0\} * Partner1\{1\} * Partner2\{0\} + \\
 &GR\{1\} * OS\{0\} * Actions\{1\} * Location\{0\} * Partner1\{0\} * Partner2\{1\} + \\
 &GR\{1\} * OS\{1\} * Actions\{1\} * Location\{0\} * Partner1\{0\} * Partner2\{0\} + \\
 &GR\{1\} * OS\{0\} * Actions\{0\} * Location\{1\} * Partner1\{0\} * Partner2\{1\} + \\
 &GR\{0\} * OS\{0\} * Actions\{0\} * Location\{0\} * Partner1\{0\} * Partner2\{0\} + \\
 &GR\{0\} * OS\{1\} * Actions\{1\} * Location\{1\} * Partner1\{1\} * Partner2\{0\}
 \end{aligned}$$

A comparison of cases using a negative outcome (“unsuccessful”) as a dependent variable provides less ambiguous results. Thus, we can indeed formulate some patterns contributing to a movement’s failure. For example, to most likely “lose” in an urban territory conflict and not reach their goal, activists should be united into a grassroots initiative, against the developer (but not the city government), use rallies, and most likely not have support from city officials or members of the local assembly. Regarding urban conflicts in Perm, we can conclude that the location of the contested territory had no effect on outcome.

$$\begin{aligned}
 &GR\{1\} * OS\{1\} * Actions\{1\} * Partner1\{0\} * Partner2\{1\} + \\
 &GR\{1\} * OS\{0\} * Actions\{1\} * Location\{0\} * Partner1\{0\} * Partner2\{0\} + \\
 &GR\{1\} * OS\{1\} * Actions\{1\} * Location\{0\} * Partner1\{1\} * Partner2\{0\} + \\
 &GR\{0\} * OS\{1\} * Actions\{0\} * Location\{0\} * Partner1\{1\} * Partner2\{0\} + \\
 &GR\{0\} * OS\{0\} * Actions\{0\} * Location\{1\} * Partner1\{0\} * Partner2\{0\}
 \end{aligned}$$

We should not ignore contradictory cases, in which we observe the same conditions but different outcomes. The first Boolean equation presented below indicates that cases labelled by the letters C, F, L, O, X have the same independent variables, entailing the different outcomes (see Appendix): ‘1’ in cases C, F, X and ‘0’ in cases L and O. Activists in all these cases appealed to the authorities (variable ‘PARTNER 1’ is coded as “1”), but appealing to the authorities did not influence the outcome. In other words, this is not a condition which turned out to be a key to solve a problem.

$$\begin{aligned}
 &GR\{1\} * OS\{0\} * Actions\{1\} * Location\{0\} * Partner1\{1\} * Partner2\{0\} \text{ (C,F,L,O,X)} + \\
 &GR\{0\} * OS\{0\} * Actions\{1\} * Location\{0\} * Partner1\{0\} * Partner2\{0\} \text{ (I,M)}
 \end{aligned}$$

The contradictory results of the QCA are exploratory for us. At the same time, we have received some evidence showing that interactions with local authorities don't help activists to find a solution to conflict. The answer to the question of how activists assess the quality of interaction with city

authorities could contribute to the understanding the previous point. To answer this question, we turn to the microanalysis of semi-structured interviews with representatives of initiative groups.

Interview analysis: what do activists want from local authorities?

Based of success operationalization (given in the chapter 'How to measure success? An overview of researches') we have selected 7 perm initiative groups, being successful in achieving a goal whose experience is going to be explored. The description of the selected initiative groups' activities is presented in the table below:

A description of initiative groups' activities	Respondents
(1) Activities for road improvement	Respondent S
(2) Defense of the city forest from logging in order to houses construction (3) Defense of the small river territory (within the city) from new development	Respondent G2 Respondent B
(4) Defense of urban architectural heritage from being destroyed	Respondent G
(5) Defense of interests of city dormitories inhabitants (defense of property rights)	Respondent M
(6) Defense of interests of homeowners' associations regarding communal resource providing (water, thermal energy etc.)	Respondent S2
(7) Defense of a recreation area from new development	Respondent U

Table 1. Description of the selected initiative groups' activities

Local authorities are expected to have an active role in the solution of conflicts and be the key regulator in urban planning areas. At the same time, the extent of their 'agency' has been appraised by activists as weak. Moreover, the local authority is blamed for the inconsistent strategy of urban development, the high significance of personality within the decision-making process and a lack of sequence in policy implementation. As one of our respondents noticed, a replacement of one official by another one results in drastic changes in the logic of cooperation between local authorities and activists:

For example, while the enacting Head of Administration is in power our cooperation looks like 'no connection'. The existing cooperation, while [the former heads of Administration in Perm Arkadiy Kats and Anatoliy Makhovikov have been ruling]

was destroyed, and we returned to the period which was before their ruling (respondent M).

The lack of consistent urban planning is evaluated by initiative groups as a dominant factor provoking urban conflicts. The majority of urban conflicts which activists tried to solve in cooperation with local officials have been described as having a lack of clear 'rules of the game' which would provide predictability of the planning process for all participants. Furthermore, city authorities were blamed to be inactive in the urban planning process:

The impact of a local administration on urban development must look like preventive enactment of norms. That means they must think and establish norms to avoid problems in the future. Unfortunately, they don't want to think for the future, they even don't have it as a goal (respondent G).

In the situation of this uncertainty and chaos the cases as it was with Nightingale Garden [a place that was protested] have been emerging, when the land plot has been 'bitten off' (respondent G2).

A lack of sustainable urban planning policy, as our respondents pointed out, is related to the deficiency of essential powers and lack of autonomy of local authorities. In conditions of the existing administrative system, local authorities often have no opportunities to fix the problem, even a problem is related to city areas like protection of listed buildings, infill urban construction, or local ecological issues, for example. Furthermore, if local authorities have enough legal powers to solve a problem, they often can't due to political reasons. As a result, local authorities can refuse cooperation with activists and initiative groups. The embeddedness of local governance into a 'power vertical' results in a dependency of solving local issues only with the approval of higher levels of authorities.

Who does make a final decision at Perm administration? Samoilov, the Head of the city administration. How was he appointed? By the City Duma [local assembly]. The City Duma has more than one-half of members who are proteges of regional authorities. They are a true Governor's lobby. If we would have direct elections of the mayor, we have other circumstances (respondent S2).

The lack of clear rules of the game in the urban planning areas mentioned by our respondents explains the desire of initiative groups to influence legislative processes. Most of our respondents pointed out the significance of participation in the legislative process to prevent similar conflicts in the future. Some respondents noted their participation in the legislative process, targeting to the transformation of regulation: *In 100 % of cases our initiatives became bills (respondent G); we have some experience in the transformation of law enforcement, sometimes we applied to the court (respondent S2).*

Existing institutions which participate in the urban planning process, in both public hearings and advisory boards, have been criticized by almost all respondents. According to interviewees, these institutions either have no real impact on the decision-making process or use informal restrictions for activists' participation in institutional workings:

At the public hearing everybody has been understanding that nobody is interested in citizens' thoughts. Authorities are interested in pushing that they need' (respondent G2);

You know City Duma has its consultative board. No one said a word there to invite me or other activists [while a conflict was ongoing] (respondent S2);

Some venerable architects have come together at the urban planning board meeting. This is a hangout. They have been supporting each other: Igor, you are a master, true master! But I would move this icing on the cake (respondent G).

Interview analysis: quality of interactions between initiative groups and authorities

Overall, interactions between initiative groups and local authorities were highlighted in varying degrees as conflicting. Only one respondent labelled the interaction with local administration as productive. Furthermore, that statement referred to only one part of the city's administration. Cooperation of activists with local parliament members is more common. At the same time, cooperation with Duma members from the opposition party occurs more often than cooperation with dominant party members. Interactions with Duma members allow becoming embedded into the legislative process and can result in the promotion of amendments and new bills that activists are interested in. Furthermore, interaction with Duma members can increase the efficiency of interactions with city officials:

Some Duma members are ready to be cooperative, but this is a minority. Agisheva, she is from Yabloko, and Storogev, he is from the Communist Party. There is no dialogue with most Duma members (respondent S).

The Duma member will address a request to the official if the Duma member is interested in (respondent S2).

The interaction with local authorities was more often characterized as disregarding or ignoring on the one hand, or even public confrontation in some cases. Such neglect was demonstrated by the overlooking of public actions which have been organized near the City administration building or avoiding any face-to-face interaction with initiative group representatives:

No person was representing the Administration or Duma at our 3 public protests (respondent G2).

We were ready to have talks. But no one wanted to talk with us (respondent G2).

No, we did not face with opposition from the side of administration. It was rather total indifference towards us. The Department of Land Use took a point of view to keep silence (respondent U).

Local authorities have exhibited a behaviour towards us which looked like 'our business is to be on the edge of the process' or 'total support of communal resources monopolists' (respondent S2).

As respondents have pointed out, opposition from local authorities was characterized by the rejection of civic activities per se when any civic action was labelled by local authorities as anomalous.

They perceived any activity as an anomalous one. [As in,] 'you are out of line to claim?' They have been looking at us as a soldier looks at a louse (respondent S2).

In a well-known conflict in Perm regarding the taking of one part of the city's park to build a zoo, the opposition to local authorities encountered support from loyal groups of activists (representatives of Russian Orthodox church, employers of public enterprises, etc.). These loyal groups were shared the position of the city administration at public hearings:

We had a confrontation between two opposite camps, but not the dialogue at the public hearings. The local authority pitted us against representatives of the church. I met one of them [church representative], she said, you, evildoer, do you want to deprive us of the Zoo?

The indifference of local authorities toward solving an urban conflict was perceived by activists as a frequent type of a confrontation:

One of the forms of a confrontation is to have a contempt for activists' advice and legal claims. An officials' reluctance to do their job descriptions is an active antagonism! (respondent S).

When activists didn't receive an expected reaction or measures from local authorities, they launched an alternative mechanism by appealing to higher levels of authorities. This type of response occurs when local authorities refuse to be an active mediator in urban conflicts. At the same time, higher authorities are expected to push local ones.

Being activists, we have easier communication with regional authorities [than we have with local ones]. Even when I'm trying to reach something in the educational area, I prefer to communicate with regional authorities than to do that with local ones. I cannot say why does it happen so (respondent G2).

While some respondents note the importance of being included in the workings of consultative bodies (*It's a good opportunity to be in the role of that boy who is crying: The king is naked!*, respondent S), others deny the usefulness of being co-opted at all. A political co-optation occurred not only through incorporation into a consultative body but also by activists 'buying', for example, by means of the proposal, to be a partner in a municipal contract:

I had permanently proposals to take a position somewhere. Then I had a proposal to sign a contract with the Administration. But I have been speaking them, don't mix

public happiness with a state one. That Rubicon is pretty clear! There is a thin red line pencilled on the table. I saw it physically on the table, while I was speaking (respondent S).

I reject a proposal to be an official. I would just lower my oars, accepting the proposal. I couldn't continue working in the directions I had (respondent S2).

The usefulness of being co-opted is often denied because of the necessity of de-politicization, which is expected to be a contribution to a group's safety: *We have been not just apolitical, we have been anti-political. Any attempt to become closer [from the side of the local authorities] to our group have been got in arms!* (respondent S). At the same time, activists emphasize to work separately with local authorities, considering cooperation with officials as a threat to group's reputation (*We should understand rules that officials live. There are some decisions you will never make,* respondent S).

Conclusion

At the stage of preliminary qualitative comparative analysis, we found a very low significance of local authorities' participation in providing a successful outcome during the conflict solving process. We found not one supportive case to illustrate that local authorities' participation in a conflict solving process contributed to an advantageous outcome for an initiative group or a broader social group. The subsequent analysis of interviews data shows that interaction between local authorities and initiative groups does not contribute to a successful outcome of initiative group's activities due to of a lack of cooperation.

Initiative groups are perceived by local authorities as triggers for local unrests, as being politically dangerous, which leads to the neglect and even confrontation towards activists from the side of local authorities. Local executives and local legislature members prefer (with occasional exceptions) to distance their interaction with urban activists. In short, local officials lack incentives to cooperate with urban activists and help them. Cooperation and fruitful outcomes become possible when local officials have some additional incentives to engage in cooperation. We found that interactions between initiative groups and local authorities were rarely cooperative, while the 'revealing' of a problem within urban public space (through protests, for example) and the appealing of activists to higher levels authorities (e.g. to the regional governor or the President) boosted the chance that a problem was going to be solved. To achieve a successful interaction between authorities and activists, the most significant tools were those which made an issue more publicly visible, thereby breaking the silence and reducing the opportunity of higher-level administrative pressure.

Analysing interactions between local authorities and local initiative groups in any large Russian city should not overlook large-scale tendencies in Russian politics and features of the political governance. The restrictions on local autonomy, including the abolishment of direct local mayors' elections and the reduction of local budget autonomy, have drastically influenced the subordination of local level politics. The lack of municipalities' independence reduces the opportunity to make decisions at local levels, particularly in the urban planning sphere. At the same time, any public protests can be perceived by local authorities as a threat for authorities' sustainability and a negative sign for higher levels authorities, indicating that local officials have tension in their jurisdictions.

Appendix

Case	GR	OS	Actions	Location	Partner 1	Partner 2	Outcome
A	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
B	1	1	1	0	0	1	0
C	1	0	1	0	1	0	1
D	1	1	1	1	0	1	0
F	1	0	1	0	1	0	1
G	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
H	1	0	1	0	0	1	1
I	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
L	1	0	1	0	1	0	0
M	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
N	1	1	1	0	1	0	0
O	1	0	1	0	1	0	0
P	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
R	1	1	0	1	1	1	1
S	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
T	1	1	1	0	0	0	1
U	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
V	1	0	0	1	0	1	1
W	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
X	1	0	1	0	1	0	1
Y	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Z	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Z1	0	1	1	1	1	0	1

Table 2. Truth table

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From block to city, and back: post-1989 transformation of residential neighbourhoods in Podgorica

Abstract: *This paper looks into the post-1989 transformation of Podgorica by analysing the ways in which two distinct urban neighbourhoods, Blok 5 and City Kvart, have emerged from their respective socio-economic contexts at the beginning of the 1980s and 2010s. The comparison reveals how the changes in every sequence of the housing development mechanism - funding, planning, designing, building, owning - created vastly different cityscapes of the contemporary capital city, along with different, at times even opposing standards for what it means to live in an urban environment today. The analysis also shows the ways in which the practices of everyday life transcend the original rules, plans and designs and help reinvent the space in both of these neighbourhoods, while highlighting their differences in the process. By existing almost side by side, Blok 5 and City Kvart showcase some of the most important points in urban development history of Podgorica, and create a perfect stage from which current urban development policies, laws, choices and strategies should be examined, criticized and reimaged.*

Keywords: *transformation, urban development, urban planning, housing, public space.*

Titograd, the capital city of Yugoslav republic of Montenegro, entered the 1990s by announcing a clean break with its socialist past. In 1990 the new Law on Housing² initiated the process of privatization and paved the way for market-driven future of residential real-estate development; in 1992, when 95% of socially-built and owned housing stock was already privatized, the city returned to its pre-1946 name: Podgorica. By leaving behind social ownership of housing stock and the name that honoured Yugoslav leader Josip Broz Tito, Montenegrin capital entered the era of neoliberal transformation. After three decades, the results of this process have shaped Podgorica – the biggest city and home to a third of the country's population³ – into a patchwork of opposites: deserted industrial grounds exist side by side with swarming shopping malls, illegally built housing on the periphery stands in contrast with shiny towers of the new business centres, while green and public spaces continue to shrink. These developments are consistent with the observations other researchers have made about the characteristics of post-socialist urban form (Hirt, 2008; Hirt, 2012; Tsenkova, 2014; Svirčić Gotovac, 2016). City becomes an embodiment of shift from industrial production to globalized service economy, rising economic inequality and market-driven urban planning mechanisms (Hirt,

¹ KANA/Ko ako ne arhitekt, Podgorica, Montenegro. E-Mail: sonjadragovic@yahoo.com

² Institut za građevinarstvo d.o.o. Podgorica (2011) *Nacionalna stambena strategija Crne Gore 2011-2020* (Institute for Construction LLC, Podgorica (2011) *National Housing Strategy of Montenegro 2011-2020*)

³ Statistical Office of Montenegro Monstat (2011) Census 2011 data – Municipalities.

2013). The results of this transformation are imprinted into residential neighbourhoods: the old socialist blocks subdued to the demands of the new system (Hirt, 2008) and the new housing projects, hastily built as the most profitable use of the former industrial grounds (Tsenkova, 2014). The interplay between the old and the new residential neighbourhoods unveils the challenges the current urban planning process still needs to address. In the meantime, the practices of everyday life transcend the rules, plans and designs, and help reinvent these spaces. By examining the origins of and the relationship between two neighbourhoods in Podgorica – Block 5 (hereinafter Blok 5) and City Quarter (hereinafter City Kvart), this paper addresses some of the consequences and shortcomings of the current urban development policy. By analyzing the initiatives and actions of residents, the paper underlines the importance of active citizenship and public participation in creating better urban environments.

Methodologically, the research relies on direct observation, analysis of spatial plans, results of online survey and semi-structured interviews with residents, and the secondary sources such as newspaper coverage. After completing the initial anonymous online survey, which was distributed among residents of the two neighbourhoods and received 31 answers from each of them, ten semi-structured interviews were completed – five in each neighbourhood. The choice of interviewees was based on where they reside, and made to reflect different groups – students, elderly, parents, young professionals, owners, renters, small businessmen – and the needs those groups might have when it comes to residential space. In the paper, interviewees are referred to by pseudonyms. The initial survey is inconclusive due to the very limited sample size and the method of distribution (online surveys being accessible to the internet users only), but it does provide some anecdotal evidence to what the residents of both Blok 5 and City Kvart perceive as upsides and downsides of dwelling in these neighbourhoods.

Socialist neighbourhood: Blok 5

After the World War 2, Podgorica grew fast: in the decade between 1950s and 1960s the number of inhabitants doubled (Rovčanin, 2017) and continued to increase ever since, supported by constant migration from other parts of the country, especially the underdeveloped north. Newly built residential blocks that defined the cityscape in decades after the war could not absorb all the newcomers, who then turned to building their own houses on the outskirts, thus starting the urban sprawl which is one of the defining characteristics of Podgorica's urbanity today (Šarović, 2016: 55). In an attempt to significantly expand the housing stock of the fast-growing capital, a new residential block at the north-western edge of the city was envisioned in 1975; since then, this edge became part of the wider central zone. The development of Blok 5, a neighbourhood of around 1800 residential units arranged in 13 buildings, was organized and led by The Self-governing Common-interest Community of Housing (Samoupravna interesna zajednica – SIZ). SIZ collected the money from labor organizations, monitored the construction process and distributed the newly built, collectively-owned dwellings to their new tenants – that is, took care of the housing construction on behalf of the self-managed society (Dragović, 2018).

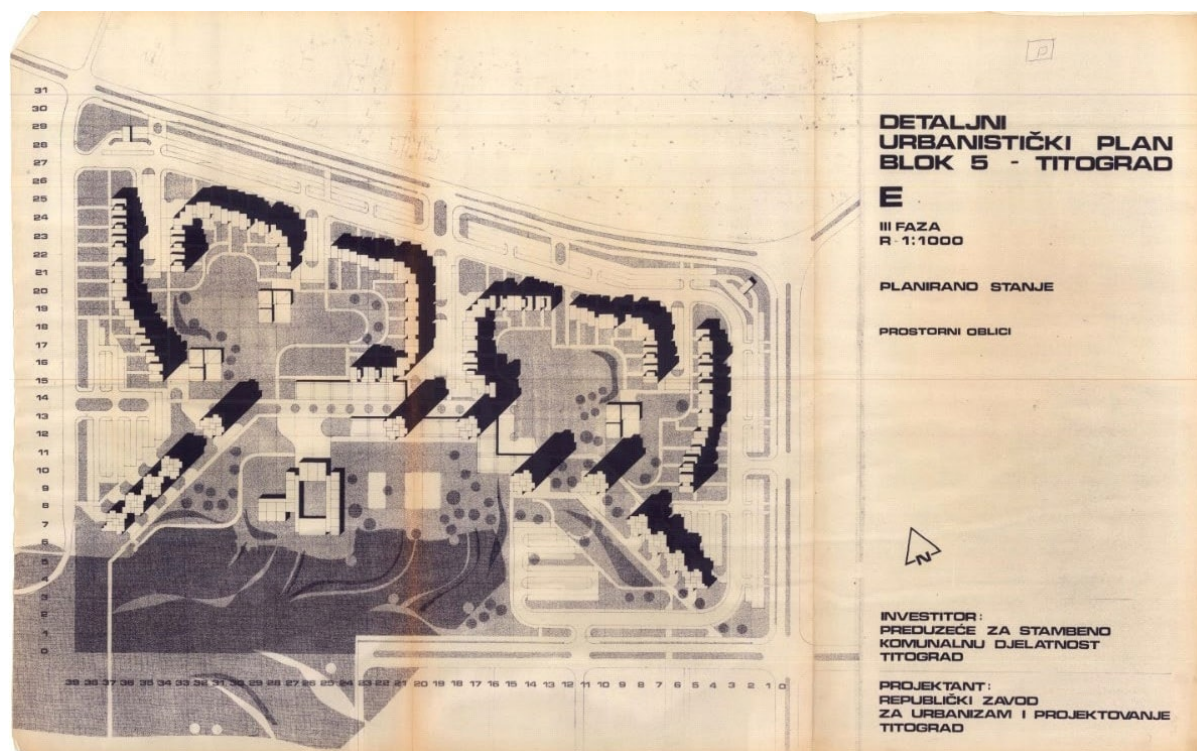


Fig. 1. Detailed urban plan for Blok 5, Titograd, 1976. Source: Republic Institute for Urban Planning and Design

The urban plan for Blok 5 [fig. 1] was done in 1976 by Vukota Tupa Vukotić, who worked for the chief planning institution – Republic Institute for Urban Planning and Design – as an accomplished architect and urban planner. He envisioned Blok 5 as urban quarter infused with greenery, and succeeded in laying out the base for a big, quiet communal spaces shielded from traffic, suited for pedestrian speed and interaction. The composition created by foundations and positions of 13 buildings reminds of ‘an undeciphered letter’, successfully ameliorates the consequences of ‘dead’ angles, and, ultimately creates intimate spaces, well exposed to the sun while protected from strong winds (Markuš, 2001). The plan included a primary school and a kindergarten, as well as ground-level commercial spaces.

Architectural competition seeking a project to build a block according to this plan was won by Mileta Bojović, who studied architecture in Belgrade before spending the late 1960s as a doctoral student of Henri Lefebvre. The experience inspired him to search for architectural solutions able to respond to unique residential needs, to put the people in charge of their living space. These tendencies were already present in the Yugoslavian architecture: architects of New Belgrade experimented with ‘flexibility within and among apartments, which could be configured according to family size’ (Bjažić Klarin, 2018: 95), while the project of Split III in Croatia transformed the modernist mass housing by introducing ‘lively street life and human scale’ (Skansi, 2018: 157) and ‘sculptural character of (the) volume’ (Perković-Jović, 2012: 322). Bojović was determined to introduce a new quality of dwelling space to Podgorica. Markuš (2008: 32) praises his creativity and the quality of Blok 5 architecture, which gives the impression of motion in which the walls ‘are dancing – one step forward, one step backward – in clear and neat volumes’. The unorthodox design [fig. 2] did, however, cause a stir at the time; the innovations Bojović proposed presented such challenge for the local construction companies that the architect had to defend the project at the arbitrage in Skopje. Finally, the construction of

residential buildings started in October 1977; its last phase was finished in 1983. The neighbourhood continued to develop: the primary school was opened in 1994, two kindergartens were built, one of the communal buildings was turned into a health centre, the plan for constructing a boulevard around the block was abandoned, and the new shopping bazar was placed on the edge of the neighbourhood. Meanwhile, architect's original plan to provide flexibility for the residents was taken a couple of steps further after privatization, when the new home-owners took the liberty to claim some of the communal spaces within the buildings for their personal use, and to add new structures to their apartments, especially balconies (for more on post-privatization space appropriation see Lakić, 2018).



Fig. 2. Blok 5 today. Photo: author

Post-socialist quarter: City Kvart

The development of City Kvart actually began in 2002, when one of the leading private real-estate developers bought the struggling furniture factory at the edge of the city. Soon thereafter, the factory was torn down; the land use plan was changed from industrial to commercial, and the plot was sold to foreign company with plans to develop the biggest shopping mall in Montenegro. The process, often employed as a device of post-socialist transformation (Hirt, 2012; Tsenkova, 2014; Svirčić Gotovac, 2016), was suspected as corrupt (Nikolić, 2018), but the accusations never reached the conclusion and the plan progressed unobstructed. Shopping centre Delta City was opened in October 2008 and its gravitational pull was felt almost instantly, as it took over many functions of the main street and central square – even the city's only cinema was replaced by the multiplex at the mall. What used to be an uninteresting peripheral industrial site was quickly becoming the meeting spot of the city, and the symbol of its bold and rapid change.

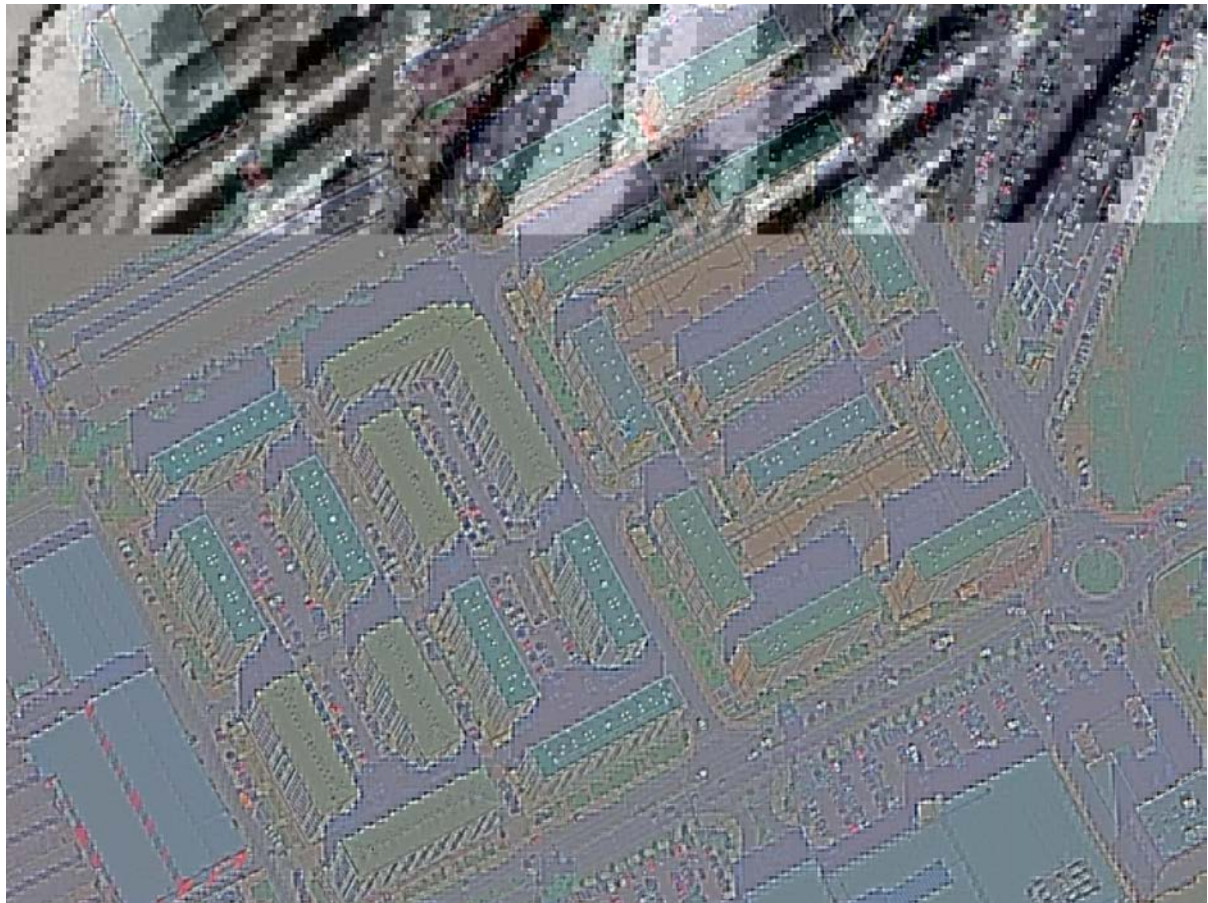


Fig. 3. City Kvart. Source: Google Maps

Across the street from the new shopping mall spread another industrial site. As a property of heavy machinery factory on the brinks of bankruptcy, the land was divided into plots and gradually sold for redevelopment. By mid-2009, developers were already promoting their budding project for a new neighbourhood, City Kvart, which had grown into an area of 26 buildings since [fig. 3]. In the promotional material (Čelebić, 2018), developers admit that 'lots of enthusiasm was necessary to overcome the sentimental idea of factories shutting down around here'. City Kvart was completed in 2016, amplifying the gravitational force of the shopping mall and pulling the centre of the city towards its former edge – adding 'subsequent rings to the existing compact urban structure' (Tsenkova, 2014, p.288).

The urban plan for City Kvart is a product of its time and place: proposed by the real estate developers and uncontested by the municipal authorities, it represents the result of post-socialist changes in power relations within the urban planning process (Stanilov, 2007). In this case, the plan amounted to a densely built quarter of almost 2000 apartment units, most of which were sold before the construction was finished. Part of this commercial success should be attributed to somewhat false advertising: the developers promised green spaces, sport terrains and amenities that were never built (Čelebić, 2009). What got built is characterized by repetition of forms – all the buildings are almost identical; public space is limited to two squares with low-quality urban furniture, small patches of decorative greenery and parking garages built underground, but pouring over onto the street level and making space less safe and more difficult to navigate for pedestrians and cyclists. The neighbourhood still does not have a kindergarten, a school, or

a health centre, although these programs are part of the detailed urban plan (DUP) adopted in 2012.⁴



Fig. 4. Window of a private indoor playground in City Kvart. Source: Announcement of competition seeking conceptual architectural solution for regeneration of public space within high density residential blocks in Podgorica, Municipality of Podgorica, 2016.

What City Kvart lacks in well-designed public space, it makes up in commercial functions: the neighbourhood is home to numerous small businesses and more than 90 bars and restaurants (Čelebić, 2018), attractive to customers from all over the city. The neighbourhood is designed to encourage consumption by confining most of public encounters to consumption spaces (Tsenkova, 2006), including private indoor playrooms offered as a substitute for parks and playgrounds [fig. 4]. In large parts of City Kvart there is simply no space designed for people to comfortably linger outside of buildings – even the narrow pavements seem to exist more as bridges between the parking lots than as spaces for walking [fig. 5]. Abundance of parking signals that car ownership is desirable, and promotes driving to reach other parts of the city where the publicly-funded educational and health services should be obtained.

⁴ Agencija za izgradnju i razvoj Podgorice DOO (2012) *Izmjene i dopune DUP-a 'Radoje Dakić' u Podgorici* (Agency for construction and development of Podgorica, LLC (2012) *Amendments to the DUP 'Radoje Dakic' in Podgorica*)



Fig. 5. City Kvart was not built for pedestrians. Photo: author

Residential Experience

When asked to evaluate the residential experience in their neighbourhoods according to availability of certain amenities and services, residents of Blok 5 have almost consistently rated their quarter higher than their City Kvart counterparts, in both the initial online survey and in the interviews. Overall, Blok 5 fares better in terms of availability of educational and health services, greenery, public space and pedestrian safety. City Kvart dwellers appreciate the availability of commercial functions in their neighbourhood, but point out lack of trees, pedestrian walkways and playgrounds. Three out of five interviewed City Kvart residents rely on the health services available in Blok 5 at least for some of their needs; Lazar and Jovana – young parents – admit they take their child to Blok 5 for playdates because the public space is greener and safer, and they plan to rely on the Blok 5 kindergarten in the future. Such results are not that surprising: as Bjažić Klarin (2018: 95) sums up:

Today, a quarter of century after the fall of socialism, socialist housing construction has held up remarkably well. Once criticized as mass dormitories in the suburbs, many of the socialist housing neighborhoods, rich with greenery and public programs, have now become desirable living spaces, thus forcing us to question the prevalent myth of the failure of modernist housing production within welfare states.

Blok 5 should not be taken as an example of a typical (i.e. grey, grandiose, overwhelming) socialist housing block, precisely because it was created after a long period of learning and experimenting with how to bring large housing estates closer to human scale (it might fit into 'Critical Revision' period, as described by Topalović et al, 2012). Evidently, the quality of its

green public space is recognized by the new, adjacent neighborhoods as well – City Kvart being one of them [fig. 6]. However, this dependency of City Kvart on Blok 5 for vital services and amenities poses a certain burden: all five interviewees from Blok 5 complained about unreasonable, often several months long waiting times at the health centre, while news reports recently revealed the primary school in Blok 5 has twice as many students as its original plan intended (CDM, 2019).



Fig. 6. Positions of Blok 5 and City Kvart within the urban fabric of Podgorica. Map: Google Maps. Data: author

Equipping post-socialist residential neighbourhoods with new public facilities such as hospitals and schools keeps getting postponed, while private developments keep searching for new spaces to grow: the fact that Blok 5 encompasses big and empty green surfaces did attract some interest of potential developers over the last decade. Detailed urban plan of 2012⁵ showed the eagerness to turn these spaces into new projects, of which the most prominent was 100 meters and 25 stories high ‘Millennium’ tower, planned for the south-eastern corner of the neighbourhood. This plan provoked a strong negative reaction from the community of Blok 5, articulated through public protest [fig. 7] organized by one of the opposition parties (Dan, 2017), and through community projects lead by non-government organizations KANA / Ko ako ne arhitekt (Vujošević et al, 2017) and ArchCommune [fig. 8]. Amidst the criticism, the mayor of Podgorica made a public declaration promising the tower project will be abandoned. This concession from the city leadership is not yet included in the official urban plans, but the

⁵Agencija za izgradnju i razvoj Podgorice DOO (2012) *Izmjene i dopune DUP-a Blok 5 – dio* (Agency for construction and development of Podgorica, LLC (2012) *Amendments to the DUP Blok 5 – section*)

community considers it to be a vital win for the future of the neighbourhood. As Milovan from one of Blok 5 dwellers' associations puts it: "Our greenery is what makes Blok 5 the best place for living in this city, and we will not let it go".



Fig. 7. Protest against new development in Blok 5, organized by United Reform Action party in June 2017. Source: <https://www.facebook.com/podgorickaura/>

While residential community of Blok 5 asserts its resilience in relation to the outside influences which seek to profit from the neighbourhood's form and space, the changes in City Kwart come predominantly from inside the neighbourhood – in defiance to its design, devoid of well-built, open communal spaces. Local cafés address this problem by slowly taking over the pavements, constructing little gardens – islands in the sea of parking lots – effectively privatizing the use of whatever little public space the pavement provides [fig. 9]. According to Dragan, who owns one of these cafés, the design of the space between buildings does not make much sense, with narrow pavements and without greenery: "But we do what we can, we put up some plants and some shade... People need a place to sit, to hang out". Irena, young professional who recently bought an apartment in City Kwart, refers to the initiatives she and her neighbors started in order to improve the garbage disposal and plant olive trees around the building. Lazar points out the trees planted by the dwellers' association in his building and shares the plan he proposed for their next project, aimed at making a new playground in one of the two squares – the only car-free surfaces in the neighbourhood: "There was a playground there, but so poorly designed and constructed – now it's broken, even dangerous." In the meantime, parents respond to the lack of a proper playground by constructing an informal one just around the corner from City Kwart, in the backyard of an old factory [fig. 10]. Even the partially empty parking lot between the buildings can become a temporary playscape during the workday. The results are comparable to the changes Hirt observes in the old socialist neighbourhoods, where she calls them 'new spontaneity (...) with surprising shapes and bright colors' (Hirt 2008: 803). Here, the monotone post-socialist development is being reshaped by everyday practices of neighbourhood life in a creative and sometimes unexpected ways. These interventions are

essentially a critique of current urban development process: citizens altering the space to suit their needs and pointing out the problems resulting from lack of consideration towards their interest.



Fig. 8: Enhancing the public space in Block 5 through community art project organized by NGO ArchCommune in November 2017. Photo: Nikola Martinović



Fig. 9: Terrace of a café in City Kvart, confidently taking up the narrow public space. Photo: author



Fig. 10: Residents carve out the space to play, which they lack in City Kvart. Photo: author

Quality of residential development as a reflection of power dynamics within the urban transformation process

The comparison of Podgorica's Blok 5 and City Kvart shows how post-socialist restructuring, which Hirt (2008, p.786) broadly describes as 'decrease in spatial scale and decline of spatial formalism, and diversification of architectural styles' can sometimes produce urban forms usually expected from socialist era. In this case, City Kvart – an example of post-socialist, partial, 'shopping mall-led development' (Lowe, 2005; Dávila, 2016) emerged with a formal and repetitive architectural expression, within a dull, unimaginative and ultimately oppressive urban design. On the other hand, Blok 5 was strategically planned, fiercely debated, and resulted from a creative process forged in the stimulating environment of Yugoslavian urbanism.

Multiple features of the post-socialist urban planning process in Podgorica – changes in land-use plans favouring developer's interests, poor urban design of the new neighbourhoods, exploitation of existing public services and lack of investment in new ones – have been direct consequences of fundamental power disbalance between private and public interest. Post-socialist urban transformation, led by whatever is the current most lucrative use of the available land, fails to implement a meaningful public participation process, to articulate common needs, and to clearly define the optimal long-term goals. While the Government structures strive to abolish business barriers, part of which are planning regulations (Tsenkova, 2006; Stanilov, 2007), the space of post-socialist cities often suffers disjointed, nonsensical transformations which are literally set in stone, and will significantly impact the future economic, political and social development opportunities.

In response to these changes, citizens act to protect, adapt, or redefine the urban space they inhabit. From the 'contradiction between the collective mode of administration and an individual mode of reappropriation' (Certeau, 1984: 97) new ways of engaging with the residential space emerge. These practices, 'far from being regulated or eliminated by panoptic administration' (ibid: 96) result in new forms, spaces and uses through which citizens articulate their needs and concerns. They should be regarded as valuable contributions in the process of urban development which, in turn, should be constantly examined for opportunities to engage with the wider public and open up for discussion and criticism. Creating new ways to involve citizens in the process of urban planning and to challenge processes that don't prioritize public interest when envisioning urban future is a vital step towards a more just urban transformation.

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Social production of space in Kazan: between urban entrepreneurialism and bottom-up activism

Abstract: *The capital and largest city of one of the richest and most developed regions in Russian Federation –the Republic of Tatarstan –Kazan, is the place where global capital powers clash visibly in its territory, new trends in urbanization adopted to a specific socio-cultural context come into being and international connections are formed. When Tatarstan conducted a long-term campaign, initiated at the beginning of the 1990s, aimed at improving the political status of the republic and transforming Russian Federation into a truly federal and multicultural entity, Kazan was used to that objective as its most apparent manifestation (Graney 2007: 17). In order to realize their objectives, local leaders had to accomplish important transformations in the urban landscape. From the “tatarizing” process of urban landscape, which materialise itself, for example, in building of the biggest mosque in Russia called Qolşärif Mosque, located in Kazan Kremlin; registration a trademark “Russia’s third capital” in Rospatent; using a mega-event (2013 Summer Universiade, 2018 FIFA World Cup et al.) as a catalyst of revitalisation processes to very modern, created as participatory policy of revitalisation of public space, the “Park Tatar” program –in the city space of Kazan we can observe interesting strategies pursued by local elites. Simultaneously with that huge strategies, the bottom-up initiatives, like the voluntary renovation of old architecture in the city centre are existing and contributing into the urban landscape. Based on an ethnographical research, this report aims to analyse how do Kazan’ local elites make use of the category of urban entrepreneurialism to meet their objectives and elaborate on strategies of city’s development; what influence do urban activists have on the transformation of Kazan, and how the city space of Kazan is shaped by different social actors.*

Keywords: *Kazan, Russia, urban policy, urban entrepreneurialism, urban activist, bottom up initiatives.*

Introduction

The main tourist attraction and most important landmark on the city map –Kazan Kremlin –can be reached by a few central streets. One of them –Kremlyovskaya street is beautiful and well-cared but deceased. Tourists do not appear here too often, the inhabitants even rarer (except car drivers).² Kazan Federal University’s students swarm in the very nearness of the building, passing by the state library and few imperceptible restaurants. The second –Bauman Street is

¹ Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Adam Mickiewicz University Poznan, Poland. E-Mail: ola.turowska@gmail.com

² The centre of Kazan is undoubtedly dominated by car traffic.

a pedestrian street highly popular among and frequently visited by the tourists but consistently avoided by the city's inhabitants themselves. They do not look upset about it. I am observing interested glances and smiles of satisfaction in the carnival crowd. The street is full of people, especially in the summer. The street as the relict of the wild privatisation of 1990s offers its visitors cheap souvenirs (11 out of 18 gift shops belong to one person), "Haunted House", Museum of Samogon, diversified food services (from fancy restaurants to affordable canteens), the possibility to take a photo with stuffed zebra and (regrettably) real monkey. The distinctive space filled out with cacophony (the shops' and restaurants' owners make the outdoor advertising a point of honour) appeared contemporaneously with car-free zone' status oriented towards tourists.

Parallel to the Bauman Street runs Profsoyuznaya. A few years ago, this deserted street attracted new actors and first restaurants and music clubs (some two in one) were opened. Even more bars, restaurants and coffeehouses kept appearing every year. The street became a popular evening's destination of both students and well positioned, educated citizens, and the hope for the urban activists. This year the owners of clubs at Profsoyuznaya started civic actions in order to close the street for car traffic.

The condition of public spaces is the most important indicator for the condition of urban culture: the public spaces create the environment of interaction and association, that ties up people and buildings into the city. The interaction among citizens, with the city government and with business, do not have to be "face to face" meetings, but they can be intermediated by different signs encoded by certain senses (Желнина, 2014: 273). This report³ aims to show the selected phenomena that occurred in Kazan which are extremely important aspects of present urban discourse. The goal of this report is to depict the selected strategies of urban development taken by local elites in the last thirty years. This report analyses the influence that city activists have on the transformation of Kazan and how the city space of Kazan is shaped by different social actors.

I am now on the stage of obtaining data within field research in Kazan, therefore the report does not contain final findings. In my research, I use qualitative methods of ethnographical research: a participant observation, the method of mobile ethnography, an in-depth interview. I also work with the source material. In the process of selecting research methodology, it has been assumed that production of space is not an abstract process and social relations, history, ideologies, authorities' constellations materialize in a physical (material) space of urbanity, in urban architecture and infrastructure (Huffschmid & Wildner, 2009). Ethnographic investigation of a megacity requires a qualitative empirical assumption, approaching everyday perspective, experience, and activities of inhabitants (Streule, 2016: 37-38).

City as a space for the cultural heritage discourse

Kazan is the capital and largest city of one of the richest and most developed regions in Russian Federation -the Republic of Tatarstan and, with its over 1,250,000 inhabitants, one of the Russian "million-cities". In the period of political transformation, a significant process of constructing and reconstructing of the identity of the Tatarstan inhabitants took place. In the early 1990s, Tatarstan was one of the leaders of ethnic separatism in Russia and achieved a

³ The report is a part of a larger anthropological project, entitled "Social Construction of Space: Anthropological Study of City-Forming Practices in Kazan" supported by the National Science Centre in Poland. Grant number: 2017/27/N/HS3/02046.

relevant success in building a half-independent state (Bukharaev, 1999). The Republic conducted a long-term campaign, initiated at the beginning of the 1990s, aimed at improving the political status of the republic and transforming Russian Federation into a truly federal and multicultural entity. Kazan was used to that objective as its most apparent manifestation (Graney, 2007: 17). In order to accomplish their objectives, local leaders had to conduct important transformations in the urban landscape. Kazan took advantage of two important events – the celebration of Kazan's Millennium, invented for the needs of local and federal historical policy; and sporting mega event⁴ that is international sporting games called Universiade 2013. For the organization of the events, the informal "sports capital of Russia"⁵ – was applying as part of a broader approach investment strategy. The main objective was to create the image of a vibrant and politically significant city (Kinossian, 2012b: 347).

The Millennium's celebration was a part of the strategy to develop a recognized city's brand: Kazan as the "Islamic capital of Russia" and an intermediary between the Muslim and Orthodox worlds initiated by Kazan's former Mayor, Kamil Iskhakov (1989-2005) (Makarychev & Yatsyk, 2015). The Millennium was celebrated in August 2005 as a part of a broader plan aimed at creating a new political identity; strategy within which local authorities made use of several crucial components such as discourse of ethnicity and post-colonialism, policy and language of media, architecture, and discourse of heritage (Kinossian, 2012a: 883).

Within the scope of the jubilee, the building of the biggest mosque in Russia called Qolşärif Mosque, located in Kazan Kremlin, was financed. Qolşärif Mosque is not only the main mosque of Kazan and Tatarstan but also a new symbol of the city and the republic as well as the center of gravity for Tatars in the world (ibid: 884). Coincidentally the local elites started the nominating process of three objects from the Tatarstan Republic, therein Kazan Kremlin into UNESCO World Heritage List.⁶ Although Qolşärif Mosque was contemporary architectural intervention (even not finished at the time) into historical complex what disqualifies it as an UNESCO object, the conception of Kazan Kremlin as the symbol of cultural diversity gained approval. Fitting at the time state cultural policy -non-violent coexistence and interests' balance

⁴ Por. Liao, H. and Pitts, A. (2006). "A Brief Historical Review of Olympic Urbanization". *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 23:7, pp.1232-1252; Trubina, E. (2015) "Mega-events in the context of capitalist modernity: The case of 2014 Sochi Winter Olympics". *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 55(6), pp.118; Müller, M. (2015). "What Makes an Event a Mega-Event? Definitions and Sizes". *Leisure Studies* 34 (6), pp.627–42. doi: 10.1080/02614367.2014.993333. (Open Access CC-BY); Kowalska, M. (2017). "From the football field to the communicative field: Embedding entrepreneurial strategy and negotiating local past and future during Euro 2012 in the host city of Poznan", *Slovene Anthropological Society, Anthropological Notebooks* 23 (1), pp.111–126

⁵ Kazan had been applying for organisation the Universiade since the 2000 (without expecting, that after some time it will host 2018 FIFA World Cup). The brand "sports capital of Russia" promoted by the former President Mintimer Shaimiyev was supposed to popularize Kazan among the tourists globally (see: Makarychev, A., and Yatsyk, A. (2015). *Brands, cities and (post-)politics...*). As a site of developed sports infrastructure Kazan' intends to host the Europe championship in weightlifting in 2011, the world's championship in fencing in 2014, the World Aquatic Championship in 2015 and 2017 FIFA Confederations Cup. According to Elena Trubina, lobbying for the events and their organization may be perceived as a way of demonstrating care for "national interests" and gaining additional financial means from federal fund (see Trubina 2015).

⁶ Except Kazan Kremlin, important for each of Tatarstan cultures: Russian and Tatar, two objects were chosen: 1) Bolgar Historical and Archaeological Complex, part of UNESCO World Heritage List (2014), that represents evidence of the existence of Volga Bulgars civilisation (7-15th centuries AD), and was the first capital of the Golden Horde in the thirteenth century; a symbolic reminder of the acceptance of Islam by the Volga Bulgars in 922 AD and still is in the present a destination for Tatar Muslims pilgrims; 2) Assumption Cathedral and Monastery of the town-island of Sviyazhsk ensuing as the part of the political and missionary programme developed by Tsar Ivan IV to extend the Moscow state were announced. See: Usmanov, B., Nicu I. C., Gainullin, I., Khomyakov, P. (2018). Monitoring and assessing the destruction of archaeological sites from Kuibyshev reservoir coastline, Tatarstan Republic, Russian Federation. A case study. *Journal of Coastal Conservation*, Volume 22, Number 2, Pp.: 417-429.

of two groups: Muslim Tatars and Orthodox Russians -Kazan Kremlin was enrolled in the list of UNESCO World Heritage in 2000.

Observations have shown that the most representative for the city space objects enjoyed the attention of the government and even if local authorities were talking a lot about heritage in the context of Millennium, the big words were confronted with political needs with the economic, practical, political and other need (Миргасимович, 2011). The main feature characterizing contemporary Russian cities is the strategy of neoliberal urbanism (Golubchikov & Badyina, 2006). In the time of transition the revitalisation of the city centre was subordinated to the new investment strategies. And they were in contradiction to the Kazan intellectual elites' pursuance to preserving the authentic city image.

At the same time, a bigger municipal program called "Program of liquidation the housing stock and reconstruction the districts of ramshackle quarters (vetkhoye zhil'ye)" was in force.⁷ The goal of the program was to provide new houses for over 33,000 families that were living in old, ramshackle housing without an appropriate living infrastructure mostly in the city centre and nearby Old-Tatar Quarter and Sukonnaya Sloboda Quarter. People were resettled to new-built blocs on the suburbs. Local government and even local elites depict the program as a political, economic and social success (they build apartments with the total area of 2,070,442 m² for 33372 families)⁸ but the general public took notice soon, that many significant historical buildings were demolished in a very short time and replaced with new, mainly commercial, objects. The demolitions in the city centre had an effect in spontaneous and organised protest.

Urban activism in the shadow of Mega Event

To the destruction of historical buildings and chaotic development in the centre reacted the people related to non-governmental Russian Association for Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments⁹, academic environment and students,¹⁰ tourist guides, journalists. Graduates of Kazan State University of Architecture and Engineering initiated the movement for protection of Kazan' architectural uniqueness called "Red Shield" (Rus. Красный Щит). It is worth mentioning that protests in Kazan were not isolated events: from the middle of the 2000 number and intensity of protests activities (including urban protests against discordant interventions in city space) are growing in all Russian regions (Zhelnina & Tykanova, 2019).

Urban protests in Kazan increased at the time of Universiade preparation. It is not an exception on the state's map as it is not a rare practise in Russia on the part of organization policy makers to incorporate mega events in regional programmes of development. Necessary investments within the Universiade included urban infrastructure that underwent significant modernisation.¹¹

⁷ The program was in operation over the period 1996-2004 The second, "emergency" program started in Tatarstan as a part of the federal program in 2013 and was continued until 2017.

⁸ <http://tatarstan.regnews.org/docs/fe/8i.htm>. Accessed 26 February 2019.

⁹ Всероссийское общество охраны памятников истории и культуры.

¹⁰ At the beginning of 2000-s over a century house of Karl Fuchs (one of the first Kazan Federal University rector) and cultural salon of nineteenth century Kazan became the laboratory of urban activism for students which took a part in Public sociology course on KFU. The students, as a part of the course, have organised pickets before the building to make attention. Пор. Ясавеев, И.Г. «Сдвинуть глыбу»: опыт публичной социологии в рамках университетского курса // Публичная сфера: теория, методология, кейс-стади: коллектив. моногр. / под ред. Е.Р. Ярской-Смирновой и П.В. Романова (Библиотека «Журнала исследований социальной политики»). М.: ООО «Вариант»: ЦСПГИ, 2013. С. 105-122.

¹¹ The city built a 23-kilometre line of fast tram, line of fast railway leading to the airport, new terminal and restored an already existing one. Railway station was also renovated. 65 kilometres of roads, 63 city streets and

Grass-roots initiatives had at the moment tools for making attention of media and citizens. They have made a city-tours called "Kazan that we lost", social-media campaign with popular bloggers participation, exhibitions.

The notion "formal and informal civic infrastructure" brought on by Anna Zhelnina and Elena Tykanova will be helpful for understanding the activities of urban initiatives. Civic infrastructure includes both formal democratic instruments of participation, norms according to law and informal practices, networks, citizens' ideal images that help them to take a part of the city developments' process. Formal structures are supplemented and sometimes even replaced by informal civic infrastructures: informal networks and the relations of civic self-organization that includes informal communities, acquaintances and friends' networks focalized on creation and maintenance of common good. The citizens itself, the activists and people supporting them are an important element of informal infrastructure. They share a certain vision of themselves in the city management' system, the vision of their rights and possibilities in surrounded environment. The infrastructures are "an equipment" for interactive and dynamic processes of interests and city development' coordination; it helps the players to communicate, formulate the goals and decide about the future of the city (Zhelnina & Tykanova, 2019). Social actors operate within the formal and informal civic infrastructure concomitantly and it concerns both activists and politicians and business people.

The specificity of formal and informal civic infrastructure is visible in an interesting way in Tatarstan' section Russian Association for Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments. The Association was established in the Soviet times (in 1965) and re-established in 2002 (Tatarstan's section in 2009) as a non-governmental organization. Tatarstan's section collects mainly specialists and local intelligentsia: academicians, historians, architects, guides. The protests and many other activities against the destruction of old architecture before Universiade organized by association's members had finally drawn the attention of the local government. President of Tatarstan, Rustam Minnikhanov took a part in city-tour with one of them, the journalist Olesya Baltusova. Afterward, she was personally invited by President to cooperation as an aide for cultural and historical heritage.¹² An attendance of urban movements' representative in the power structure led off the work on the projects of regulating the development with respecting the heritage in cities of Tatarstan Republic, particularly Kazan. As already mentioned formal and informal civic infrastructures interpenetrate. The President's aide is the coordinator of a grass-roots initiative called „Tom Sawyer Fest" that renews old private houses in Kazan. Non-governmental, apolitical and financed by sponsors initiative operates in Kazan since 2015 and mobilizes the volunteers to paint the elevations of houses. The initiative is based mainly on informal or even friendly relations between the participants.

Conclusion

41 pedestrian crossings were repaired too. It is worth mentioning that the activists from community "Gorod bez pregrad" (City without barriers) paid the attention for the necessity of pedestrian crossing for people with disabilities. They organize a series of campaigns with the participation of people using wheelchairs. Activists also made an interactive city map showing the crossing not-available for people with disabilities. After the re-developing of the city center in 2010 appeared shallow curbs and pavement slabs, but not on every crossing. Sports and accommodation complex, Universiade Village, was built in the southern part of the city, far from the centre, in the route of southern highway and it was opened in 2010. Before and after the event conducted the role of student campus, for example for Kazan Federal University.

¹² She acts as an aide since 2011.

In recent decades a several interesting local elites' strategies materialized in a physical space of the Kazan's city. From the process of constructing and reconstructing Tatar identity; through the mega event as a way to raise the measures for development, and for international visibility and attention as a result, into participatory design and improvement of public spaces. The strategies are a part of territorial branding that is one of the common ways of reifying symbols of regional distinctiveness, and their operationalization as an indispensable element of competition between cities and regions for international visibility and attention (Makarychev & Yatsyk, 2015).

The staggering changes in Kazan's space resulted in emergency of new urban activism –an effective way to change the fragments of everyday life (Бредникова & Запорожец: 2014, 2018: 18). The urban research's goal is to evaluate the relation and the influence of the changes and significant urban contexts, possibilities and limitations. Exactly in the interaction's system the substance of urban life is shaping (ibid: 36). At the end of 2018 Kazan's general plan ought to be pronounced, but the final version of plan is not finished yet. Albeit President of Tatarstan enunciated officially that building the skyscrapers in the city center is forbidden. In this year started the new project leaded by local intellectuals (some of them with activist's experience) and supported by Kazan's mayor that embraces interdisciplinary studies of the city attended to creating the new development conception for the city centre.

Simultaneously with the progressing of informal civic structures, the citizens are more often set to active participation in their city's destiny (Zheltnina & Tykanova, 2019). Advancement of technology and social media conceived convenient conditions for public discourse about urban policy. The transformation of city visual environment in the wake of intense development of the 2000s enhances the citizen's sensibility and numerous devices allow and accelerate the circulation of different "curiosities". The photos and interesting posts with urban topics in social media attract attention counted a thousand comments and likes (Бредникова & Запорожец: 2014, 2018). Exemplary social media channel dedicated to Kazan - operated since 2015 Facebook group "Kazan Nostalgique" - has over 12,5 thousand members which are looking for and sharing the old photos of Kazan and the information about own neighbourhood. Their constitute full-featured archive, thereat more precious that include the private collections. Thereby the right to creating the urban representations owing mainly by specialists (government, the city brands' authors, photographers, journalists, etc.) is obviously teetering if it is not even abolished (ibid.). Foregoing raised the question about workable possibilities of citizens. Insofar as 15-20 years ago the knocking down in the city centre or transformation city strand into parking would not bring upon the mighty public reaction, today discussion, even if fierce, rarely exit the safe online frames. But I would argue that even online, the discussion can be the instrument of civic control over clerks and authorities' actions and enhance the participatory culture. The social mobilisation in order to clean the abandoned apartments in the old house (one of the few in Kazan and Russia at all monument of constructivism) in the city centre to protect the house against the fire¹³ is proof of this.

¹³ The initiative took place in the first days of May 2019. The date is not without significance, because it is a few days of holiday in Russia and people typically chill out of town in this time. At the end of April, the latest inhabitants of the Mergasovski house were forced to leave the house (utilities were detached earlier). The stuff that remained in house endangered the fire, what exactly happened and was the reason for citizens' mobilization. Two women without earlier urban activism's experience, but recognizable city's individuals: an artist and a journalist who performed the play about the house, organized friends and colleagues for collective works. In a couple of days, other people joined the group of spontaneous activists and removed a few trucks of garbage. The organizers impose the clerks to secure the territory.

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Transitions at the central marketplace of Sofia: changing values and architectural plans from the 1980s until 2013

Abstract: *Drawing on a historical-ethnographic approach that binds the socialist, the early post-socialist and the contemporary consumer capitalist period in Bulgaria I will analyse transitions at a single urban site. Jemski Pazar, the central marketplace of Sofia, is a landmark of a century-long existence, where activities in the 1990s boomed with the collapse of socialist economy. Today, with the further globalization of trade and the rise of a Bulgarian middle class, it is the last place that caters for those groups that were left out – pensioners, minorities, immigrants, unemployed – providing a variety of unique for the city economic and social functions. However, the needs and perceptions of the society at large have also been changing, calling for policies for its transformation to a middle-class consumption zone. In this paper I analyse through ethnographic study the contradictions borne by the market – between imagined futures, between cohabiting social groups, between needs and renewal policies, between recent past, present and future.*

Keywords: social history, post-socialism, socialism, marketplaces, urban regeneration, urban planning, urban marginality.

Introduction

The Women's Market ('Zhenski Pazar', a historical appellation) is the largest marketplace in Sofia, a lively, open-air, food and wares street market. It is in a very central location, less than a kilometre away from the official governmental centre and has occupied the same wide pedestrian street for over a century. In the 1990s, business at the market boomed and it became the main hub for shopping in the post-socialist city. It attracted a daily flow of visitors reaching, by some accounts, 1/5th of Sofia's population then. Although in the 21st century the attendance has been falling, in 2013, some 40 to 70 thousand people still passed through the market daily. However, officials, planners and citizens had begun perceiving the area as an eyesore, and from 2006 onwards plans for municipality-led redevelopment were in preparation (Venkov, 2016). In September 2014 a new 'reconstructed marketplace' opened its doors. It was intended to trigger a process of gentrification and regeneration for that central city area.

Since the late 1980s, a number of redevelopment projects for the Women's Market were planned but not completed. Studying those plans allows us to see how over a short period of time dominant urban values and the ideals for a marketplace have changed many times over. I will show that the dependency of urban planning visions on the perceptions of technocratic elites

¹ Centre for Advanced Study Sofia, Bulgaria. E-Mail: nikola.venkov@phls.uni-sofia.bg

and hegemonic public opinion is problematic. It is detached from the experience of large groups of residents of Sofia.

This publication is a shortened version from an extensive historical-ethnographic account that connects analysis of the socialist, the early post-socialist and the contemporary consumer capitalist period in Bulgaria by looking at a single urban site (Venkov, 2018).

The marketplace

The market comprised of rows of permanent stalls and pavilions along the length of the pedestrian boulevard of about 600 meters. Passer-bys would be solicited from both sides to buy fruit and vegetables, packaged and unpackaged foods, live fish, homemade or industrial food, pastries or barbecue, clothes, shoes, tools and replacement parts, craftsman wares, untaxed cigarettes, etc., etc. (and until the early 1990s – also live animals).

Visitors come from virtually all parts of the city, despite competition with a dozen other district open-air markets, of thousands of green grocery shops, and, since the mid-2000s, the big chains of supermarkets. The main reason visitors give for coming there are the low prices, typically half of those in their local marketplace or in the supermarkets.

Shifts in the early post-socialist years

In the early '90s, there were many converging factors, which led to the rise of mass cross-border petty trading and a mushrooming of marketplaces (Sik & Wallace 1999; Czako & Sik 1999; Sword 1999; Polese & Prigarin 2013). These include the shortage of consumer goods, large savings accumulated by the population during the socialist period, and the massive unemployment caused by the collapse of the planned economy. Many former clerks, teachers, state enterprise workers were forced to hastily learn new professions of a trader, peddler, cross-border contrabandist in order to survive (see Konstantinov 1996; Konstantinov, Kressel, & Thuen 1998; Kaneff 2002).

In Sofia, the Women's Market has always been known as the place of abundance and lowest prices, even in the socialist period. Although the distribution of goods at that time was organised through centralised state mechanisms, the fruit and vegetable marketplace permitted private activity, such as the direct sale of yields from so called 'personal plots' (Creed 1995). The shopping experience at the marketplace of socialist time was about buying freshly picked vegetables directly from village producers who were coming to the city for the day. Paradoxically, the utopian image of 'the real marketplace' (*istinskijat pazar*) for most citizens refers to a socialist past which is considered by researchers as one which was opposed to market relations in general and marketplaces in particular.

In 1990, the Women's Market preserved its position as the foremost hub for shopping despite the explosive growth of street trade all over the city. The pre-existing dynamics of the area motivated all kinds of entrepreneurs to set up shop here. A number of shifts occurred in that period which were deeply embedded in, and driven by societal changes far beyond the marketplace itself. The trucks of village cooperatives and the daily commuter villagers were superseded by families from the countryside camping weekly on the street to keep an eye on their goods. Later they would settle in the neighbourhood and professionalize as vendors. Trade with imports replaced that of state socialist production. Trade and informality boomed and the

Women's Market became the iconic place for post-socialist Sofia, as it articulated the characteristics of the '90s in their most intense forms.

The socialist and post-socialist plans for renovation

Both in the socialist 1980s and the Transitional '90s there were planning projects being prepared for urban redevelopment of the marketplace. Interestingly, both considered the market's function as a vital one and only sought to improve and intensify it. The socialist project ambitiously envisioned the construction of an underground level for warehouses, access and truck delivery, and a near doubling of the number of stalls and pavilions above ground. On the street flanks were to be built hotels to serve the traders from small towns and villages. In an interview about the new vision of the Women's Market one of the planners claims:

"If we want to preserve the old Sofia market [...] we shouldn't violate and alter its character and spirit. It is before everything else a meeting place, a place for socialising, and the richness of various activities there. Besides the shopping, it also makes our city centre diverse and makes people become attached to it. Here, in place of today's little kiosks and unbeautiful warehouses, in ten years we will need comfortable trade infrastructure for all kinds of goods, playgrounds for the children, a parking, nice venues, and so on. Here life shouldn't stop even at night – let's have a different working time and 24-hour shops, not just for foods..." ("The Women's Market – before, now, and in 10 years [Женският пазар – преди, сега и след 10 години]," Sofia, March 1981.)



Fig. 1. The 1990s redevelopment of one third of the Women's Market. (Photo: panoramio.com, March 2007.)

The profit-centred context of the 1990s gave birth to a design for ultra-cheap light-weight metal construction, which was meant to delimit and expand the middle isle of stalls. Many more stalls were to be packed in much more tightly under a common roof. Only one third of the project was realised (Fig. 1), as the apportioned budgets didn't survive long enough. An additional two-story shopping centre building closed in the market from one end. Vendors didn't show any

interest in renting shops in the closed space and eventually it was converted to headquarters for the market management.

The 21st century: shifts in perception

Since 2005 the Women's Market has gradually been reframed as a problem for the city. Policies slowly made their way through municipal administration that were aiming for curtailment of the market's petty trade function and transformation of the area into a pedestrian high street, middle-class leisure zone and a symbol for the Bulgarian capital city's "Europeanness". The vegetable and clothes stalls were to be replaced by benches and grass, fountains and artificial lakes, 'a street of restaurants' and more (Fig. 2):

"The redevelopment in preparation includes constructing a centre for shopping and entertainment, gardens, and greening of the entire area, which is today buried in garbage. The pavilions will be renovated while the unlawful stalls will no longer have a place at the market. The idea is that the most frequented marketplace in the centre of Sofia, would become suitable not only for hasty shopping, but for taking a stroll too." (Planning department official quoted in "The fall and rise of the Women's Market [Падение и възход на Женския пазар]" Dnevnik, March 17, 2007.)

The policy for redevelopment was not simply a top-down decision (Venkov, 2016). It was catalysed by a mobilisation of local home-owners who called for a taming of the market and demanded concern from the authorities about their quality of life as residents of the city centre. Initially, their demands didn't meet any understanding. This is how an official responded to a journalist, supportive of the residents:

"Do you want us to ban the people, who come from all over Sofia to shop here daily, from entering the market? Maybe we should introduce a checkpoints regime?" (Interview in "Manly times at the Women's Market [Мъжки времена на Женския пазар]," Trud, July 30, 2005.)

My argument is that at the time the market with all its human noise, crowds, disorder, smells, ethnic diversity, and, in general, *vigour*, was still a very integrated part of the city. As late as 2005, it was still a relevant notion that trade could not be subjected to strict order; that the authorities were helpless in the face of a sweeping tide of petty entrepreneurship and inventive energy across the city. Officials justified considering the vendor's interests by saying that displacing them would lead to 'social tension'. In contrast, the residents are seen as a few individuals who are opposing the needs of thousands of *productive* vendors.

In the period 2006 – 2013, however, many of these arguments became reversed (see also Eneva, 2017). If before institutions pretended to be overpowered by the vigour of the marketplace, now they were busy moving, regulating, editing, transforming or shutting it down. Officials no longer talked about the social interest of the vendors, but instead about the rights of local residents for better quality of life. Vendors were transformed in the discourse of the authorities from a 'settled' and collective group into rootless and mobile individuals, similar to the impersonal actors of neoclassical economics. Removing stalls was therefore no longer a

problem: as rational economic agents, traders would simply hover to the other markets in the city, where they would compete for renting lots and succeed or fail based on their *personal* merits. The official now felt absolved of responsibility about causing 'social strain'.



Fig. 2: Conceptual design for redevelopment of the Women's Market from 2006.

The new discourses privileged different types of urban spaces, which cater to the construction of 'the citizen' as a consumer of good life in the city; one who merits services for a middle-class demand. Marketplace sites, being still non-privatised municipal property, were mainly seen as an opportunity for an ambitious city council to intervene in urban space to 'add value' for an ideal middle-class voter.

These shifts in perception arise from a number of more fundamental shifts in the economy, structure and politics of Sofia's society. Since the late 1990s Bulgarian economy has been picking up. A growing acceptance for the country in the global economic system, and thus, an influx of foreign investments and outsourcing companies, has created widening employment opportunities for a new consumer class. The first international chain store risked entering the post-socialist landscape in the year 2000. In 2006 the construction of shopping malls began.

However, Bulgarian society did not improve economically as a cohesive whole. It was in fact a process of stratification, with large demographics remaining untouched by the economic pick-up: the senior citizens, low paid workers, Roma, and most of the people living outside the largest cities. Although turnovers at the market were hit hard in the mid-2000s by the competition of 'the modern' supermarket chains, the Women's Market had found a stable niche as the only remaining area catering to the needs of these poorest groups in the Bulgarian society among others. Those who could join a consumer capitalist lifestyle moved out to shop in other everyday geographies of the city. As another type of shopping experience gradually became habitual for them, the market looked more and more unpleasant with its intense mode of personal communication and risk that one could be exposed to aggression, deceit or simply impoliteness, and especially, to personal encounters with Roma or with Bulgarians of low social status. At the same time a newfound consumer confidence and re-emerging middle-class sensibilities allowed those citizens to begin making claims on norms that should be valid across the city – even for urban spaces they themselves did not use.

The implemented project

By 2013-2014, when the redevelopment project was realised, a better appreciation of the old building stock in the neighbourhood had evolved and the modernist design of the 2006 project

was toned down by adapting it to a human-scale and the use of natural looking materials (cref. Fig. 2 and Fig. 3). The appreciation of open-air trade by city officials also evolved, as now they aspired to see in Sofia organic 'farmer markets' and 'authentic crafts' fairs. The area was once more re-imagined, this time as the 'most historical part of Sofia'. Despite its substantial refashioning, the new pedestrian zone is seen by politicians, planners and the media as the oldest marketplace in Sofia, renewed and modernised, in order to "finally" showcase its traditional spirit.



Fig. 3: The final project for the Women's Market, 2012. (Graphics: ADA Ltd, <http://ada-bg.com/bg/projects/175>.)

Discussion

Here I tried to show that shifts in the perception of the Women's Market often might have less to do with changes in the market space itself than with re-formulations at other points of the urban hierarchy. Urban regeneration projects are contingent responses to the deficiencies of urban space, as perceived by technocratic elites and hegemonic public opinion. They are implicitly based on the social construction of ordering of spaces and their properties, and this poses a problem of good practice in design and planning.

After comparing projects for transformation from four different decades it becomes apparent that in each case planners envisioned those features that would raise the status of the space according to the dominant and contingent values of the moment. Projects were designed to expand and improve a traditional shopping experience (in the 1980s, by supporting amenities for both vendors and visitors); to intensify volume and profit-making without regards to the quality of experience (in the 1990s, by packing a maximum density of stalls); to create an urban space for relaxation, one suitable for socialising according to middle class sensibilities (in the 2000s, by introducing gardens, cafes and fountains); or to design experiences of authenticity (in the 2010s, by staging a historical town, fairs of national crafts, and organic farmer's markets). One may expect that if a project for reconstruction is planned again in the 2020s, it would strive to highlight precisely the multicultural character of the area, which is currently put under attack.

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CHAPTER 6

Culture-led urban transformation and tourism potential in post-socialist Europe and beyond

Accelerated urbanisation conjoined with rapid industrialisation during the Socialist regimes continue to evolve along different routes in different countries, depending on their specific contexts and stages of transition. In terms of urban development, these differences are distinctly visible in the urban landscape, which transforms according to the orders of post-socialist political agendas. Culture and tourism play a key role in the urban transformation process by shifting the debate from the ideological and macroeconomic role of urbanisation to everyday practices and experiences in urban environments.

Within this context, this session aims to explore questions of culture-driven tourism development and its impacts, both positive and negative on post-socialist cities. Accordingly, we welcome papers from different disciplines (anthropology, history, sociology, urban geography etc.) regarding (but not restricted to) the following domains:

- Urban identity
- Urban uses and public space
- Heritage conservation
- Creative industries
- Tourism and visitor experiences

Furthermore, the session also aims to offer alternative perspectives and multidisciplinary understandings for both broader aspects as well as for more specialised issues of concern in post-socialist transition. We therefore encourage reflections on the themes such as:

- Processes of commodification of culture and heritage in creating new urban identities
- Issues of representation, image and changing identity
- Conceptions of memory and “value” of socialist legacy
- Reconstruction of public space in post-socialist cities
- Socio-spatial impact of market-led flagship urban renewal projects and place branding strategies
- Processes of strategic spatial planning and participatory governance
- Issues of inclusive design and accessibility connected to adaptive reuse
- Creative industries and cultural spaces for sustainable tourism
- Impacts of globalisation and digitisation and tourism demand on tourism development
- Current issues and future perspectives for potential development of culture-led tourism .

Lauren Ugur, Heilbronn University of Applied Sciences

Evinç Dogan, Faculty of Tourism, Akdeniz University

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- 1** Survival of socialist legacy in Budapest city centre / Ben Salem, S. Simon, M.
 - 2** Culture-led urban transformation and urban heritage in the post-socialist city: the case of Petrovaradin Fortress in Novi Sad / Pajvancic-Cizelj, A., Ristic, D., Marinkovic, D.
 - 3** Nuisance or economic salvation - The role of new urban tourism in today's Berlin / Raschke, A. L., Brandt, S., Müller, C.
 - 4** City tourist guide: from ideology tool to the promotion of consumerism (example of Lviv) / Kozlova, I.

Survival of socialist legacy in Budapest city centre

Abstract: *Since the turn of the millennium, Budapest city walking tours have become increasingly popular. Against the reach offer, we can't find any tour that touches the built heritage of the socialist period. The only exceptional tour leads the visitors to memorials, statues and politically relevant places and tells shocking stories about the communist years of the 1950s. To analyse this architectural amnesia, we follow a proposed touristic route along the historic city centre, which was not untouched by socialist building activity. Several of these buildings – typically infill projects – were highly appreciated by contemporaries and were featured in architectural guides of the 1970s but even in the 1990s. We assess and evaluate the state of these buildings and discover their stories. We look for the reasons why many buildings which were characterized by highly appreciated architectural values in the 1970s and 1980s, have been either demolished or rebuilt. Can this be regarded as the necessary loss due to the progress or is it the revaluation of a period sentenced to oblivion? Did these buildings lose their tangible or intangible value? We conclude, that behind the underestimation of the socialist building heritage we find practical, financial and political reasons. In most cases, the organisation behind a community or office building dissolved and the expensive city centre plot was sold for a commercial enterprise, which demanded a relevant layout and an up-to-date outlook. These changes were celebrated by the press and the profession both and appreciated as progress. However, there is one special case, when the architects and historians successfully demonstrated against the transformation of an office building of the 1960s. In the background, we assume the high professional appreciation of the architect and the activity of his dedicated former colleagues.*

Keywords: *city centre, socialist building heritage, collective memory*

Since the turn of the millennium, Budapest city walking tours have become increasingly popular. Against these offers, we can't find any tour that touches the built heritage of the socialist period. The only exception to this are a few tours that take the visitors to memorials, statues and politically relevant places and tell shocking stories about the communist years of the fifties. To analyse this architectural amnesia, we selected a proposed touristic route along the historic city-centre, which was indeed touched by socialist building activity. Several of these buildings – typically infill projects – were featured in architectural guides of the seventies and even in the nineties. We assess and evaluate the state of these buildings and discover their stories. We look for the reasons why many buildings which were characterized

¹ Faculty of Landscape Architecture and Urbanism, Szent István University. E-Mail: sarah.ben.salem23@gmail.com

² Faculty of Landscape Architecture and Urbanism, Szent István University. E-Mail: Simon.Marianna@tajk.szie.hu

by highly appreciated architectural values in the seventies and eighties, have been either demolished or rebuilt. Can this be regarded as a necessary loss caused by the progress, or is it due to the revaluation and critics concerning a period sentenced to oblivion? Did these buildings lose their tangible or intangible value?

The present city-centre – the district 5 – covers the medieval town of Pest and its northward extension from the early nineteenth century. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, a large number of buildings was raised in both parts, which except for the street structure, had a profound effect on the inner-city's outlook. During World War 2, several buildings were bombed, however, the socialist power never intended to destroy and rebuild the whole district. Overall, it has to be noted that the structural urban plan of 1966 had attributed to the district its main functions as an administrative and touristic area.

In fact, the district's characteristics and attributes haven't been changed since then, though the area has been going through a remarkable upgrading process since the transition years of 1989-1990, aiming to integrate the city into the world's economic development. The new investments generated a large demand for high-quality office spaces, which has affected the situation of the historical landscape and especially caused vulnerability to the architectural socialist heritage. (Kovács, 1998)

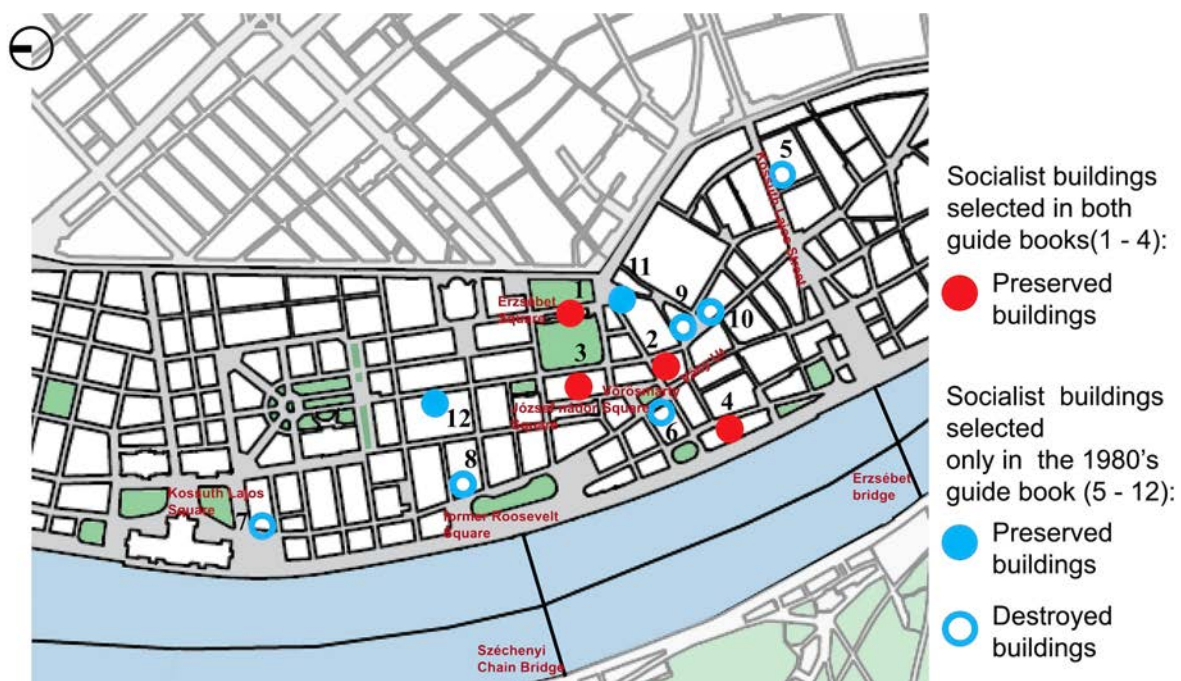


Fig. 1. The selected buildings in the studied area; Source: Author

To analyse the story of the socialist period's buildings in this district, we relied on two main sources: an architectural guide edited in 1980 and another from 1997, both are devoted only to twentieth Century's architecture. (Jékely & Sódor, 1980; Lőrinczi & Vargha, 1997) The first book lists 12 items built after 1945 on the investigated area, of which only four are included in the second guide. Today when further 20 years have passed, we find that while the four buildings, appreciated also after the political change, still exist, from the other eight buildings, six have been destroyed and/or replaced with new ones. The main question which we evoke is; how can we explain the survival of the favoured four?

Former bus station, Erzsébet Square (1)



Fig. 2. The original building's outlook; Source: Fortepan archive, No 9272

The most apparent explanation behind several buildings' survival is given in the case of this edifice. It became a listed monument already in 1977. The building consists of a unique and significant structure in its urban context. It was designed in 1949 by the architect István Nyíri. It is now reused as a coffee-place and the original outlook of the building was kept, we still find on the front the sign "Terminal" as a connotation of its original function. In fact, the bus station's function was removed from the city-centre, and the building had been reused for different purposes since then. By reason of its communicative and open spaces, the building was devoted to the Hungarian Design Centre Terminal after 2004 and it hosted different artistic works.

Its two parallelepiped volumes are joined by a terrace-bridge under which we find a public recreational area. In addition to its particular and fluid spatial quality, the building is prompting the public life around it. However, space is nowadays more oriented towards consumption activities. Certainly, more participative approaches and diversified functions will invite people to be more aware of its historical value.

OTP Bank and office building, Deák Ferenc Street (2)



Fig. 3 & 4. The building before and after the architectural interventions;
Sources: Mariann Simon's private archive; author photography

Another building considered as one of the flagships of the socialist rule in Budapest is the OTP Bank and office building which was constructed in 1963 by the architect Gulyás Zoltán. The building was highly appreciated by contemporaries. Unfortunately, in the late nineties, there have been radical architectural changes which were made by the architects themselves following the building owner's requirement. The original concrete grid structure of the central banking hall was replaced with a glass pyramid, also the grey granite panels of the facade were changed for an almond coloured stone. Despite the above-mentioned changes, when the possibility of a partial breakdown of the building emerged in 2010, architects and monument protectors protested against it and that was also backed by the UNESCO.

The high-rise building certainly represents the Grand manner aspect of the socialist era by its imposing appearance. After the 1956 Hungarian revolution, architects were freer to express their architectural *savoir-faire* under less political-ideological directives and pressures, and also to adapt western modernism's tendencies. (Lőrinczi & Vargha, 1997: 19) This can be observed in this building's curtain walls facade and its free plan. In the original plan, an urban passage was ensured to connect the two surrounded streets.

Apartments building, József Nádor Square (3)

The nine-story-high apartment house was the artwork of the architect Lajos Földesi. Designed in 1966, at that time it was an exception among the typical office buildings planned for the city-centre's infill plots. It was published and praised in the contemporary architectural magazine, but also in a daily newspaper. Both reviewers stressed the building's successful fit into its environment. "The scale of the building is well thought out. Its constructive composition reflects the József Nádor Square's calm atmosphere." (Virág, 1968) The building fits into the street line by the horizontal emphasis of the loggias which are well balanced by the retracted glass-wall of the centrally located stairwell. (Jékely and Sódor, 1980: 72)



Fig. 5. The apartments building; Source: Magyar Építőművészet, 1968, (2)

For this type of buildings, the story of survival is different. The apartment houses were sold-out after the political changes. Any intervention will then depend on the different owners. The function of the building can explain in this case that it was not altered.

Former Hotel Duna Intercontinental (4)

The first foreign-funded hotel designed by the architects József Finta and László Kovácsy was constructed in the plot of a former hotel which was damaged in the Second World War. The project was appreciated and also criticized since it was announced officially, but especially after it was completed in 1969. It was discussed on several forums on professional and popular periodicals and daily newspapers, especially that its situation is very important for the image of the city since it faces the Danube. The main accusation touched its height aspect in the cityscape and its blank rear facade which faces the town. After the political system change, the hotel had a new name and owner, who asked the original architects for a radical modernization. Consequently, it was renovated different times until 2000.



Fig. 6. The Hotel Duna Intercontinental; Source: Fortepan archive, No 1463.

As a reaction to the different opinions and critics, the chief architect, Finta wrote on 1997: "I am pleased to present to the Danube, my juvenile delinquency as a brave, perhaps unrestrained, architectural gesture, even though I would not do it in the case of today's commission." (Papp, 2009)

To summarize the reasons behind the preservation of the listed projects. There are two possible explanations. The first is when the building has kept its owner or at least its function, and when the building's renovation was done by its original architect. This explanation is valid in the case of the hotel and the office building, also in the case of the apartment house, since it is still owned by different tenements. The case of the bus station is different. It was listed as a protected monument, and consequently, any changes in its structure or function had to be controlled by preservation rules.

Unfortunately, the situation was different in other cases that led to the breakdown of many buildings, from which we'll state the following examples.

Office building, Kossuth Lajos street (5)



Fig. 7. The office building; Source: Mariann Simon's private archive.

The high-rise office building erected in the city-centre in 1966, was the first in its type serving for a trading company during the socialist period. This “pioneering role” was promising but also represented a difficult challenge for the architects János Pomsár and Tamás Puskás. Even the fact that they were offered the use of high technological methods. Nevertheless, neither the used materials nor the workmanship was in tune with the expectations. As summarized in an architect’s review in the (only) architectural magazine of the period. “Looking at the work as a whole – from the perspective of the national economic activity – the result cannot be called positive.” (Bene, 1967) On the other hand, the building was admired for its imposing aspect which at the same time appeared as a fragile element in the cityscape. Also, for its elevated glass structure framed with horizontal terraces and fine vertical aluminium lamellas. The building was lastly replaced by a new one in 1999. Except for the kept concrete structure of the original construction, we do not see any trace of it.

Cultural centre and office building, Vörösmarty Square (6)



Fig. 8. Cultural centre and office building; Source: Fortepan archive, No 15888.

The huge complex that extends along the whole Eastern front of the Vörösmarty Square was realized in 1971 by the architects Elemér Tallós and Tibor Hübner. No independent review was published about the completed building, though the architects presented it in several publications. According to these sources, the aim of the designers was to: “create a building that adapts to the actual needs, it is expedient and economic, but at the same time it represents a European high standard.” (Tallós, 1972) To fulfil this demand, the architects repeatedly mentioned the imported materials, especially the sunscreen window glasses. Also, it was considered as an iconic building for the socialist cultural politics. However, it lost its significance after the change of the regime and was replaced by an impressive offices and shops building that was constructed in 2007. The new project was a demonstration of the contemporary technical and technological design tools as well and its image was used in the launcher of the design program Archicad 12.

The important location of the building's plot certainly explains that either in the socialist era or after the political changes, the built projects intended to represent the technical innovation and progress of each period.

Office building, Kossuth Lajos Square (7)



Fig. 9. The office building; Source: www.trover.com

Designed by the architect Béla Pintér, the office building on the corner of the Kossuth Lajos Square is located in one of the most impressive and touristic squares which surrounds the Hungarian parliament. It was built following an open architectural competition but the design was not in conformity with the announced results. Even so, the building which was completed in 1972 was widely published and considered as an appreciated *oeuvre*, but not without restrictions. The opinions concerning it were diverging. As attested by one of the reviewers of the period, “We would have expected a more characteristic look of the office building as it appears in the cityscape, a clearer reflection of our age.” (Kubinszky, 1974). Yet, another journalist, whose evaluation was closer to the public opinion, appreciated the moderate facade of the building. (Sebők, 1974)

The socialist edifice had been recently removed. Its unique but different *allure* wasn't finally appreciated. It will be replaced by a design which imitates the composition and the massive architectural aspect of the surrounding buildings.

Office building, former Roosevelt Square (8)



Fig. 10. The office building; Source: Octogon, 2006, (3).

The huge office building facing the Danube was completed only in 1979, by the architects Miklós Hofer and Tibor Hübner. Although, it was included in the architectural guide of 1980. Unlike the buildings mentioned earlier, it was never published in the architectural periodical *Magyar Építőművészet*. Already during its construction, it was not left without reflections. The reviewers found its mass too large in its environment. After the construction's completion, its dark green colour shocked the public that called it the “spinach house”.

We summarize from our study that, the four listed examples which were demolished after 1990 were not accepted without restrictions even before their completion. Architects appreciated the high technology and foreign materials which were offered for the buildings' constructions. These aspects intended to represent the country's progress and especially its trade relations. The workmanship was never the highest quality though.

By the seventies, not only had the power of the socialist regime weakened, but the belief in modern architecture had also faded. The socialist corporations had dissolved, and the new owners needed a new outlook for their buildings, especially in sites which have touristic potential. This is why the underestimation of the socialist built heritage is mainly related to financial and political reasons. Not to forget as well, that the attitude toward the socialist heritage is not just related to its tangible inheritance in the city, it is also due to its intangible effects on the public opinion, especially across the painful history that the city had confronted during the last century.

According to a sociological study, the former socialist Eastern Central Europeans are dealing with their decades under communism in at least four ways, either as an anti-nostalgia by rejecting this part of the history which they consider as an era of terror and repression, or as amnesia, by turning their back from the period in question. Also, by reinterpreting the past and not transmitting the actions as they really happened through historical revisionism. On the other side, some still glorify this period of the history and admitting sentiments of nostalgia. (Velikonja, 2009)

In this paper, we presented the controversial opinions about the socialist memory on the one hand, and studied the tangible transformations on the listed buildings after the socialist regime on the other hand. It can be concluded from this study that the new urban and architectural schemes taking place in the city-centre are in many instances, at least in the selected study cases, causing veritable threats to the heritage and rejecting the city's historical continuity with its past. Hence, its preservation is undoubtedly indispensable. Especially that, these buildings are part of the collective memory of the city and that diversity and uniqueness are often the keys to successful tourism development.

As Geoffrey Scott mentioned in his book, "We subsist on a number of architectural habits, on scraps of tradition, on caprices and prejudices and above all on this mass of more or less specious axioms, of half-truths, unrelated, uncriticised and often contradictory, by means of which there is no building so bad that it cannot with a little ingenuity be justified, or so good that it cannot plausibly be condemned." (Scott, 1914)

The buildings listed in the map of the studied area (Figure 1) which we didn't include in this article: Business centre in Szervita square (9), 1973, Architects: István Szabó and Zoltán Jakab. Telephonic center in Szervita square (10), 1976, Architects: Lajos Jeney and Ferenc Bán. Metro station in Deák Ferenc square (11), 1970, Architect: UVATERV Company. Business centre in Október 6. street (12), 1973, Architect: István Kovách.

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Culture-led urban transformation and urban heritage in the post-socialist city: the case of Petrovaradin Fortress in Novi Sad

Abstract: *In this paper we present the results of two complementary sociological studies of the Petrovaradin Fortress in Novi Sad - quantitative conducted in 2016 and qualitative conducted in 2018 - with the main aim to analyse the attitudes of citizens and experts towards the historical heritage in the context of the intensive urban transformation. We suppose the relationship to heritage is shaped both by historical and ideological circumstances of the former socialist and present neoliberal social settings. The research indicates continuous ideological and selective use of the Fortress and neglect of its' historical and cultural significance, from the socialist to the present neoliberal conditions. Although neoliberalization successfully eroded socialist practice of heritage management, its further consolidation is confronted with a number of inherited obstacles, which leaves this historical urban landscape stuck in-between socialist past and neoliberal future. Analysis, thus, emphasize the continuity, path dependency, hybridity and unevenness of the post-socialist cities' cultural transformation.*

Keywords: *post-socialist city; urban heritage; neoliberalism; culture-led urban development; Petrovaradin Fortress.*

Introduction

The focus of the ongoing debate about post-socialist cities has slowly shifted from economic to cultural aspects of their transformation. This can be explained with increased emphasis on the culture-led urban development within the recent phase of neoliberalization (Peck, 2006; Krätke, 2012) as well as the transformation of the old cultural landscapes in the post-socialist cities (Czepczyński, 2008; Czirfuzs, 2018; Čamprag, 2018). Seen as the process of urban restructuring, culture-led urban development implies disassembling old social structures and its' replacement with the new ones (Soja, 1989) through two phases of neoliberalization: 'roll back', with the destruction and discreditation of Keynesian-welfare's institutions and 'roll out' with purposeful construction and consolidation of neoliberalized state forms, modes of governance and regulatory relations (Peck & Tickell, 2002: 384).

Although rarely researched, neoliberalization also implies the new approach to heritage. In this paper, we are investigating the historical urban heritage (or landscape) of the Petrovaradin Fortress in Novi Sad in the context of the intensive transformation of this post-

¹ University of Novi Sad, Faculty of Philosophy, Department of Sociology. E-mail: ana.pajvancic@ff.uns.ac.rs

² University of Novi Sad, Faculty of Philosophy, Department of Sociology.

³ University of Novi Sad, Faculty of Philosophy, Department of Sociology.

socialist city on the periphery of Europe. We suppose the way different actors relate to and reinterpret this heritage, is shaped on the one hand by the socialist legacy and with the neoliberal ideology on the other. Therefore, we seek to answer the following questions: whether and how the socialism and post-socialist transformation frames the discourses and practices related to the Petrovaradin Fortress today? Whether and how the contemporary culture-led urban development influences those same discourses and practices? What is the relationship between these two phenomena? Our approach is broadly situated within the 'post-socialist' city literature, informed by the 'roll back' and 'roll out' neoliberalism concepts and also inspired with the idea about the 'hybrid spaces in-between socialist and neoliberal city' (Rusiłowicz, 2015).

Methodology

We present the results of the two sociological studies of the Petrovaradin Fortress in Novi Sad. First was conducted in 2016 through the survey on a representative sample of the general population in Novi Sad (N=500) with a goal to identify the relationships of the citizens towards the Fortress. This research also included the main stakeholders involved in the protection of the Fortress. Second, qualitative was conducted in 2018⁴. The main goal was to map and describe different interpretations and narratives about the heritage of Petrovaradin Fortress. Interviews and participant observation (interpretation sites) were the basic research techniques⁵.

Background and Results

The Petrovaradin Fortress is considered the biggest and most preserved military fortification in this part of Europe. At the beginning of the 19th century it was one of the most defended Fortress of the Austrian monarchy. The preserved part consists of the Upper Fortress (Festung or Oberfestung), Lower Fortress (Stadt or Wasserstadt) and Hornwerk (Hornwer). Lower Town (Suburbium) is a residential part of the Lower Fortress. After the Second World War, the demilitarization began and the Fortress was proclaimed a cultural monument in 1948. Despite many attempts to protect and revitalize it, there is an overall opinion that the Fortress is in a poor condition.

Production of heritage during the socialist Yugoslavia

According to Gonzalez (2016) the socialist ideology was legitimated with the control of history and its materialization via heritage. The intention was to brake from the past and make a modern state with 'new socialist man' aligned with the universal values of humanism and equality. Historical heritage (especially bourgeois, ethnic and religious) was not necessarily destroyed, but creatively utilized and instrumentalized.

The partial and spatially segmented demilitarization that followed the Second World War has opened the opportunities for the new content. One of the first ideas, though not implemented, was to build the new city centre at the Lower fortress, which required the

⁴ This research was carried within the scope of the project Case Petrovaradin: Managing Historic Urban Landscapes, run by Europa Nostra Serbia, Faculty for Sport and Tourism TIMS Novi Sad and Institute for protection of cultural monuments of Novi Sad.

demolition of certain parts of the complex. One of our interlocutors remembers a following incident:

“When in 1948 the Yugoslav People's Army began to break down the parts of the Fortress, he (the Conservator), sued them. In the court records you can find the words of the General Matić – Why are you so imposing, you have all these walls, we just took a little And the conservator replied – you shall not take a single brick!” (Archaeologist).

This illustrates that the Fortress was perceived as a spatial resource for the reconstruction and modernization of the city, without the sufficient recognition of its historical and architectural value. The following quotation from the former mayor of the city of Novi Sad, supports this conclusion and further highlights the negligence over the Fortress during the socialism:

“We haven't talked much about the Fortress, nor did we know much about it. We didn't realize its' function for the city of Novi Sad. I did not participate much in the affairs about the Fortress. I cannot say that I did not want it, but the Fortress was simply an object of the secondary importance for us. We had other concerns, like the faculties and schools, and everything else that represented the national interests at the time. These were the institutions that mobilized that part of the human values that we cared about and we were working in that direction” (Former mayor of the city of Novi Sad 1974-1982).

The most significant social change during the socialism happened in the Lower Town which used to be elite settlement during the nineteenth century.

“The Lower Town is the story about life in eighteenth century, when it was settlement for elite and military officers who defended Austro-Hungarian empire. Beside the army, we had here butchers, goldsmiths, markets, breweries... This is cultural and historical, architectural heritage without competition in Europe” (Activist).

The post-war plans implied a radically changed social structure and resulted in the social, spatial and class 'ghettoization' of the Lower Town. The big and luxury housing was transformed into the modest apartments between 30 and 40 m² and inhabited with the working and lower middle class. Thus, the space was utilized and used as the recourse for the social transformation. This obviously implied the brake from the bourgeoisie past and neglectation (or suppression) of its heritage. This transformation blended ethnic and religious diversity of the Lower Town with the common class and Yugoslav identity. One of our respondents spoke of many religious rituals of the ethnic communities that took place in the Lower Town and that do not exist anymore – and have not been restored to this day.

“Everything that is connected with Petrovaradin Fortress is connected with my nation, Croatian minority, but also, even more with catholic heritage in this city” (Representative of national minority CSO).

Based on these insights, we can conclude that socialist government established a civil, state control over the Petrovaradin fortress and instrumentalized it as a mean for fulfilling the needs of a new social order. In this process, some parts of the Fortress (the Lower Town) took over the new social functions, while other parts as well as its' basic cultural meaning was neglected. Despite the significant ability of the socialist government to control the heritage, there was not enough motivation to preserve it and redevelopment prevailed over the conservation.

Heritage management in post-socialist transformation

The socialist type of heritage management broke up in 1991 when country went into a period of long transition. Currently, there is no single authority responsible for the management of the Fortress, which results in loose control and ineffective management. All interviewed stakeholders have recognized the lack of coordination and clear management structure as the biggest problem its maintenance. The representative of the waterworks and sewerage public utility spoke about the problem of setting up installations, which are currently in an alarming state. According to him, the water that is lost is at the level of consumption of a smaller city, because the cables are full of water, as well as all underground channels. *'But we cannot enter, we need the approval but no one knows who's '.* Also, there are no clear principles for funding activities related to the Fortress, no monitoring nor a return investment mechanism. More than 75% of our respondents cannot name the institution responsible for the Fortress, and 73% believe that *'politicians'* are responsible for its poor state. The dismantling of the state control over the Fortress made it attractive for the capital which also brought a new economic speculation over the space. One of the most attractive places in the Upper Fortress, which belonged to state owned Hotel Yugoslavia, was privatized and given to controversial local businessman with the obligation to revitalize the area. The new owner never paid the rent to the city, nor invested in the revitalization. Moreover, the 300 m of the protected Fortress wall was destructed during the renovation of the hotel. Many other followed a similar path and exploited the Fortress for pursuing their own private interests while undermining the interest of the public. The vast majority of respondents are aware of these problems and want to see more state control over the Fortress. Around 63% believe that the Fortress should be managed by a public institution. About 10% opt for the public-private partnership, 7% for the non-governmental organizations and only 2.5% for a private company.

The residents of the Lower Town still live in the poor material conditions which deteriorated even more after the privatization of housing since 1991. Privatization coupled with the new laws, made the residents responsible for the maintenance of the objects. As the state withdraw and the residents were unable to pay the high costs for renovation, the whole area rapidly deteriorated. The results of our quantitative study show that they grade almost all elements of the quality of living much lower comparing to the other citizens of Novi Sad. In addition, the signs of the ghettoization, described in the previous chapter, are still present. As our interlocutor observed:

"The Lower Town is something that people of Novi Sad feel as the „Other '. It is closer than a city Center and we still do not want to cross (Lower Town is on the other side of the Danube). That hill that must be crossed ... it's scary for us. The entrance in the Lower Town is repulsive...and then those staircases, narrow, dirty, dusty, horror.... There is a very big barrier" (Urban planner).

In this chapter we identified some elements of roll back neoliberalization, namely the breakdown of the previous heritage management model. The result is the overall impression among citizens that Fortress belongs to no one. While the initial neoliberalization produces some of the mentioned problems, they are now acting as a barrier to its' further consolidation. For example, the inability of the city to provide even the basic infrastructural maintenance and the lack of strategic documents, makes the Fortress unattractive to the potential private investors. The roll out phase has not completely erased previous social relationships. The remains of the socialist influence can still be observed within the social structure of the Lower Town and its social isolation. Although still observable, its' ghettoization created during the socialism is being challenged by the need to include it in the new economic order.

Neoliberal ideas, culture - led urban development

Neoliberal ideology encourages states and communities to treat heritage as forms of capital to be developed and marketed (Coombe, 2012). There are several indications of the partial construction of the neoliberalized regulatory relations in our case. For example, some activities of the state institutions are being transferred to the civil society organizations, reflecting the broader trends of deregulation and dispersion of responsibilities:

"We are trying to draw attention of people to problems and needs of the complex of Petrovaradin fortress... that are protected just on the paper, but in practice completely devastated and invisible. We organize events such as walks, we print the material and directly inform citizens about the heritage" (Activist).

However, the actors are aware that they cannot fully take the role of the public institutions:

"But our capacities are not developed enough to be able to produce or make public designations or publications accessible to all citizens. That is the job of people from the public institutions in the city" (Representative of CSO).

Although the initiatives for some kind of culture-led urban development of the Lower town has existed for a long time (even in socialism) they were never carried out. The idea that heritage should be treated as the form of capital is not necessarily new nor neoliberal, but neoliberalism sets it within the new inter-local competitive relationships and introduces holders of necessary expertise to effectively accomplish this (Peck & Tickell, 2002; Coombe, 2012). This can be observed in the following fact: while the Institute for the protection of the cultural monuments in Novi Sad was preparing the first management plan of the Fortress, the city officials hired a multinational company to deliver a management plan and declare it as a 'tourist area'. The inter-local competition based on the culture was introduced in the city since it was declared the European Capital of Culture for 2021. Consequently, the pressure on the Fortress and especially to its' Lower Town rose. The cultural difference suppressed in socialism, is now being selectively used as a resource for the culture-led development of the city. Our interlocutor spoke about the Catholic Church in the Lower Town:

"The church should be approached in a much more subtle way within this (European) Capital of Culture...it is not just to exploit the church – the way some people from the City and Province that are not religious see it – to use it as a

resource, in a commercial way. Mission of the church is not to spread tourism but Christ's teaching and kingdom" (Representative of national minority CSO).

The representatives of the urban planning institute see the Lower Town as an economic and touristic resource. However, the underdevelopment of the Lower Town, as a result of its' previous ghettoization and initial neoliberalization, stands as an obstacle for its' further incorporation into the free market. Conservators think that the public bodies must play an active role in shaping the future of the Lower Town, but also point out that a top down approach is not good. According to our interlocutor,

"Private initiative, within the framework of public regulations, can make a significant impact. Unfortunately, the city which is actually the owner of the entire area, has no interest in how this space is used" (Conservator).

Both planners and conservators see the private ownership in the Lower Town as the main obstacle for revitalization and conservation.

Everyday life in the Lower Town today is torn between the historical heritage, poor material conditions and pressures for modernization and gentrification. Although the process of gentrification is still non-invasive it will inevitably impose the new policy for the present and future users of space. In addition, Fortress and the Lower Town for the first time entered the competition with other parts of Novi Sad, which have been developed as commercial, tourist and cultural spaces for decades. Thus, it will need the new type of socio-spatial identity aligned with the market. The inhabitants of the Lower Town are aware of those processes.

"Current residents are not potential consumers of expensive restaurants, cafes or hotels. Changes in functions and contents will be adequate for other consumers, primarily foreign tourists" (Inhabitant of the Lower Town).

"Fortress cannot live for itself and by itself ... a variety of new content, from crafts to digital technologies will form around it" (Inhabitant of the Lower Town).

All our interlocutors believe that such a unique historical urban landscape cannot be left solely to market forces, but they are aware of the shortcomings of the old management model. The lack of trust in the local authorities and number of failed initiatives in the past makes the residents of Lower Town suspicious about the new culture-led revitalization strategies. Although recognized as inevitable, new culture-led developmental initiatives are faced with the suspicion of the local population based on their previous experience built in-between socialist, post-socialist and neoliberal conditions.

Conclusion

Our analysis identified continuous ideological and selective usage of the Petrovaradin Fortress heritage from the socialist to the present neoliberal conditions. While former government used it as a social recourse and later as an economic asset, both favoured redevelopment over the conservation and neglected its historical and cultural significance. Although neoliberalization initially erased the socialist frame of heritage management, its' further consolidation in the

form of culture - led urban development is confronted with obstacles stemming from the inherited social structure, remains of ghettoization, underdevelopment and the suspicion and distrust of the local population. That leaves this historical urban landscape stuck in-between socialist past and neoliberal future.

We identified changes in the relationship to the heritage, but also the dependent path and spatially and temporally uneven character of adaptation to the new social conditions. In order to understand this change, we need to go beyond the schematic notion of post-socialism and investigate not only discontinuities but also the continuity and the historical rootedness of their contemporary situation (Hirt, Ferenčuhová & Tuvikenec, 2017). Accordingly, we find the idea about the 'hybrid spaces in-between socialist and neoliberal city' (Rusiłowicz, 2015), better suited to explain our case than the 'post-socialist' city concept. Within this perspective, cities are not transforming uniformly but in the partial and spatially segmented way. Some parts of the city can be easily transformed and successfully included in the neoliberal order while others, like the Petrovaradin Fortress and its Lower Town, may be more inert and may face difficulties or even resist the reconstruction. Areas which experience troubled process of reconstruction are rarely the subject of the research, but they can be important for understanding the ways the neoliberalism is tested and negotiated in different places. The redefined concept which acknowledge continuity, path dependency and hybridity, might have greater explanatory power not only for the former socialist cities but also for all peripheral sites undergoing neoliberalization.

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Nuisance or economic salvation - The role of new urban tourism in today's Berlin

Abstract: *After the fall of the wall Berlin has reinvented itself as an international hub for the creative class, for politics, for anything “media”-related. With its comparably low cost of living came the promise of a young, creative, buzzing environment that attracted new locals and New Urban Tourists: People who are visiting a place to feel as locals, to dive into a version of vacation that feels like everyday life. They are renting flats instead of hotel rooms to experience a home away from home. Until a few years ago Berlin was welcoming any and all tourists with open arms. But this has changed. Berlin is experiencing a price hike in rents and costs of living, it is increasingly difficult for the lower and middle classes to find housing in the inner city. Today, many Berlin residents blame Airbnb for the housing shortage since it is more profitable to rent out an apartment short-term. Local political efforts seem not to take hold against the international corporation and its lobbying tactics. In our paper we discuss findings of an ongoing research project at TU Darmstadt and TU Berlin aimed at this phenomenon: (how) are neighbourhoods changing due to tourism? How are locals affected when the surroundings are being transformed to cater to tourists? Is Berlin's heritage preserved, changed, destroyed? How can a global digital phenomenon such as the sharing economy be locally legislated? In light of theories on tourism and New Urban Tourism and post-socialist transformation of cities, we want to make a case for Berlin as an example of how international appeal and local needs can collide on the level of affordable housing and the tourism industry. We are exploring the matter through media-analysis of newspaper articles, market analysis, and semi-structured interviews. Our interdisciplinary approach allows for a broad perspective on economic and social factors.*

Keywords: *new urban tourism, platform capitalism, quality of living, transforming neighbourhoods, interdisciplinary research.*

“(They say:)

A 1980s New York / a dystopian dream space melting pot / a virgin creative laboratory / a bunker-laced postindustrial wasteland waiting to be refurbished / a hybrid of liberal metropolis and free space for all alternative lifestyles and diosyncrasies /

Berlin's imaginary: young, fast and romantic,

Wings of Desire. Condemned to becoming.” (Hausdorf & Goller, 2015: 15)

¹ Technische Universität Berlin. E-Mail: brandt@tu-berlin.de

² Technische Universität Berlin. E-Mail: claus.mueller@tu-berlin.de

³ Technische Universität Darmstadt. E-Mail: raschke@ifs.tu-darmstadt.de

When studying post-socialist transitions in cities, Berlin plays a unique role: “Berlin is an Eastern city, by geography, spirit, architecture and expression. Yet, it remains half-Western, by politics and history.” (Pyzik, 2014: 74) From this duality stems part of the myth that surrounds Berlin to this day as a city of opportunity, of open space and ingenuity, of romantic hardships and an underdog lovability while being rough and dirty and down on its luck. While this narrative is being applied to all of Berlin, the development in the eastern and western parts of the city are quite different.

After the fall of the Berlin Wall neglected neighbourhoods in the eastern parts of the city became a popular investment opportunity, bringing capital and activity to parts of the city that had laid dormant for three decades. Housing here consisted of Wilhelminian style buildings, many untouched and never modernized. Over the next years the district of Prenzlauer Berg rose through the ranks to become one of the most gentrified, in parts even segregated areas of the city. At the same time a political movement formed in Friedrichshain, following a “summer of anarchy” (Wolf, 2018: 156) in 1990. This was an era of legal uncertainties, especially for inhabitants of houses in the eastern part of the inner city. While new laws were written and courts decided on who had ownership over houses that were forejudged in the GDR, houses were squatted and fiercely defended (Dirksmeier, 2015: 116). It was decided to restitute the properties to the owners from before the forejudgement which “catalyzed a change of ownership structures and bulldozed the way for unprecedented real estate speculation inside the historic S-Bahn circle” (Bernt et al., 2013: 67).

Investment, renovation and gentrification also affected and affect districts and neighbourhoods in West-Berlin, especially those that were deemed undesirable to live in as they were wall-adjacent. These neighbourhoods had been home to immigrant workers and their families who were brought to West-Germany during and after the 1970s. Much like their counterparts in the East, these houses were not in good shape, many even deemed only fit for demolition (Mattern, 2018: 80), thus becoming a prime investment opportunity in the 1990s.

Berlin has been a centre for music, art, hardship and coolness not least since David Bowie came off heroin and wrote “Low” or Iggy Pop experiencing a “Lust for Life” here in the 1970s. It has been described as up-and-coming, in-the-making, an “affordable, buzzing, open and tolerant” (Frary, 2018) city. While tourism remains to be an important factor to Berlins economy, there are several works that indicate various negative effects of New Urban Tourism (Füller & Michel, 2014). Against this background our research aims to examine effects of short-term rentals on perceived housing quality.

As we have outlined above Berlin’s appeal as a tourist destination is not quite a new phenomenon, however peer-to-peer sharing platforms produce new ways of satisfying touristic demands. Thus, home sharing platforms suggest an authentic way of experiencing cities and everyday life ‘off the beaten track’.

While tourists seek authentic experiences in residential areas, issues arise among inhabitants. Given that the reunification caused a massive trend towards increasing rents and displacement throughout all of Berlin’s inner-city areas the negative outcomes of New Urban Tourism in a way seem to be a sequel to already existing conflicts. Under this premise new urban tourists are – just as new residents were before – viewed on as being agents of neighbourhood change and getting blamed for rising rental prices, alienation and displacement.

Taking the local media discourse on short-term rentals in Berlin into account three subjects can be identified that are repeatedly the subject of discussion. On the one hand pros (e.g.

supporting small entrepreneurs) and cons (e.g. rising rental prices) of short-term rentals as well as effects of short-term rentals on housing quality (e.g. noise, pollution) are being discussed. On the other hand, the media discourse reflects Berlin's ongoing attempts to regulate short-term rentals. While the media coverage on tourism in Berlin does mostly focus on all of Berlin's inner-city areas there are neighbourhoods that seem to suffer more from the negative effects of New Urban Tourism than others. Different efforts on evaluating and attempts to cope with negative effects that have been put into action by district administrations support this claim (Raab & Grube, 2017: 4).

All of Berlin is hip and cool, but some areas more so than others. For this paper we are discussing the neighbourhoods of Reuterkiez in Neukölln (West-Berlin) and Boxhagener Platz in Friedrichshain (East-Berlin). Both are former working class residential neighbourhoods, that today are heavily influenced by young, international creative workers (Novy, 2013: 229) as well as new urban tourists. They are both known for their vibrant nightlife with clubs, bars and, of course, Spätis. During daytime both neighbourhoods are venues for famous farmer's markets as well as flea markets on the weekends. So, it comes as no surprise that these neighbourhoods are amongst the most notorious hotspots of informal tourist accommodations like shared apartments, but also challenged by steadily rising rental prices. Both neighbourhoods can serve as examples for how tourism to cities can change urban neighbourhoods, even though their historic backgrounds are quite different.

Reuterkiez is a neighbourhood of about 100 hectares with 27,800 inhabitants around the central Reuterplatz. It is located in the northernmost part of Neukölln and borders Kreuzberg to the north and to the West. It is one of the most densely inhabited parts of Berlin (270 per hectare) with mostly Wilhelminian style buildings, perimeter block development, front-facing and rear buildings with inner courtyards and a mix of residential and commercial uses within the same buildings. Neukölln has been identified with the working class since the times of backyard-factories in the early 1900s, within this district Reuterkiez used to be one of the more affluent neighbourhoods with larger apartments and many small shops (Bach and Hüge, 2004: 13). With the beginning of the 1970s many inhabitants moved to suburban housing estates, which offered a more modern living environment (Bach & Hüge 2004: 18), giving way to immigrant workers and their families of mostly Turkish and middle Eastern backgrounds who moved into the then outdated and derelict Wilhelminian buildings, leading to a diverse local culture. At the same time the Reuterkiez gave room to alternative lifestyles inspired by the students' movement of the late 1960s, former backyard factories were converted to lofts and abandoned apartment houses were squatted. The area has seen new efforts to improve living conditions through public programs since the early 2000s and is now facing gentrification as a relatively new challenge: „In Neukölln [...] gentrification was unheard of until very recently and is now proceeding at an astonishing speed, driven by an enormous internationalization of in-movers“ (Holm, 2013: 175).

Tourism to Reuterkiez can mostly be defined as New Urban Tourism. There are no historical sites that would draw attention apart from a few listed buildings, but there is a certain flair, a hipster feels to it that attracts visitors and new locals from all over the global north. This influx of dwellers is changing the neighbourhood: rents are on the rise (from 6,08€ per sqm in 2009 to 12,90€ in 2018), more cafés, restaurants and galleries are opening while local stores and businesses are closing down. The district is turning “into one of the hippest places in town” (Lindner & Anker, 2011).

The neighbourhood around Boxhagener Platz is smaller in space (83 hectares) and population (20,400 inhabitants). Located between Boxhagener Straße, Warschauer Straße and the railway lines to Ostkreuz in the southeast of Friedrichshain, the neighborhood is part of the so called Südkiez (southern neighbourhood) of Friedrichshain. Being one of the traditional working-class neighbourhoods of East Berlin with a housing structure predominantly of the Wilhelminian era, Boxhagener Platz has seen major changes since the fall of the Berlin wall. Since the GDR housing policy concentrated mostly on the construction of large housing estates and modernizations of older buildings mostly relied on DIY projects, the housing stock in Friedrichshain was in a bad state (Gallenmüller, 2004: 93), partly abandoned or illegally inhabited (Wolf 2018: 152). During the administrative vacuum after the collapse of the GDR many abandoned buildings were squatted, most prominently in the Mainzer Straße near the Boxhagener Platz neighbourhood (Abramowski, 2003: 48). Even though most of the squatted buildings were evicted shortly after the German reunification and only few squats and bohemian housing projects remain today, a subversive spirit has influenced the neighbourhood for many years, be it the large grafitto “Deutschland verrecke!” (“Germany, croak!”) that could be seen from the S-Bahn for many years, or be it the many punk oriented bars or live music venues. In the southern part of the neighbourhood a partly disused Railway depot, the RAW-Gelände was converted into a location for (sub)cultural activities and events with several clubs, concert venues, bars and art galleries. Being a hub of many party locations in Berlin, RAW-Gelände is notorious for its drug scene. This caused the questionable reputation of the area around Warschauer Brücke and the Revaler Straße being mocked as ‘Techno hustling.’

Except for the (sub)cultural venues at the RAW-Gelände and the weekly markets on the central square, Boxhagener Platz is devoid of classic Tourist attractions, therefore Tourism to Boxhagener Platz consists of mainly New Urban Tourism and, due to the many bars and clubs, party tourism. But Boxhagener Platz seems to be attractive not only to tourists but also to young, international creative workers, employed by start-ups in the nearby Mediaspree area. A recent analysis by the local newspaper shows that Boxhagener Platz has one of Berlins highest concentrations of fully furnished apartments (Baum et al., 2019), catering to this population group. With that comes an increase in local rental prices from 6,91€ per sqm in 2009 to 13,77€ in 2018. For the locals this development lead not only to a sharp increase in living expenses, but also reduced residential quality due to noise, pollution and drug related crime in their immediate vicinity.

Both neighbourhoods are affected by tourism to Berlin. Boxhagener Platz is experiencing club and party tourism at night and on weekends and offers traditional accommodations in hotels and hostels as well as rooms and flats on platforms. Tourism here is a well-established economic pillar and while there are attempts to lessen the burden to inhabitants through noise-regulation and awareness programs, it is widely accepted that you know what to expect when renting here. Reuterkiez on the other hand is experiencing a different form of tourism: the neighbourhood itself is the sight that tourists want to see: the image of a cool, hipster, cheap, diverse, creative neighbourhood where opportunity and fun coincide and life is good draws people that want to live like locals. This poses a very unique threat to the area, very much akin to what Lefèbvre noted for historical spaces: “tourism causes a surge for them (historical spaces, TN), it subjects these spaces to their exchange value and thus makes them disappear” (Lefèbvre, 1977: 52, translation by authors). Rising rents and costs of living are pushing those out of the Reuterkiez that made the area attractive to tourists in the first place.

While tourism is an important economic driver in Berlin, the image of Berlin as the “capital of cool” is threatened by its success. In three decades neighbourhoods like Reuterkiez and Boxhagener Platz were catapulted from despair and neglect to being at the heart of gentrification and competition, strangling inhabitants with soaring costs and a fierce competition for public spaces.

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City tourist guide: from ideology tool to the promotion of consumerism (example of Lviv)

Abstract: *The image of the city is the representation of its physical and social spaces as a product or a picture created for an external observer or 'consumer'. In this case, the actors responsible for this representation (city government, business cluster, city residents, etc.) consider what it is necessary to demonstrate to the public – tourists in particular – with a political, economic, or any other purpose.*

This paper describes the transformations of the urban image of Lviv during two periods in the history of the city: the end of the Soviet domination (1989-90) and the period of independent Ukraine (1991 - present times). Investigation of the changes in the image of the city is done using the concepts of constructionism in the interpretation of Berger and Luckmann (1995) and quantitative-qualitative content analysis and discourse analysis of tourist guides of the two mentioned periods. Overall, 12 guides from three decades are analysed: four guides of 1989-99, two guides of 2000-9, and six – of 2010-19.

The results the analysis allow to conclude that although objects of cultural and artistic heritage predominate quantitatively in Lviv, Soviet-era guides positioned the city primarily as an industrial city, giving culture a secondary role. In addition, Soviet guides contain a powerful ideological component and could serve as a propaganda material. Guidebooks of Lviv in the period of independent Ukraine are ideologically unbiased, yet commercialized. Along with the architectural wonders of the city, a component of entertainments becomes widely represented. The observed trend is that the more recent the guide is, the more tourist-oriented it is.

Keywords: *tourist guides, architectural objects, city space, representation of the city.*

Introduction

The perception of the city is mainly personal, but it is also determined by the sociocultural environment. People view the surrounding social reality through the glance of the norms and rules of the group. Thus, a purely individual process of the construction of images is nevertheless affected by a particular situation or agents of its construction. Consequently, the construction of the image of the city can too be affected by the political system or city policy. Let us begin with the consideration of a theoretical basis for this phenomenon. Kevin Lynch identifies the following qualities contributing to the construction of the image of the city:

- identity: the presence or absence of significant or immediately recognizable objects that characterize the city or its parts, symbols of a city, territory or space;

¹ Department of Sociology, Ukrainian Catholic University, Lviv. E-Mail: k.inha@ucu.edu.ua

- structure: the presence of interconnections between a viewer and the environment; a semantic situation where the objects of the environment make a single ensemble rendering a humanistic meaning;
- imageability: the ability of a space to be an imaginary field of symbolic communication and promote sociocultural communication between subjects of various types and levels (Lynch, 1982).

This way, the image of the city is the first thing its visitors are offered to consume.

The theory of Benedict Anderson presented in his book *Imagined Communities* can further help to understand the functional side of the construction of the image of the city and determine how and why some narratives are used. Anderson suggests that there are three tools that help to create the image of a nation and which a state can use to create itself – a census, a map and a museum (Anderson, 1983). While being less influential, a tourist guide may somehow serve the role of a map as a tool of demonstration of the prevalent discourse.

As the main goal of this paper is to interpret how various agents create the image of the city thus legalizing the form of spreading knowledge about the city and its history, the major theoretic frame of the analysis will be constructionism as understood by Berger and Luckman. Current research investigates how tourist guides are used for the perpetual dialectic process of interiorization, exteriorization, and objectification. Interiorization is understood as retention of the existing objectified system by an individual or a group. Exteriorization is viewed as the process of a daily construction of behaviour of an individual or a group. Objectification is understood as a symbolic transition of value from metaphysical to physical categories.

Method

The transformations of the urban image of Lviv during two periods of city history: the end of Soviet domination (1989-90) and the period of independent Ukraine (1991 - present times), was studied with the help of quantitative-qualitative content analysis and basic critical discourse analysis of tourist guides of the two mentioned periods. To facilitate the analysis, all tourist guides were split into three sets depending on the decade when they were published. Overall, 12 guides from three decades were analysed: four guides of 1989-99, two guides of 2000-9, and six guides of 2010-19.

A numerical value for quantitative analysis is the presence of the category – a model of city presentation, elements of the model of city presentation – in the texts of separate tourist guides. The possible models of city presentation tested for during the content analysis are:

- model of presentation through a city, that is complex representation of a city as such;
- model of presentation through a district or a route, that is presentation of separate districts and routes as representing the identity of the city or city space;
- model of presentation through a street, that is peculiar presentation of buildings or other aspects of a street that have historical significance;
- model of presentation through objects, that is peculiar presentation of architectural ensembles, monuments, establishments, etc.

In the process of analysis, the model of presentation through objects has been further diversified into the presentation of

(1) a building:

- architectural monuments;

- buildings hosting the element of social infrastructure, e.g. post offices, prisons, hospitals, banks, etc.;
- buildings hosting production, e.g. plants or factories (present in tourist guides of the Soviet period);
- buildings hosting elements of entertainment or tourist infrastructure, e.g. hotels, casinos, skiing rings, cafes, etc.

(2) a monument;

(3) a theatre, a museum, a concert hall, a library, etc.

(4) a religious building.

Separate categories that were not included into the analysis are parks and cemeteries, as they cannot be considered objects in the classical sense of this word.

Results

The Period of 1989-99

The first tourist guide of the period was issued in 1989 to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of reunion of the Western Ukraine with the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. This guide became some kind of a report for the city-building activity. The guide is an example of the model of presentation through objects [tab. 1].

The dating of the guide	A route/a district	A street or a square	A building	A monument	A theatre, a museum, a concert hall or a library	A religious building	A park	A cemetery
1989	0	0	75	8	9	14	4	0
1991	0	13	83	1	2	22	1	0
1992	6	0	6	0	0	24	0	0
1999	10	244	733	11	44	36	9	16
2005	0	17	22	13	7	17	3	2
2006	6	0	79	4	42	25	2	1
2010	0	0	7	2	2	21	0	1
2012	0	1	4	1	2	22	1	1
2013	10	1	42	30	4	22	0	1
2015	5	1	4	20	39	29	5	0
2016	6	23	55	8	7	30	2	1
2018	0	0	6	0	1	18	0	0



Table 1. The quantitative analysis of the models of city representation in the guides of 1989-2018.

Since the majority of buildings in the historical city centre that have architectural value belong to the Austrian period, the authors of the guide devote much attention to its description. Nevertheless, they also describe buildings of the modern period pointing to a number of residential areas build at the distance from the historical city centre (Trehubova & Mykh, 1989).

Considering the text of the guide from the viewpoint of basic critical discourse analysis, it has a distinct ideological colouring. Such inferences may be made from the very naming the authors use for various historical periods of the city: City-warrior. City-merchant (thirteenth – eighteenth centuries), The Capital of a Large Province (nineteenth – early twentieth centuries), In the Great New Family, the Family of the Free (1940-50), The Youth of an Ancient City (1960-80) (Trehubova & Mykh, 1989). There are many other examples proving the ideological burden of the guide. For example, characterizing the period of Austrian rule, the authors state that after the First Partition of Poland in 1772, Lviv was captured by the Austrian Empire, which Friedrich Engels called the bulwark of barbarianism and retarded reaction in Europe (Trehubova & Mykh, 1989). At the same time, the socialist transformation is described as the period of the development of production and city building, the beginning of the real life of Lviv and flourishing of the city (Trehubova & Mykh, 1989).

Another tourist guide of this period was authored by Vuitsyk and published in 1991. It was a second edition of the tourist guide of 1979. As it can be seen from the footnotes, the guide was prepared for publishing while Ukraine was still a part of USSR, but was probably eventually published when Ukraine had already gained independence.

The tourist guide presents of the city through objects: buildings – monuments of architecture and religious buildings [tab.1]. Both the previous and this guide devote much attention to the plans of the buildings. Nevertheless, while the guide of 1989 dealt mostly with plans of residential houses, this guide focuses on plans of religious buildings. This guide describes the central part of the city and several neighbouring streets, not going into details about other districts of the city. Basically, it represents the historical guide on the city: the historical-descriptive narrative takes the third of the guide, the remaining part being taken by large photos of architectural and religious building with short notices. The text is scientifically neutral and does not have any evaluative judgments or comparison of various historical periods of the city development. Considering the number of visuals, this guide resembles the guides of 2010-19.

The author of another tourist guide of this period published in 1992 is Olena Stepaniv, a junior officer in the Ukrainian Galician Army. Considering the results of the quantitative analysis, this guide also represents the city through objects, but it does so focusing exclusively on religious buildings [tab.1]. This is a second edition of the tourist guide originally published in 1943. The guide is basically historical-geographical: it describes the location of Lviv, its landscapes and rivers, positioning of factories, etc (Stepaniv, 1992). It is a historical-geographical narrative written in a distinct academic language.

The last tourist guide of this period dates back to 1999 and gives the most detailed information about the Lviv objects of all the analysed tourist guides [tab.1]. This guide uses the model of representation through objects [tab.1]. The objects comprise various buildings that represent architectural, cultural, or artistic value or are famous for being homes to prominent magnates, artists or political activists (Biryulov & Rudnytskyi, 1999). A peculiar feature of this tourist guide that makes it different from other guides of later periods but close to the guide of 1989 is the presentation of newly built districts – in other guides, these are simply absent, as if labelled 'non-for-tourists'. Nevertheless, the guide is rather a historical narrative, not a laconic invitation to visit some interesting sites of Lviv tourists might be seeking. This creates a feeling that the audience of the guide is rather Lviv citizens and domestic tourists, even though it was obviously not the intention of the publishers as the guide contained English translation.

The Period of 2000-9

Overall, 2000-9 are the years of transition from historical representation of the city to the consumerist one. The guide of 2005 represents the city through objects and deals mainly with buildings – architectural monuments [tab.1]. Notably, it does not only mention museums, but also describes their expositions. The guide also mentions 24 entertainment sites (Kozytskyi, 2005).

The tourist guide of 2006 authored by Palkov is another example of representation through objects, mainly buildings with historical-artistic value [tab.1]. It had no suggestions of leisure, but mentioned major events (festivals) of the city, which makes it more tourists-oriented considering the ideology of consumerism (Palkov, 2006). Notable, when republished in 2011, the tourist guide received a different introduction, more visuals and less text, and notices about 66 cafes and restaurants as objects where tourists could spend time enjoying themselves (Palkov, 2011).

The period of 2010-19

The first tourist guide of this period published in 2010 and authored by Mashukov and Vetrov was analogous with the guide of 1999 – much more concise and comfortable to use. What is more, along with the Ukrainian text, it contained both English and Polish variants. Thus, there was a notable transformation from an indistinct tourist from the West towards the usual tourist from a neighbouring country.

As in other cases, the guide represents the city through objects, mainly religious buildings [tab.1]. It is written in a neutral descriptive language. Considering that the guide targeted tourists from Poland, it is worth mentioning that it had a powerful marker – the Polish memorial of the defenders of Lviv in 1918-19 (Mashukov & Vetrov, 2010). The same guide was republished in 2012 with a number of changes. The focus on the presentation through objects remained, but the very objects were changed: four religious buildings were cut out, while the arsenal museum, Strytskyi park, and one more Polish marker – the Potocki palace appeared (Vetrov, 2012).

The following guide, *Top-10 Lviv.ua*, published in 2013 is one of the most advertised Lviv tourist guides. The guide is written in a neutral descriptive language and is translated into Russian, Polish, English and German.

Its peculiarity is that all the described routes had top ten sites tourists were invited to visit. Thus, it saved tourists' time for consideration on the one hand and increased the value of objects included into the list on the other hand. In addition, the guide had several uncommon for other guides objects; in particular, some buildings in the central part of the city, which other guides did not mention. Another peculiar feature of the guide is the lists of top-ten events and facts about Lviv, top-ten interesting places, top-ten places for recreation and entertainment, and top-ten facts about the comfort, security and bargaining in the city (Lylio, 2013). The guide recommended ten cultural events tourists should visit in Lviv and the number of establishments where tourists were invited to enjoy themselves accounted to 110 (Lylio, 2013). Interesting to note, this is the only guide that also safeguarded tourists. All these features make it the most tourist-oriented of all analysed guides.

In the guides of 2015 and 2016, the prevailing model of city representation is the presentation through objects [tab.1]. The guides do not offer any leisure options. Their language is neutral descriptive. The focus of the 2015 guide is mainly on the objects of

cultural-artistic value (theatres, museums, galleries, etc.) and religious buildings. In the guide of 2016, a significant focus is made on the cultural-artistic value of buildings. The guide of 2018 does not offer any leisure options, but it has a nice look, is written in a neutral language and has many visuals. Lemko, the author of the guide emphasizes that he chose the objects he considered the most interesting in Lviv (Lemko, 2018). Religious buildings received the most attention [tab.1].

Discussion

It is difficult to analyse Soviet-time guides starting with 1989, as this is already the period of the Khrushchev 'thaw' nearing the collapse of the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, the rhetoric of the guides of this period is still ideologically biased: even though the objects of cultural-artistic heritage prevail quantitatively, they represent Lviv primarily as an industrial city and focus on the flourishing of the city during the Soviet times. Comparing to the guides of later periods, they are more historically-oriented than practical.

The tourist guides of 2000-9 are more practical and give a concise review of major sites tourists could visit in one day. They also focus on architectural peculiarities of Lviv and its cultural-artistic value, but already contain the mentions of leisure options and cultural events. The guides of 2010-19 are even more consumer-oriented and create the image of the city as a cultural-artistic centre full of material symbols and options for leisure and entertainment. Overall, the results of analysis allow to conclude that the more recent the guide is, the more tourist-oriented it is. Even if it does not focus on entertainment and leisure options, it is still more appealing for a consumer: it has more visual and more concise descriptions.

Such change might have been affected by policymakers of the time. Namely, in 2007, the President of Ukraine adopted the decree #136/2007 "On the Measures of Tourism and Resorts Development in Ukraine". Following this decree, in 2008, Lviv, together with the international consulting company Monitor Group and the Fund "Effective Management", developed a strategy for the economic competitiveness of the city. Among the 15 prospective economic clusters, the clusters of tourism, IT and business services were called the most competitive. Therefore, the parties developed a strategy of sustainable economic development of the city that had to increase the competitiveness of the city by developing its key clusters (Instytut mista, 2008). Once tourism was expected to substantially contribute the budget of the city and the country, it was necessary to make the stay of the tourists comfortable and emphasize how and where they can spend money in the city.

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CHAPTER 7

Contentious Mobility Governance: Mobility as an entry point to understanding urban governance in post-Soviet Cities

The statement that mobility ‘is the predominant means by which one engages with the modern world’ (Adey 2010) is especially true for the urban environment. The post-Soviet city is no exception in this regard, inhabiting layers of ‘modern worlds’ in heterogeneous transport infrastructure assemblages and at the same time mirroring the multifaceted challenges and disruptions and developments during the last three decades. At large, often due to multiple and overlapping reasons – lack of public transport provisioning, ever increasing motorization levels, poor vehicle maintenance and technical quality assurance – mobility practices in post-soviet settings are by a majority perceived as inadequate, challenging and time consuming. Despite the socio-spatial importance of urban mobility governance and bottom-up mobility practices, research on urban mobility has so far received marginal and at best sporadic attention in understanding the multifaceted trajectory of post-soviet transformations.

Building upon the conviction that urban mobility is best understood as a ‘politicised armature’ and a ‘potential venue of new articulations of politics’ (Jensen 2009), the session will be exploring conflicting considerations of stakeholders in shaping urban mobility governance. Although post-soviet mobility governance revealed more about non-governance practices of municipal and national authorities rather than about master plans and long-term strategies – even more so against the backdrop of Soviet-era investments into public transport systems – recent efforts to change the urban transport assemblage serve as an important entry point to understand how urban politics play out in post-soviet cities.

Therefore, we will touch upon transport modernisation endeavours, aiming at drawing public legitimacy and enthusiastically trying to approximate what is imagined as “European” urban transport. On the other hand, road construction and widening is still widespread, coupled with lack of effort in regulating private taxi sector, private car inspection and unruly parking practices – often to the detriment of marginalised groups. Bringing in empirical evidence of significant urban struggles with their mobility regimes applied in very different locations and under various preconditioning obstacles, the session aims to map the major contentious point of post-Soviet urban mobility governance, and identify future research agendas in this direction.

Wladimir Sgibnev, Leibniz Institute for Regional Geography

Lela Rekhviashvili, Leibniz Institute for Regional Geography

Tonio Weicker, Technical University of Berlin

Tauri Tuvikene, Centre for Landscape and Culture, Tallinn University

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- 1** New class of cyclists - beyond the rules of current cities / Cermak, M.
 - 2** Immobility and challenges of modernization: car parking in Warsaw / Kurnicki, K.
 - 3** Post-socialist mobility justice / Sgibnev, W., Rekhviashvili, L., Tuvikene, T.
 - 4** Marshrutka 2.0 – How YandexTaxi fundamentally shifts the transport labour market in contemporary Russian cities / Weicker, T.

New class of cyclists - beyond the rules of current cities

Abstract: *This paper investigates urban mobility practices of people on fixed gear or road racing bikes which are used in the city for everyday trips and commutes. Rising number of inhabitants in our cities come hand in hand with rising number of cars which move and are parked in cities. This culture of automobility and car dependency results in the inability to perceive the city differently but through the front window of a car (Urry, 2006). This phenomenon is even more noticeable in the cities which undergone post-communist transformation such as Prague. The post-communist development usually massively focused on land development in the urban hinterland and urban cores increasing traffic congestion (Sykora, Bouzarovski, 2012). Process of suburbanization, seen as non-sustainable, overshadowed attention on development of sustainable forms of transportation. In the study, I focus on people who ride a fixed gear or a road racing bike and by means of this urban shared practice they demonstrate their attitude to the current state of the city, and generally, to the society. Those individuals are conscious rebels of contemporary cities. Their “right to the city” is negotiated in the streets everyday even though their position is peripheral and outnumbered by cars. They are self-marginalized fighters in The Contested City (Low, 1996). The main goal of the study is to discover how they construct and live their everyday social space, who they are and what is the importance of the bicycle for them. Methodologically, besides semi-structured interviews, I am applying a method of visual ethnography, specifically “ride-along” perspective (Spinney, 2011; Vannini, 2017). The method is visually appealing because it can capture the moment when it happens.*

Keywords: bike, mobility, everydayness.

Introduction

This paper investigates urban mobility practices of people on fixed gear² or road racing bikes in Prague, Czechia, which are used in the city for everyday movement. As my pre-research is still going on and the proper research has not started yet I can only mention present experience and add them to my hypothesis and build upon it. The paper introduces a view on the mobility which is not directly connected to a basic movement from A to B but tries to shed light on the mobility which is carried out for a pleasure and for the sense of a

¹ Faculty of Humanities, Charles University, Prague. E-Mail: cermak.mart@gmail.com

² Fixed gear bikes are track bikes primarily not intended for use in traffic but used for racing at a velodrome with no brakes. To brake, you have to apply power to pedals against the straight movement, in opposite way and skid. A ride on these bikes is more demanding because you have to pedal all the time, uphill or downhill. there is no freewheel. These bikes were first used for transportation by messengers in New York and San Francisco. Reasons are many but one them is reliability because of the uncomplicated construction.

corporeal activity. It shows a different and not so common view on movement in general. Furthermore, this paper is focused on corporeal sensory activity in the city versus automobility, at some point, it can get feeling to be prejudiced against cars.

Sensory experience while cycling already researched Cook and Edensor (2017). They explored how landscape at night can be specifically experienced with a focus upon ways in which smelling and hearing the landscape can become important at particular moments, questioning the ocular-centrism in accounts of landscape.

Cresswell (cited in Cook & Edensor, 2017) contends that studies of travel and mobility have often ignored the qualitative experience of journeys. Roberts (2010) states that the everyday practice of using legs for mobility is largely forgotten (except as a leisure activity). Larsen (2014) pursues embodied, sensuous and mobile autoethnography which is carried out on a bike, he illuminates how he started commuting and his body and mind get used to all elements and distance you can on the road during the commute experience.

The body senses as it moves, through kinaesthetic skill, merging sensory experience that informs one what the body is doing in space through the sensations of movement registered in joints, muscles, tendons and so on with intention and bodily memory... It combines with touch... sight, hearing, smell and other sensory impressions to perform the body's motion, as well as intense emotions (Büscher & Urry, 2011: 6).

A rising number of inhabitants in our cities comes hand in hand with a rising number of cars which move and are parked in cities. A culture of automobility and car dependency is not only presented by more cars in the streets but also by decline free public space in cities. The car dependency and their unambiguous preference results in the inability to perceive the city differently but through the front window of a car.

(...) car-drivers lose the ability to perceive local detail, to talk to strangers, to learn of local ways of life, to stop and sense each different place. Sights, sounds, tastes, temperatures and smells get reduced to the two-dimensional view through the car windscreen and through the rear mirror (...) (Urry, 2006: 23).

The phenomenon of automobility is even more noticeable in the cities which undergone post-communist transformation such as Prague. The post-communist development usually massively focused on land development in the urban hinterland and neglected urban cores, which are witnessing increasing traffic congestion and at the same time outflow of people (Sykora, Bouzarovski, 2009). Automobiles have traditionally been viewed as a decisive force and major facilitator for the continuous suburbanization of cities, and as such, they have permitted urban population growth and spread through spatial expansion.

However, simultaneously with the facilitation of urban spatial expansion, automobiles also required much space for their very operations, for both traffic and parking, thus bringing about even further spatial expansion (Kellerman, 2006: 146). The process of suburbanization of cities is seen as non-sustainable, it overshadows attention on the development of sustainable forms of urban mobility.

There are people, who I focus on in this paper, who contradict this lifestyle and as an alternative mean of mobility chose a bicycle. These people, I will call later on as Riders, they ride a fixed gear or a road racing bike and by means of this urban shared practice demonstrate their attitude to the current state of the city, and generally, to the society. Those individuals are conscious rebels of contemporary cities. Their Right to the City (Lefebvre,

1991; Harvey, 2008) is negotiated every day in the streets even though their position is peripheral and outnumbered by cars. They are self-marginalized fighters in *The Contested City* (Low, 1996).

Production of Everyday Clash

To see the intended conflict between Riders and automobility and better illustrate it more in-depth there is employed Lefebvre's matrix *The Production of Space*. Lefebvre (1991: 38-39) states that the conflict between abstract and social space is a basic one in modern society. According to him, abstract space and Social space are compared to the presumed clash between Riders and automobility. Abstract space symbolizes car dominance in the cities. In other words, it is used for fragmentation, homogenization and commodification. It is the use of space by capitalists for profit. Social space represents Riders as is it could be users of the city. Social space is the space of everyday lived experience, an environment as a place to live. Lefebvre is particularly concerned with the production of space under capitalism. The Production of Space involves spatial practices (spatial patterns of everyday life), representations of space (conceptual models used to direct social practice and land-use planning), and spaces of representation (the lived social relation of users to the built environment). Perceived Space (Spatial Practices) is a space that has a perceivable aspect which can be grasped by the senses - not only seeing but hearing, smelling, touching, and tasting. This observable aspect of space directly relates to the materiality of the "elements" that constitute "space" (property, other forms of capital). Conceived Space (Representations of Spaces) refers to knowledge and practises which organize and represent space. Space cannot be perceived as such without having been conceived in mind previously. Lived Space (Spaces of Representation) is the collective lived experience of space. This dimension denotes the world as it is experienced by human beings in the practice of their everyday life (Lefebvre, 1991).

On Mobility - as a pleasure

Cycling does not constitute mere technology for movement from origins to destinations. The open connection between body and landscape while cycling provides for what Spinney (2006) termed 'hybrid rhythms', and furthermore, 'a focus on the perceptions and movements of the cyclist can excavate contextualized everyday meanings by illustrating the dialectical relationship between place, practice, and representation'. (Kellerman, 2006: 92).

Cycling in the sense of mobility as a pleasure, as a corporeal activity, may be compared to walking, there are a few aspects that are similar for both activities. People walk / cycle less than in the past, walking in the city is preoccupied with cars, senses are full of pollution and so on, cycling / walking is usually slower than automobility. Kellerman (2006) states that walking is the declining form of mobility at large and of corporeal mobility in particular, other than probably for physical training. For the purpose of this paper, cycling and walking will be comprehended as a mutually interchangeable activity. Analysing movement of a cyclist as spatial practices (De Certeau, 1984) that appropriate urban environment in their own way, counter-map the urban space against its infrastructural deficiencies and based on their own good or bad experiences (Summers, 2017).

Even pedestrians can be distinguished between "normal" pedestrians and walkers.

(...) to distinguish between pedestrians at large, on the one hand, and walkers, on the other, the latter constituting a special class of pedestrians' (...) 'whose bodies follow the cursives and strokes of an urban "text" they write without reading' (Kellerman, 2006: 88).

This quotation can also apply to cyclists since there are commuters who just ride from A to B for some reasons, and Riders who like to ride just for (no reason) the purpose of pedalling. This paper categorized cyclists as follows, at this point there is a switch pedestrian – commuter; walker – Rider; walking - cycling: A pedestrian is perceived as a commuter by bike and Rider is perceived as a walker. Moreover, there is a proposing comparison to Benjamin, who sees walkers as the “*flâneur*“, the stroller, who wandered around the city sampling life in a distracted and unpremeditated form (Urry, 1995). Here, the Rider can be seen as a cycling „*flâneur*“. The concept cycling flaneur or flaneur on wheels was brought by Norcliffe (2001). His idea is rooted on a premise that flaneur in the urban space, at the same time, is watching and being watched.

Walter Benjamin's solitary “*flâneur*“, constituted a special type of walkers, associated with leisure, with crowds, with alienation or detachment, with observation, with walking, particularly with strolling in the arcades (Solnit, 2000:199). Cycling may mean much for individuals. Repeated cycling through well-known streets and paths may reaffirm a sense of being (Urry, 2000: 141). Urban cycling is more like travel, and thus involves danger, exile, discovery, and transformation (Solnit, 2000: 188). Furthermore, urban cycling is complex as far as individual motivation is concerned, ranging from soliciting, cruising, promenading and shopping, to rioting, protesting, skulking and loitering (Kellerman, 2006: 89). De Certeau and Urry consider cycling as a speech using space as a language; cyclists speak and write texts through the space language (cited in Kellerman 2006: 91).

Whilst patterns or spatial structures are the outcomes of a long-term development and their basic character is reproduced and confirmed by everyday human activities, they are also reshaped by those human activities that do not correspond to existing patterns (Novak & Sýkora; Cronin cited in Spinney, 2010).

Cycling in the urban context vitalizes space through the creation of human movements, and it further maintains and significantly contributes to creating a living urban space (Kellerman, 2006: 91).

Methodology

Methodologically, besides semi-structured interviews, I am applying a method of visual ethnography, specifically “ride/go-along” perspective (Spinney, 2011; Vannini, 2017). The method is visually appealing because it can capture the moment when it happens.

Go-along unveils the complex layering and filtering of perception: they can help ethnographers reconstruct how personal sets of relevance guide their informants' experiences of the social and physical environment in everyday life. Go-along offers insights into the texture of spatial practices by revealing the subjects' various degrees and types of engagement in and with the environment. Go-along provides unique access to personal biographies. They highlight the many links between places and life histories, thus uncovering some of the ways in which individuals lend depth and meaning to their mundane routines. Go-along can illuminate the social architecture of natural settings such as neighbourhoods. They

make visible the complex web of connections between people, that is, their various relationships, groupings and hierarchies; and they reveal how informants situate themselves in the local social landscape. Go-along facilitate explorations of social realms, that is, the distinct spheres of reality that are shaped by varying patterns of interaction. (Kusenbach, 2003: 466).

Conclusion

As my pre-research is still going on and the proper research has not started yet I can only mention present experience and add them to my hypothesis and build upon it. So far, the Riders are very different from other city cyclists. There can be seen some similarity with city messengers, not only the type of bikes but because of peculiar distinctive fashion style, but as I know, nobody from the group I was with makes a living from the delivery. Based on my ethnography I started to see some Riders as the Benjamin's „*flaneur*“. I was not in deep interviews as I have just a few meetings. I want to be in the group of Riders, which is not consistent for the city rides, taken as much as naturally and I want to experience a few rides beforehand I get into semi-structured interviews. Neither I have an opportunity to talk through the relationship or meaning the bike to them. I want to be somehow experienced before I step to go-along method.

Spiney (2006: 716) emphasizes that researching in the saddle was therefore as much about building up the skills and endurance to ride in close proximity to other riders at high speeds over long distances as it was about listening and asking the right questions. (...) In this way, physical training was equally important to the research (...).

As I have the opportunity to undergo a couple of city rides, there must be stated that it can be perceived as not cycling any more but rather called it as flying through the city. Not obeying traffic rules is quite a certain thing. When I had a chat about it, I obtained a response very similar to this that I cite here.

It makes a lot of sense in terms of my personal safety. I mean there are a lot of things that you do on a bicycle that are not in the rules but make a lot of sense for one's safety and you know the rules are designed to ensure everyone's safety but it doesn't for cyclists. (Spinney, 2010).

At this point, I am going to end up the conclusion with putting another two citations that illuminate my existing ethnographical experience with Riders. Since I have not carried out recorded interviews yet I cite Weatherby and Sale about messengers and riding style, which is very much alike to what I have experienced so far.

They rush through openings and between motor cars often only inches away from disaster and they have the cheerful devil-may-care attitude of people who live constantly with danger To understand their dedication, you have to see them blowing their whistles as they perform incredible cycling feats in reaching some inaccessible place in record time. Their faces invariably reflect a sense of high adventure, one of the oldest adventures known to human beings: that of the messenger delivering his message against all the odds (Weatherby cited in Horton et al., 2007: 182).

Commuting cyclists dress down: old trousers and a yellow reflective stripe over the shoulder. Couriers by contrast dress up as if they were going surfing. As indeed

they are, surfing the waves of traffic, diving past vans, taxis and other sharks in the swirling metropolitan waters (Sale cited in Horton et al., 2007: 182).

Even though my research has not fully started yet, there can be observed, at this point of the pre-research, that the topic of urban mobility on a fixed gear or road racing bike is well saturated for a further urban research. If consider urban mobility as interweaved with aspects of sensory experience, corporeal activity a some “*flaneur-ism*”. There can be possibly found a lot of ways how to approach these urban topics from different angles and make a beneficial research.

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Immobility and challenges of modernization: car parking in Warsaw

Abstract: *This paper is based on the on-going research on car parking practices in European cities. The underlying argument is that immobility is as important a mobility in understanding how urban space is controlled and what are the consequences of variegated production of infrastructure in post-socialist context. Analysing car parking helps to shed light on political processes of modernization and trace some of its reinterpretations and applications. I present a case of Warsaw, where issues related to parking are particularly acute. Organization of mobility in that city is characterized by a split character – major road-building investments, exceptionally high number of cars and huge daily inflow of vehicles from around the county contrast with ostensible attempts to create liveable urban spaces and promote environmental sustainability. The tension is fuelled by essentially mixed ownership of space, divided by different public and private actors who have often conflicting interests. As a result, the so-called “parking problem” is highly contentious and engages people both on everyday and administrative level. It has been one of the major topics in municipal elections in October 2018 and constantly figures in a struggle between politicians, activists and regular citizens. I recall and analyse these discussions in order to show complicated issue of car parking as something that goes beyond common visions of urban development and “catching up with the West”. Promoting individual automobility produces problems with immobility which cannot be ignored in the long run. The case of parking shows that modernization brings adverse effects that become entangled in conflicts over its very nature. In this situation, urban governance must address the question of different visions of modernity, rather than follow seemingly preordained path to (imaginary) progress. Therefore, immobility is highly political area related to the essence of post-socialist condition.*

Keywords: *parking, immobility, modernization, urban politics.*

Background

According to a widespread assumption persisting in Poland, driving a car is a sign of affluence and being modern (Beckmann, 2001). Although it might be a characteristic of all countries where system of automobility (Urry, 2004) developed, in this part of the world the car-centric attitude arguably came belatedly when compared to Western countries and has retained greater intensity. Historically it has been embedded in both state strategies of development and personal trajectories of being “materially established” (Pobłocki, 2012). Designing and producing vehicles has been a point of pride for most of the countries in Eastern

¹ University of Warwick, Institute of Advanced Study, Centre for Interdisciplinary Methodologies. E-Mail: kurnicki@gmail.com

Europe. In Poland, a major car factory was opened only 3 years after the end of war and soon started producing cars – named, characteristically, “Warszawa” – based on Soviet projects. At the beginning of the short-lived economic acceleration and socialist consumerism of the 1970, the introduction of new cars under the licence from Italian Fiat (called *Polski Fiat*) symbolised simultaneously capacities of the state, growing individual consumption and “small stabilisation” of everyday life quality. The expansion of automobility in the country seeped to popular culture – in one widely-watched TV series (*Czterdziestolatek*, 1975 – 1978) the main protagonist is an engineer who oversees construction of large-scale road building projects. The persistence of automobility as a significant element of state capacities can also be found in the example of the motorway between Warsaw and Silesia, which is – after the First Secretary of the party Edward Gierek who promoted its construction – nicknamed *Gierkówka*. After 2010, the roads renovated in the comprehensive programme under the auspices of Interior Minister have been popularly named after him (*Schetynówka*). Throughout the 1990s consecutive governments promised to effect nationwide motorway building programmes and the issue has been for many years one of the central elements of political game. The number of cars registered in the country have been raising significantly to this day. During the transformation, cars literally become vehicles of modernization.

The association of cars with modernization and progress is based on cars in movement, ones that provide mobility (both spatial and social), support progress and signify advancement. What is missing is the fact that for most of the time cars are stationary and stay immobile on roadsides, in car parks, garages or private spots. In this article I would like to consider several aspects of this stillness (Bissel & Fuller, 2011) in the context of post-socialist mobility and urban development. The text is based on the ongoing research about car parking in the perspective that connects everyday mobility and infrastructure production that includes Warsaw as one of the locations (London and Utrecht are other two).

My general aim is to show the importance of parking for the understanding of automobility, and, in the wider sense, urban space as it is taken over, partitioned and appropriated for immobility. To do so, I look at car parking as a social practice that connects personal activity, materiality of the car and infrastructure. Here, I will focus mainly on the infrastructural side of parking in post-socialist context, especially as it is enmeshed in debates around various interests of road users, organization of transport and quality of life. In so doing, I plan to highlight the importance of parking for understanding of post-socialist mobilities. In my view the analysis of parking enables to observe usually hidden effects of modernization. Under the surface of debates on automobility infrastructure and car use as an indicator of “catching up with the West” exist a number of issues that complicate the “march of progress” as it has been envisaged during the systemic transformation and even before (Tuvikene, 2018).

Parking as infrastructure

Before looking closer at parking in Warsaw, I would like to turn to infrastructure as one of the dimensions that reveals tensions and conflicts over development of urban mobilities. The capacity to build infrastructure of different kinds is characteristic for modern states and regimes that try to emulate them. Specifically, road network seems to play a role in demonstrating development and progress (Harvey Knox, 2012; Kuligowski & Stanisiz, 2017), perhaps because – unlike sewage system or electrical grid – it remains on the surface and its use is public and conspicuous. Parking is almost never seen in this context and rarely

understood as a comprehensive and controllable system where universal standards apply. There are roads for moving cars built and regulated by state and local administrations, and car parks and parking spaces of various types for which little regulation apply. Despite the existence of urban planning norms that dictate sizes of parking spots and number of them per inhabitant of an area or new development, the provision of infrastructure for mobility and immobility is very uneven. It is as if the responsibility for taking care of the car became individualized at the moment of stopping. Or, to put it differently, as if the car and its (mobile) promises get detached from problems with parking.

Another thing that parking makes visible, especially in post-socialist cities, is the fact that it constitutes a kind of infrastructure that diverges from definitions established elsewhere and reveals splintering characteristics of urban systems (Graham & Marvin, 2001). Parking infrastructure is connective, collective and obdurate (Shove et al., 2015) but at the same time is composed of different kinds of elements (such as private/public/semi-public spots), fragmented, unstable and often provisional. In Warsaw these characteristics are exacerbated by the ownership structure of land, which is a complicated mixture of private, social, municipal and state-owned plots, managed by many actors. This fragmentation translates into a dispersion of responsibility for the organization of car immobility in the city – a situation in which individual drivers are free to park in illegal or semi-legal places with little danger of being punished. Parking infrastructure is created incrementally (Silver, 2014) and situationally “layered” among existing material and immaterial arrangements (Cass et al., 2018). The persistent systemic malfunction (which in itself is one of exceptional characteristics of parking) strengthens the perception of entitlement to occupy space with vehicles and create a “right to parking”, which guides social practices.

Parking situation in Warsaw

Apart from wider cultural and infrastructural factors, the current state of parking situation in Warsaw is defined mainly by the high number of cars in the city. This is exceptionally high and stands at 715 per 1000 of inhabitants (data for 2017; GUS 2018). Capital of Poland is additionally affected by vehicular transport because of high number of cars that arrive or pass through it during the day (numbers range from 400.000 to 1 million, depending on the source). This makes the problems of automobility noticeable and stimulates reaction from the municipality. At the same time, last decades were marked by significant investment in the upgrade of road infrastructure, largely EU-funded even before 2004. In Warsaw, the development of road network made driving noticeably more comfortable and encouraged car use. Further improvements are underway, however in the capital they go hand in hand with the expansion of metro system, seen as a showcase project by the city hall, as well as tram and bus connections, which balance the use of individual vehicles. In this context, road building projects are both widely accepted by citizens as an improvement and for municipal administration much easier to undertake and manage than parking. The latter is provided by the city mainly as park & ride car parks built in the vicinity of metro stations and as organised publicly available spots (mainly along the roads) within the parking zone that covers central areas.

Considering exceptionally high number of cars, all this is a ground for the shift in the debate from cars and mobility towards parking as one of the major issues requiring solution. I would argue that in Warsaw and other Polish cities this is only the beginning of change and in the

next years “parking problems” will become more pronounced in public debates, election campaigns and everyday local conflicts. Chaotic parking will also fuel conflicts with pedestrians and possibly changes in regulations of better enforcement of existing law.

The intensification of discussion about parking is a reassertion of problems that result from the kind of modernisation implemented after the collapse of socialist state. In Warsaw, the modernisation in transportation that by and large follows plans envisaged in the past combines with factors emerging during transformation period, such as fragmentation and privatisation of urban space and ineffective urban planning policies (Drozda, 2016; Kusiak, 2017). Parking problems are a return of the difficulties produced by the modernisation itself, that were always there but now, due to their intensity and visibility, can no longer be ignored.

Debate on parking in Warsaw

The ongoing debate about parking in Warsaw gained prominence during the run-up to the local elections in October 2018. Two main candidates supported by major parties were in some ways implicated with ruling camps, either in the city or in the national parliament, which limited their ability for critical arguments. The candidate associated mainly with the liberal, centre-right party of the leaving mayor (who was in the position for the last 12 years and whose office planned to spend public money on multi-level car parks in the city centre), has been in favour of a continuation of existing policies and during his campaign presented a plan for the construction of new parking places, including car parks in central areas of the city. At the same time, he had to consider young and progressive voters for whom good quality of public spaces and comfortable public transport is becoming a priority. The other main candidate, who belongs to the right-wing and unambiguously conservative party majoring in the national parliament, needed to present policies that would be attractive to voters beyond those who normally support his party. One of the ways in which he was trying to do so, was proposing ambitious development projects, such as smart city district on the banks of the river, construction of the third and fourth metro lines (Warsaw is now in the process of building second line) and building new car parks. For instance, he proposed to build an 8-levels car park in the so-called “Mordor” – an office district in the south of the city notorious, among other things, for its commute difficulties. In general outlook, there was hardly a difference in the approach to parking between the two candidates. They were both in favour of the modernisation strategy that largely followed developmentalist solutions to problems with (im)mobility.

The alternative visions were provided by groups of urban activists, who also had their candidates in the election, and argued for restrictions in car use, including limitation of parking. They countered the mainstream approaches of other parties with ideas recalling elements of mobility justice (Sheller 2018). One particularly active association, engaged in the debate long time before the elections, has shown that there is no deficit of parking spaces in the centre of Warsaw, but they are available in private car parks (for instance in shopping centres) that are more expensive than public spots on streets and therefore used less likely by drivers who can find other places cheaper or even for free. Their other postulate is to prohibit vehicles entirely from parking on pavements. They argue, slightly ironically but with clear reference to the ongoing political debates, that it was allowed by changes in law done by the communist regime in the early 1980s and so now is finally the time to “decommunize” the streets by removing cars from spaces reserved for pedestrians. The activists also support the

expansion of the parking zone and rises in parking fees, which have not been updated for over a decade. Recent changes in national law have allowed the local administrations to make changes in the organization of parking and in the next months many cities, including Warsaw, prepare to do so. This might see a more systemic approach to the organization of parking in cities, however, as (im)mobility is highly and directly political issue, it is possible that any changes will be postponed until after the parliamentary elections in autumn 2019. All in all, the voice of activists could not have been ignored during the campaign and provided additional dimension to disputes around parking and (im)mobility in the city in general.

One example from the election period that shows contentious nature of the parking problem is the exchange of arguments about bollards. In recent years the installation of bollards and other obstacles has been one of the most effective ways of limiting unlawful parking and in some cases providing pedestrians enough space on pavements. As can be expected, this kind of material elements are criticized by drivers and sometimes seen as absurdly limiting use of a street for cars (especially in places with little pedestrian traffic). The right-wing candidate, during a special press conference on one of the streets in central Warsaw, promised a “debollardization” (*odslupkowanie*) if he was elected. In his own words, bollards are a “humiliation of drivers” and his policy will abandon current “irrational struggle” with them. According to him, prohibitions of car use cannot be introduced as long as the quality of public transport is not perceived as sufficiently attractive for people to give up cars. His arguments were countered by the city administration whose representatives claimed physical obstacles to be only real solution to blocked passages, they are required by inhabitants themselves, and pointed out that every year people are killed by cars on pavements. The issue was amplified and politicized further by activists who reacted by organizing a hashtag campaign *#zlimuzynyniewidać* (“not visible from a limousine”) in which people uploaded photos of illegally parked vehicles. The name of the campaign was a reference to the fact that the candidate – who is a minister and a member of the establishment – is being driven and does not experience cars as obstacles in his daily travels.

Challenges of post-socialist modernization

In this exchange, as in the discussion about parking during the campaign and after, problem of parking is bound up either with expected future progress that will bring resolution or with existing small-scale solutions to local difficulties. Naturally, the divergences reflect wider debates about the development of the city and visions of growth. As mentioned, both candidates supported by major parties upheld the perspective according to which more modernization is the answer to challenges brought by modernization. The example of parking shows the strength of existing projects of development which maintain car use and provision on infrastructure of automobility as important elements of “being a modern city”.

The reversal of this policies is going to be a significant political challenge and will most likely come at a cost to those who will attempt to introduce complementary parking system, especially one aligned with programmes that limit individual car use. The complexity of the problem is exacerbated with a fact that driving a car – encouraged by the development of new roads – is still considered part of aspirational lifestyle. Changing people’s habits, for many years perceived as acceptable “normality” will be extremely difficult. And the mismatch between new ideas about modern city – such as curbing roads for public spaces, priority for sustainability and quality of life or walkability – will for a long time be mismatched with

urban reality build in the form of automobile infrastructure in the last years. Car parking might be one of the areas which signal that post-socialist transformation, even if relatively successful, creates by-products which themselves become highly problematic. This might be true of any modernization. One of the uses of post-socialism in this context might be a realization that being immobile is sometimes bigger challenge than being mobile.

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Post-socialist mobility justice

Abstract: *While there has been an onset of the mobilities turn in social sciences, there is still need to expand attention on justice as well as the regional scope of mobilities research. This paper shows that the answer to both of these challenges' rests on considerations of post-socialism. Thus, the paper does not just aim to expand the geographical scope of mobility research but also starts to think on mobility justice as crucial about post-socialism. Drawing inspiration from the emerging work on 'mobility justice' (Cook & Butz, 2016; Sheller, 2018) the paper investigates substantial connections between post-socialism and justice. Not only is mobility/immobility controversial in terms of justice, but so is post-socialism.*

In working towards the conceptual argument, the paper draws empirically on a variety of empirical insights ranging from the work on the conditions of transport workers in Caucasian and Central Asian cities, highlighting workers' rights to the politics of automobility in the context of sustainable mobilities in Tallinn, Estonia. The cases highlight different elements of mobility justice as well as diverse conditions of post-socialism, thus allowing to see the intersection of mobility, justice and conceptualisation of post-socialism, offering eventually a new perspective to theorising from 'off the map'.

Keywords: *mobility, justice, post-socialism.*

Introduction

For many conservative, market-oriented intellectuals, public transport support is unequivocally linked to socialism – intentionally employed as a derogatory term. For many self-declared progressive thinkers, socialist aspirations are inextricably linked to massive investments in public transport – thus confirming the conservative equation. Widely neglected by these ideological struggles – mostly placed on the US-American political arena – is a distinct historical phenomenon of public transport in countries having lived an 'actually existing socialism', an experience which lends itself to a contrasting juxtaposition against its 'actually existing capitalist' counterpart. In this paper, we propose a categorisation of recent mobility sector transformations, by assessing in how far these relate to socialism, both in terms of ideology, and the historic experience, and to assess these against a mobility justice framework.

¹ Leibniz Institute for Regional Geography, Leipzig, w_sgibnev@ifl-leipzig.de

² Tallinn University, Centre of Landscape and Culture

³ Leibniz Institute for Regional Geography, Leipzig

To understand the trajectories of change in urban mobility politics, we develop Mimi Sheller's concept of 'mobility justice' by unpacking the ways in which mobility justice is, firstly, a framework to evaluate something (namely, potentials and practices of movement) and, secondly, the means to make normative judgements. We are interested in an evaluation of who is more vulnerable, who is the more excluded and, conversely, whose mobility is enabled. Roughly put, as tendency cars are primarily the means of mobility for those who are richer, often associated with whiteness as well as more enabled for male users. The increasing motorisation rate generates vulnerabilities for those without cars, which could translate to injustices on other lines of social stratification (income, gender, race), but also excludes those who choose other means of mobility such as walking or cycling out of health or convenience concerns.

Seen from a mobility justice perspective, public transport and socialism can be related in two senses. First, the term could refer to socialism as actual experience, and second, to socialism as an idea of political and social organisation. On the one hand, cities with an experience of 'actually existing socialism', that is, those cities which we would dub as post-socialist today, had a widespread provision of accessible public transport and low motorisation rates, whereas in explicitly non-socialist contexts, such as the USA, trams, trolleybuses and other publicly organised systems came under attack. On the other hand, public transport use and popularity relate to socialist ideas of what is collective, public and beneficial for the wider community. Thus, we can talk about an ideal-type *mobility justice paradigm*, and delineate mobility-related capitalist versus socialist paradigms. We understand a paradigm as the implementation of specific policies, everyday practices and related decision-making processes (cf. Selle, 2006). They may take the shape of ideas, brought forward by local actors, about how, by whom and based on which principles and means, mobility should take shape (cf. Beywl & Niestroj, 2009). They display explicit and implicit aims, which result from local actor's perceptions and assessments of the (urban) environment as well as from underlying value systems, embedded in larger societal discourses. The combination and intertwining of local concepts, their implementation in planning practice and their time- and space-specific embedding in larger (e.g. socialism versus capitalism) discourses, define – in our understanding – a mobility paradigm.

We argue that support for public transport would be located on the socialist side of the mobility justice paradigm. The capitalist mobility justice paradigm, however, centralises individuals and individual responsibility. Individuals, then, have priority for personal modes of mobility. Namely, an understanding that those who make an effort should reap benefits, is a legit justice concern within a capitalist justice paradigm. In a mobility justice paradigm such understanding would translate to the centralisation of driving, but also walking and cycling as individual means of mobility. In the conflict of these modes of mobility, other power-claims within the capitalist system prevail, meaning that economic success—translated to ownership of cars—should also mean priority in mobility. Nevertheless, with an increasing popularity of cycling among middle-classes and even higher-income and higher status individuals, such priority of mobilities could easily transform soon.

Against the backdrop of mobility justice paradigms, current research in post-socialist cities reveals relevant trends of change at national and local levels, including polarisation, commercialisation, and growing urban conflicts (e.g. Neugebauer and Rekhviashvili, 2015). Some actors claim values such as equal life quality, socio-cultural and ecological sustainability and public control over decision-making (e.g. Le Galès, 2002; Laze, 2011) in line with the

idea of (deliberative) democratisation (Gualini & Bianchi, 2014). Most prominently, urban conflicts arise over urban identities and cultures (Le Galès, 2002: 263) and issues of urban ecology (Stanilov, 2007; Yatsyk and Khodzaeva, 2012). Thus, in 'understanding conflict as a constitutive element of social relations and as a source of their strength and ability to innovate' (Gualini, 2014: 3), conflicts around clashing mobility paradigms are promising entry points for both, a theoretically motivated analysis of urban and societal change, as well as for a practically relevant, reflexive stance.

Western European cities look back on a history of largely continuous change of tangible and intangible features of urban development, while cities in Central and Eastern Europe show broken trajectories and various legacies stemming from pre-socialist, socialist and post-socialist periods (Neugebauer et al, 2014; Neugebauer & Rekhviashvili, 2015). Indeed, the tangible legacies and features of (post-)socialist cities have enjoyed important scholarly attention – also with regard to the debate of post-socialism (e.g. Stenning & Hörschelmann, 2008). However, the qualities and influence of intangible legacies on urban transformation in terms of 'specific institutions' (Healey, 2010: 13) and routines, 'shared values' (Lankina et al, 2008: 178) and concepts as well as 'historical traditions' (Lankina et al, 2008: 178; Laze, 2011: 302) are often stated (e.g. Stanilov, 2007; Tsenkova, 2007; Tynkkynen, 2009), but rarely made more explicit (cf. Healey, 2010: 18). This holds true especially with regard to research on urban governance and mobility planning in post-socialist Europe (Lankina et al, 2008: 181; Laze, 2011), where systematic research is missing so far.

Extending existing discussion in post-socialist urban studies on socialist (dis)continuities and aiming to contribute to filling the gap in urban mobilities research in the region, this article offers an early conceptualisation of diverse mobility justice paradigms in different post-socialist cities. Basing on previous long-term research of the three authors on urban transport and mobility in various cities in the Baltics, Central Asia, South Caucasus and Russia, we explicate how existing mobility politics and discourses address socialist mobility practices and infrastructures. We show that different cities choose to reject socialism, deny the (existence of) socialism, symbolically embrace socialism, involuntarily accept socialism and pragmatically accept socialism. We argue that mobility justice paradigms in post-Soviet cities are imbued with contested understanding of socialist legacies as well as capitalist realities, affect urban mobility politics and have diverse mobility justice implications.

From new mobility paradigm to mobility justice paradigms

Mobility constitutes a central aspect of contemporary societies—and means at the same time various things. Mobility refers to social mobility—climbing the social hierarchy and class—and at the same time migration as well as everyday mobility of people such as walking or commuting. While one might want to separate these all for clarity reasons into separate research strands, the novelty of 'new mobility paradigm' is precisely seeing all those together, seeking interlinkages between different forms of mobility.

Putting the two frameworks - mobility justice (Sheller, 2018) and new mobilities paradigm (Hannam et al, 2006) - together into a (new) mobility justice paradigm highlights the link between mobility regimes and their conceptualisation as well as their link to justice claims. The new mobilities paradigm stressed the emergence of mobilities as a mode of inquiry and as phenomena much forgotten in previous (sedentary) social sciences. Highlighting mobility justice paradigms means that, firstly, as 'mobility turn' was a new wave some 15 years ago, now

there is a strong focus on linking mobilities with justice and, secondly, that there are different regimes of mobility justice wherein what counts as mobility, whose mobility is favoured, what means are supported and how are central considerations regulated and different from one system to another.

The 'new mobilities paradigm' stream sees mobility as 'movement-driven social science', as explicated by Büscher and Urry (2009: 100). Power is a key issue in mobility studies. In its aims to transcend the sedentary image of the exercise of power. Current theories of mobility conceptualize it as 'intertwined with space and power' (Jensen, 2011) and therefore inherently politicized. Looking at mobility as a politicized issue does furthermore prevent a romanticized view 'of mobility, flux and destabilisation as ipso facto liberatory' (Morley, 2000, cited in Jensen, 2009: 147). Politicizing mobility therefore means to engage in a critical approach to transportation research itself.

For critical mobilities scholars, spatial mobility is considered as a crucial precondition for social participation. Following Sheller and Urry, 'social science has largely ignored or trivialised the importance of the systematic movements of people for work and family life, for leisure and pleasure, and for politics and protest' (2006: 208). For mobility scholars, it seems therefore of utmost importance to recognise the interconnectedness between access to mobility and social integration, e.g. in terms of access to friends, retail or health services (Stark, 2017: 80). Yet this very access to mobility is highly unevenly distributed with regard to class and location: 'Mobility and control over mobility both reflect and reinforce power. Mobility is a resource to which not everyone has an equal relationship' (Skeggs, 2004: 49). At the same time, mobility is not an individual resource, but a relational category, which is being negotiated in socially and spatially stratified contexts (Manderscheid, 2013: 70).

Following the discussion of unequal access to mobility, the concepts of mobility poverty (Day et al, 2016) and transport poverty (Lucas et al, 2016) have been recently introduced. Day et al have forwarded a definition of energy poverty valid for both Global North and Global South contexts, and of equal importance for mobility scholars as well: 'energy poverty can be positioned as: an inability to realise essential capabilities as a direct or indirect result of insufficient access to affordable, reliable and safe energy services, and taking into account available reasonable alternative means of realising these capabilities' (Day, Walker and Simcock 2016: 160). In this line, Stark has proposed to see mobility poverty as characterised by 'unequally distributed access opportunities' (2017: 85), and an utterly political problem, imbued by conflicting goals and trade-offs (2017: 95). Of importance for our case studies in Central Asia and the South Caucasus, Stark advances that in the Global South, mobility poverty is furthermore exacerbated by a lack of infrastructure (Stark, 2017: 80) – and surely, the rise in marshrutka services in the post-socialist context might be attributed to disinvestment from formerly well-developed public transport networks (Sgibnev & Vozyanov, 2016).

Yet both, mobility justice and mobility poverty literatures remain focused on the 'general public', that is, the mobility consumers, overlooking the livelihoods and working conditions of transport workers. We see some emerging academic interest on the subject coming from social movements (Gentile & Tarrow, 2009) or development studies (Rizzo, 2011), with several papers paying attention to precarious working conditions of rickshaw pullers (Rahman and Assadekjaman, 2013) or motorcycle taxi drivers (Diaz Olvera et al, 2016). Studies dealing with working rights and mobility justice issues connected to Uber and other ride-sourcing corporations are but emerging (e.g. Rogers, 2015; Wallsten, 2015 and Glöss, McGregor &

Brown, 2016) and, as of now, present a highly dispersed field of academic interest (for a more detailed discussion see Rekhviashvili & Sgibnev, 2018).

We suggest that the mobility justice concept can be mobilised for a better understanding of urban mobility. The mobility justice concept in transport geography is predominantly used to scrutinise the distributional effects of transport policies, be it spatial, temporal or sociodemographic (Jones & Lucas, 2012: 5). On a more abstract level, mobility justice can be seen as a lens for continuous re-evaluation of the distributional effects of mobility outcomes. Such a position is adopted by Sheller when she defines mobility justice as 'a way of thinking about the differential mobilities and thinking about the ways in which people's mobilities are interrelated, and that we have different capabilities for mobility and different potentials for mobility' (Sheller, 2014). On the transit planning level, scholars come up with more specific criteria of what comprises mobility justice, such as maximising equity in access, or an emphasis on the vulnerable segments of society (Martens et al, 2012). In one of the most recent overviews of mobility justice literature, Sukaryavichute and Prytherch (2018: 61) summarise such practical aspects of a 'progressive' mobility agenda:

At the level of transit planning, access should be maximized for all but focus particularly on lower income and other transit-dependent populations. On the street, engineering should not prioritize the fast, powerful, and dangerous automobile to the detriment of other modes, but should balance vehicular mobility with transit, while ensuring convenient and safe access for pedestrians and cyclists. And when transit and roadway spaces are public, mobility and access should be balanced with other values like liveability.

Beyond distributional concerns, authors have recently suggested to include procedural justice, as well as justice as recognition as central to mobility justice (Walker & Day, 2012). In the same vein, Cook and Butz insist that mobility justice should be understood 'not only as the equitable distribution of motility [mobility potential] throughout a social system, but also as just institutional actions and decision-making processes about mobility issues that promote just mobility outcomes' (2016: 17).

Socialist and post-socialist mobility justice paradigms

Clearly, in the Soviet-era system passenger flows and transport lines were, in many cases, straightforwardly connecting large housing estates to factories. Still the outcome was a comparably high quality of public transport provision at low prices, combined with low motorisation levels. Even without subscribing to political intentions, even out of today's perspective, the mobility outcomes are substantial, especially relative to post-socialist times. Within the mobility justice paradigm, socialism appears in different ways. We delineate here five different categories divided between those critical and those adopting a more positive take: rejecting socialism, denying socialism, symbolically embracing socialism, involuntarily accepting socialism and pragmatically accepting socialism.

Rejecting socialism

This paradigm is linked to the historical experience of state socialism, and the associated modes of living, planning and governing. The paradigm proclaims the rejection of the socialist

era mobility practices, even explicitly and actively contesting those. The contestation of socialism rests on the idea of perceived negativity of the socialist history associating it with illiberal governing based on the practices of policing, border control, democratic procedures, property rights etc. The contemporary contestation strongly draws from anti-state positions.

An example of such contestations is automobility supporting governing schemes. In some influential understandings in Eastern Europe, cars constitute important private property, which should be defended from state interventions. This defence manifests itself through the contestations of state policies and governing means often in Foucauldian state-phobic ways (Tuvikene, 2016). The mobility justice regime should then differ from the one of the socialist times, setting here in front the freedom of mobility manifested by the freedom to use private cars. This stance is not limited to the highly USSR-sceptic Baltic countries: the recent introduction of paid parking zones in Moscow sparked massive online protests and petitions of drivers refusing to be taxed for 'using airspace', claiming that free parking was an entitlement and prerequisite for living a free citizen's life.

In Tbilisi, as elsewhere in the formerly socialist countries, we can ascertain the strong sense for the right of middle classes to purchase cars which comes in conflict with the newly introduced public buses. Eventually, both luxury cars and new buses are stuck in traffic jams alongside a large number of under-maintained vehicles. Interesting about car dominance is an additional social justice layer: governments fear to restrict private car mobility, having realised that for many people vehicles are a source of income (taxi, delivery, distribution (Akimov & Banister, 2011). Furthermore, numerous informal or semi-formal jobs are dependent on private car ownership. In a context where a social security net is scarce or inexistent, the logic of private car ownership joins the logic of state withdrawal from social security provision – to the detriment of social and environmental justice concerns.

Denying socialism

Existing alongside the contestation is the denial of socialism: in this case, the experience of socialism is denied as a suitable form for organising on the grounds that it simply would not suit for the contemporary and largely capitalist situation. In this paradigmatic perspective, the point is not so much active contestation in anti-state manners but mere pragmatic denial of it.

Here, we may turn to the case of Tbilisi, where the sheer material basis of socialist-era mobility has largely disappeared. From the 1990s on, the city has witnessed a widespread abandonment and/or severe decay of infrastructures. The mid-2000s saw a fierce removal of socialist public transport infrastructure such as tram and trolleybus networks. This was coupled with a first wave of refurbishing the municipal bus fleet, and, around 2015 with the second wave of bus fleet enhancement with European, high-quality vehicles. This may witness for a European-style modernisation narrative, with European consultancy and funding. The public transport system was delinked from its socialist predecessor. Even when investments were fuelled into the city's metro system, there was rarely a mention of the system's origin in Soviet times. Hence, there is a denial of the socialist past, as something removable, something to be forgotten, and not apt to serve as blueprint for contemporary mobility solutions even if the contemporary governing practices appear very much like those of the socialist era.

Symbolically embracing socialism

Symbolically embracing socialism refers to a paradigmatic position of valuing socialist modes of mobility service provision and its mobility justice outcomes, and, eventually, even trying to

come back to it. It does not necessarily mean attachment to the entire set of societal practices and values, yet embracing socialism as an ideal of organising is a frequent phenomenon: cheaper travel, more frequent travel options, not dependent on personal financial and other means, fairness and equality.

In those cities of the former Soviet Union where public transport systems have been dismantled and replaced by for-profit 'commercial' services like marshrutkas, vulnerable groups like students or pensioners have lost their former options of free or reduced-rate travel. The opposition against those reforms were voiced as firm conviction of being entitled to it, which can be seen as a mobility justice related claim. The response in many cities, however, was to maintain bogus transport services, such as a bus running once in an hour, only used by those 'captured' publics without any other mobility option available. There, the reference to a functioning cheap and reliable Soviet-era public transport was very vocal. Even commercial marshrutka operators sometimes themselves say they don't like marshrutkas and wish for the former way of organising transport – perhaps also linked to an expression of a generalised nostalgia.

An internalised socialist-era mobility paradigm may also be entirely detrimental to a city's transport development, such as in the case of a lingering attachment to heavy-rail underground metro systems. Being promoted in the Soviet era, as an emblematic feature of a truly large city, the metro has remained the aspiration for many second-order cities throughout the region. Municipal planners in Ufa, Omsk, Almaty, Dnepropetrovsk, Rostov-on-Don, Krasnoyarsk, Samara, Perm or Nizhniy Novgorod have lived this dream, but only a handful of stations have been effectively built. The promise of a 'true' metro system in some distant future has, however, aptly served as pretext for closing down large portions of the cities' tramway networks, fostering mass motorisation, and decreasing service quality for public transport passengers.

Although state authorities have cut back almost all welfare benefits and public services, they are being upheld in the mobilities sector by means of subsidised trolleybus system in a number of cities. With regard to the limited role of trolleybuses in fulfilling mobility needs, they are all the more important for the representative dimension of politics. Here, trolleybuses convey more than their capacity to transport people. Surely, one could say the same about the recently introduced tramway systems in France or Spain, which were inspired by the wish to re-invigorate some mythical 'urbanity' and boost attractiveness in a supposed global competition for the creative class. Yet there is more to this statement when looking at the Central Asian case. In a condition of rampant power shortages, functioning trolleybuses are running examples that the authorities are able to address this vital issue on a large scale. And where social benefits are cut back to a minimum, for a pensioner a free ride in a trolleybus maintains the illusion of a functioning welfare system. Finally, in countries with limited resources, trolleybuses allow futuristic vehicles to run on streets, promising modernity for a relatively low price, whereas Almaty, Astana and Tashkent are able to invest in metro systems for the same reason.

Involuntarily accepting socialism

The involuntary acceptance refers to the lacking capacities in finances or administrative possibilities to overcome the inherited infrastructural systems. This may bring about difficulties in ensuring an adequate coverage and service level in cities where passenger flows have significantly changed with the demise of the Soviet Union – yet in many cases the

infrastructural pre-conditions – rails, wires, substations, as well as skilled staff – are still in place.

This might be illustrated by the case of the Tajik capital Dushanbe, where the socialist-era trolleybus network is being maintained at a low, but stable service level. In spite of a generally automobile-friendly environment, the trolleybus network serves as a tool to create regime legitimacy. Since public transport is of high social significance, the vehicles lend themselves as billboards for state propaganda, and are largely used for nation-building, educational purposes (Sgibnev, 2014). In comparable context, e.g. Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, similarly unprofitable systems were closed down – witnessing our claim to look out for mobility paradigms in their localised expression.

Furthermore, Dushanbe's trolleybus system reflects the Soviet legacy of exercising state authority via unsustainable 'great projects': although the political system has nominally changed since independence, the means to exercise power often have not. Out of these motivations, the authorities are willing to shoulder unreasonable investments in trolleybus systems – yet without proper rolling stock maintenance and upkeep of overhead lines, these investments remain 'white elephants' with limited mobility provision potential.

Pragmatically accepting socialism

This paradigmatic strand takes the shape of accepting socialism and its infrastructural legacies by emphatically embracing of socialist ideas and practices. Accepting socialism amounts to accepting the socialist heritage as a matter of fact, without necessarily appraising it. It refers to the situation wherein socialist conditions and their continuity are seen as normal and thus incorporated to ongoing practices and modernisation concepts. Acceptance does not necessarily mean that such situation is favoured but it is still seen as pragmatic.

The socialist era of fair, frequent and cheap public transport, coupled with low motorisation rates still very much corresponds to an ideal-type mobility landscape of a sustainable city of the future, perhaps only lightly seasoned with cutting-edge energy efficiency, walkable streets and ADA-compliant vehicles. It is therefore not a miracle when activists proclaim that 'free public transit can be an important part of a broader fight to restructure society along eco-socialist lines. There is a link developing between contemporary ideals of mobility organisation and the practices of socialist infrastructural provision. Thus, what is ecological mobility justice paradigm is in many ways also socialist mobility paradigm. Therefore, the pragmatic acceptance of socialism.

Conclusion

Mobility justice concepts are very much imbued by the outlined conflicting considerations, because they are normative, and thus inherently political. This is why we witness those multiple mobility justices which are different in time and location. We therefore have to argue for a place- and time-sensitive approach to mobility justice, and embed justice considerations in localised, intrinsically normative paradigms, whereas also noting the intersection and conflict of different paradigms.

We linked those mobility justice paradigms to different ways of thinking about post-socialism: post-socialism is not so much important as such. While it is easy to make post-socialism to stand in itself for a particular condition, which we then could use to characterise Central and Eastern European and formerly Soviet societies, such perceptions are conceptually limited (Tuvikene,

2016). The importance of post-socialism rests in its relationships to socialism, more particularly to socialist modernity, and its relational capacity to draw lines of thinking and generate insights. Finally, we talk of aspects of capitalist cities in any post-socialist city under our scrutiny, yet of different ways of treating socialist legacies and different ways of embracing capitalist visions of justice. The paper argued for the importance of considering different mobility justice paradigms and the importance of relations between those. Namely, there are different ways in which socialist practices relate to the post-socialist and capitalist ones: by being rejected, denied, embraced, involuntarily or pragmatically accepted.

Taking mobility justice as an entry point also opens up pathways for broader debates, such as connecting housing questions with mobility concerns. Think of the trade-off between lower rents in suburban housing, versus time expenses and chronic discomfort in commuting under conditions of mass motorisation. While we have a considerable record of research on housing, and some emerging studies on post-socialist mobilities, the linkages between the two, and the connected trade-offs, have not been considered yet.

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Marshrutka 2.0 – How YandexTaxi fundamentally shifts the transport labour market in contemporary Russian cities

Abstract: *In June 2017 the on-demand ride sharing companies Uber and YandexTaksi announced their decision to merge their services in the CIS market (e.g. in Russia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Armenia, and Belarus) under the leadership of YandexTaksi. Since then, the Russian provider has taken over the leading position in the Post-Soviet taxi market and is most probably going to further transform the targeted urban mobility settings in the near future.*

Already by now, the fast development of on-demand ride sharing applications has triggered a major transformation in the urban transport assemblages. Apart from the taxi market, the predominant commercial public transport sector (served by Marshrutka minibuses) has also been affected and faces an increasingly existential competition from the fancy web-aggregator, which might threaten their existence. It seems as if YandexTaxi is breaking down a semi-formalised marshrutka network, local politicians have been claiming to regulate, domesticate or simply to shutdown already for decades but without success. This, however, might be good news for the app users but put at disadvantage the taxi drivers as well as major parts of the population that cannot afford raising fares in the public transport sector.

In this paper I will provide an overview over the competitive framework that has been established between marshrutkas and on-demand taxi operators. Based on empirical insights from Russia, I will then discuss the far-reaching effects of such a disruptive new player in post-soviet urban transport assemblages.

Keywords: *marshrutka, taxi, urban mobility, Russian cities*

In June 2017 the on-demand ride sharing companies, Uber and YandexTaxi, announced their decision to merge the two companies into one taxi provider under the leadership of YandexTaxi in Russia and five additional neighbouring markets (Georgia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Armenia, and Belarus). With 35 million rides per day, the out-of-former-rivalry-newly-founded company has taken over the primary position within the Post-Soviet taxi market and is taking steps to transform the targeted urban mobility settings in accordance with its interests. Following the announcement, Tigran Khuaverdyan, CEO of YandexTaxi formulated the future vision as follows:

Together, we will continue to build a ride-sharing service that offers a viable alternative to automobile ownership or public transportation [...] many of us who work inside Yandex feel that everyone has already switched to ridesharing, but in reality, we are just at the beginning of this journey. Our goal is to create a platform that rivals car ownership or public transportation in accessibility and convenience (Khudaverdyan, 2017: 1).

¹ TU Berlin. E-Mail: t.weicker@campus.tu-berlin.de

Indeed, the patterns of urban mobility are currently changing dramatically in all CIS states. While the increase of private car mobility is, although at a slower pace, continuing, several Russian cities recently challenged deep reformation attempts to modernise public transport infrastructures with varying success and consequences. Similarly, the taxi services went through a transformation process from former informal and loosely regulated riding practices into manifold digital based on-demand practices.

In this context, it is interesting to note the temporal coexistence of the demise or strong regulation of long established and often dominant collective/shared taxi practices, so called marshrutkas, on the one hand and the concurrent increase of Uber-like taxi practices on the other. This is remarkable, because marshrutka and YandexTaxi practices seem to have a lot in common at first glance: they are both privately organized and operate proficiently without subsidiaries, the providers, licensed taxi companies and marshrutka operators, similarly rely on an atomistic enterprise structure, which also leads in both cases to self-dependent, often exploited drivers. Moreover, both mobility offers generate their competition advantage through deficient working conditions, which repeatedly caused protest actions among the drivers in both sectors (Filimonova, 2016; Noskov, 2019; Pastushin, Nosonov & Krjukov, 2016; Regnum, 2018). In this sense, one question to explore here is why YandexTaxi practices are, although similar to the unpopular marshrutka mobility, politically supported and regarded positively from a good majority of the population?

In summary, the paper offers a critical contribution towards unaccompanied and often solely profit-focused mobility transformations in urban transport networks of post-Soviet cities, which fall short to acknowledge the challenges of currently increasing deficits in the sector.

Urban transport networks in Russia

Although the Soviet Union left behind one of the largest public transport infrastructures, this, in effect, resulted to be a high burden for underfunded municipalities, which had become responsible for the coordination of transport facilities after the decentralisation policies that followed the collapse of the previous regime (Kolik, Radziwill & Turdyeva, 2015). Generally, this led to a significant decline of the state-led transport services like tramway or trolleybus lines, which were shut down in manifold places all over the successor states of the Soviet Union. The not negligible gap in the public transport network was quickly filled by the privately organized grassroots style developing mini bus practices. The states inability to respond to these informal mobility offers by at least regulating them, led, to a widespread and largely uncontrolled development of marshrutka practices in almost all post-soviet cities in the nineties, and they soon established themselves as the predominant transport offer.

While the emergence of marshrutka practices was first received very well by the population because they increased the motility opportunities (Sanina, 2011), the image of marshrutka mobility changed over time and current public descriptions of marshrutkas depict the commercial minibuses as dangerous, backward and largely led by suspicious enterprises (Koltashov, 2015). From the local authorities' point of view, it is often argued that marshrutka mobility has a negative impact on the remaining state led competitors, justifying the often-outdated vehicle fleets and unsteady transport services of the municipal providers. Indeed, the state led tramway or trolleybus lines were mostly not able to compete with marshrutka offers. In consequence, the quick expansion of marshrutkas triggered a downward spiral for the

public transport offers because of the loss of passengers and income for urgently needed investments in maintenance (Shajtanova & Kuznetsov, 2014).

The general attitude of local authorities towards the marshrutka practices can be easily discerned from the statement of the head of the urban transport committee in Moscow, Maksim Liksutov, after the final shutdown of city marshrutkas in August 2016:

This reform primarily aims to reach a new quality of passenger traffic. In all civilised cities around the world, minibuses are nowadays a relic of the past. Now it is also time for Moscow to stay no longer in the past (Liksutov in Meduza, 2016: 2).

Shady business strategies, executive organs' inability to act in the early nineties as well as strange enterprise structures, have led many to believe that marshrutka services are an informal, criminal economic practice (Vvodin, 2016).

However, not only the public perception but also the underlying marshrutka enterprise structure and legal framing has undergone considerable changes in the past years. Approximately since the turn of the millennium the local administration tried, at least in some places, to bring order to what they considered a wildly grown urban transport network. The introduction of route licences, the pressure on drivers to register in newly founded enterprises as well as further developed assessment systems to control the everyday mobility performances were usually the first implemented policies in order to domesticate the local transport scheme (Finn, 2008; Gwilliam, 2013).

Certainly, these reform attempts were applied with very different assertiveness and willingness and led to a high diversity of marshrutka business regulation degrees depending on the enforcement attempts in different city departments. Nevertheless, the reformation attempts changed the marshrutka mobility fundamentally. In a short period of time drivers lost their ability to act self-dependently and experienced a significant deterioration of their profession's conditions.

Today, marshrutka mobility is still the superior mode of urban transport despite the fact that the share of public transport passengers using marshrutkas has decreased in the last years from more than 80 percent to approximately 60 percent in various Russian cities (City Administration of Volgograd, 2016; Sellin, 2014; Analitičeskaya gruppa departamenta marketinga kompanii "Yandex", 2011). The Russian metropolises of Kazan and Moscow even banned all privately organised marshrutka providers from the city roads. Other cities substantially increased their intensity to modernise the public transport infrastructure, which can be considered as the first step to force back marshrutka mobility. Many local administrations introduced further regulations of marshrutka mobility, for instance via fare stages or line reductions. Surprisingly enough, marshrutkas are almost never seen as a potential relief of the current traffic situation and as the only convenient and reliable public transport offer carrying millions of passengers every day – all of them potential car users in the near future.

How YandexTaxi changes urban mobility practices in Russia

The negative perception of marshrutka mobility forms a strong contrast to the widely welcomed new online-taxi providers like YandexTaxi. This is presumably closely linked to the

successful branding of Yandex as an innovative company of technological progress. Vjacheslav Lysakov, a deputy of the state дума, confirms:

Coachmen also tried to fight the railway at their time, as some of today's taxi drivers are trying to resist Internet applications and dispatch services. But without success, since it is impossible to stop progress (Lysakov in Zvereva 2015: 4).

The enormous growth and expansion of YandexTaxi and its competitors seemingly has proved him right. In 2017, 80 percent of the taxi services in Moscow were ordered through a web-application (Margarjan, 2017: 3). Almost incidentally, the online-taxi dispatchers enforced a great formalisation development in the Russian taxi market. Therefore, the current valuation of shared taxi modes needs to be contextualised in the development of the taxi market during the last three decades.

Like all urban transport offers, the Soviet taxi market was centralised. In 1992 most taxi parks were privatised, which meant that the underlying infrastructure and regulating institutions as depots, vehicle parks, maintenance areas but also supervisory bodies were privatised (Luzhkov, 1992). Vorobyev, Shulika and Vasileva describe the state of affairs at the time as follows:

Consequently, the taxi transport as a centralised city service practically went out of existence as a subject of the urban reality. At the same time, this developed an almost non-regulated market of private carting. Among its participants there were not only the former employees of the taxi parks, but numerous motorists of different specialisations (Vorobyev, Shulika & Vasileva 2016: 179).

In consequence, this was the beginning of a widely unregulated service market, which produced a harsh competition among drivers. Especially in the first years, there was an increasing number of taxi drivers meeting a decline of customers (Kljuev, 2007). Only in 2010, the federal government introduced a new legal framework for taxi services, which established formal dispatcher services in the market. Big companies like TaksiSaturn, Maksim or Veset formed 'large taxi parks [...] in a new quality: without any extra land, without their own service base, without any constant staff, besides, concerning the technological formats, they were compatible in framework of the "Gett" and "Uber" century' (Vorobyev, Shulika and Vasileva 2016: 180).

The government's strategy was somehow comparable to the formalisation process in the marshrutka business a decade before, where market participants were obliged to organise themselves in registered enterprises. However, this process was - from a government's point of view - much more successful. Within months several providers developed advertisement strategies and customer communication services (call centres, discount cards, reliability programs). Shortly after, the drivers became dependent on the new taxi offers because the customer expectations had changed. Analogical to the minibuss sector, the drivers were the ones who lost their entrepreneurial ability to act independently and were forced to accept lower taxi fares and longer working hours, while bearing the risk as self-dependent entrepreneur of the daily work on their own (Sokolova, 2016). In consequence, the number of taxi accidents grew about 35 percent up to 2900 accidents per year since 2015 (Buranov,

2018). Many drivers report of overworking in order to make a living due to constantly increased commission fees (Chegaj, 2019; Noskov, 2019).

The harsh working conditions and high commission fees are probably the main reason why there is still a significant informal taxi market to be observed. In Russia the share of 'illegal' taxi rides is estimated around 26% with an approximate income of 116 billion roubles (Mokrushina, 2016). However, especially the web-providers remain convinced that the digital on-demand services will increase the pressure on taxi drivers to register on their sites and accelerate the process of 'formalisation' in the very near future.

Already during the last five years, the official taxi market grew about 20 % and earned revenue rates of around 441 billion roubles. There are currently more than 900 thousand taxi-drivers registered on the Yandex application in 14 different countries (YandexTaxi, 2018). Since 2017, YandexTaxi leads the online taxi market and is continuously growing (Majorov, 2018). Partially, the growth of application based on-demand software can be explained through so far grey drivers, which were pulled in the formal and licensed market. Considering this, it becomes evident that from a governance point of view the actual benefit of new ridesharing players in the field is neither the technological revolution nor the utopia of potentially reduced private car mobility. In fact, it is the efficient formalisation of a formerly uncontrolled business sector, which at once brings tax revenues to the state budget. The implemented software of YandexTaxi, which on the surface solely connects clients and service providers, serves, because of its supremacy in the market, on a second layer as an extremely successful reformer of formerly vague market structures.

Nevertheless, it seems ironic that big national and international taxi enterprises are even praised for the 'benefits from "Uberisation"' (Safiullin et al 2016: 24) and applauded as reformers or even democratisers (Sokolova, 2016), while introducing a highly exploitative commercial model with widely unacceptable working conditions. Similarly, to the marshrutka case, the drivers face major threats and have recently voiced up with protest actions all over the country. Hired as self-employed entrepreneurs, most drivers are self-responsible for their vehicle, the insurances and personal health. Additionally, and this is probably more important although not unique for the CIS scenario, the new established framework doesn't allow for collaboration practices within collective driver unions. Without romanticising the working conditions of the drivers in the past, several studies on marshrutka drivers show that the informal market structure of the Nineties allowed, despite all disadvantages, for solidarity and cooperation between the drivers (Breslavskij, 2006; Shajtanova & Kuznetzov, 2014). The later regulation process destroyed these solidary ties among the drivers and turned former cooperation networks into individual competitors.

Conclusion: YandexTaxi as a solution or burden for traffic developments in Russia?

This paper explores similarities and differences between YandexTaxi and marshrutka services. While the organisation structure and business model are widely the same, local municipalities appreciate the easy reformation of the taxi-market in the last years, the increasing number of officially registered taxi drivers, which is accompanied by higher tax revenues. Nevertheless, the last developments show that YandexTaxi is running the risk of receiving similar complains common in the marshrutka sector, if it does not take the necessary measures to introduce and implement certain labour standards. Concerning the passengers, it is at first important to state that marshrutka and YandexTaxi users are most probably not, at least not yet, the same

customers. According to the research centre of advanced economic studies in Kazan, a majority of the ride-hailing clients do actually have access to a private car. Therefore, the main reasons for choosing YandexTaxi are to save time to go to and from work and to avoid the insufficient parking situation in the city centres to mention but a few issues (Safiullin et al 2016: 17). Marshrutka users in contrast are generally reliant on this transport mode because alternatives in the price segment are lacking. Nevertheless, due to the aggressive pricing, YandexTaxi mobility is about to become more and more affordable for wide circles of the population. Lastly, it is rather unlikely that YandexTaxi will be able to reduce the number of private cars in the urban traffic load in the short and medium term. The cheap fare conditions rather tend to lead to an increased number of cars in the cities because they seem to be more attractive to public transport users than private car owners (Hall et al, 2018). Indeed, if large amounts of current marshrutka passengers would switch after their elimination to on-demand taxi offers, this could lead to the collapse of an already overburdened traffic network. Whereas the other way around, a well-considered fusion of ride sharing software with a re-established minibus mobility mode could actually have potential in terms of a significant reduction of traffic participants. This, nevertheless, would necessarily require fair working conditions at least for a medium-termed future, as long as human drivers are still needed to provide urban transport services.

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CHAPTER 8

Rural Areas in the Post-Socialist Context

The transition from socialism to capitalism has strongly affected cities, yet the repercussions have had an equal, if not far stronger, impact on rural areas. Many factors, including the socialist rural economy, socialist planning theories, the collectivization of land, and the transfer of town planning schemes on rural villages entirely reshaped the rural areas with consequences that are clearly visible today. After 1989/91, rural areas had to face completely new challenges and reinvent old systems in order to survive within the new capitalist economy. Today, thirty years after the collapse of state socialism, the impact is more present than ever: rural areas are marked by a widespread shrinkage of villages, the general absence of planning strategies for the rehabilitation of abandoned or empty buildings, and in some cases, agricultural policies that have led to the vast expansion of monoculture crops.

The scholarly study of post-socialism has largely focused on urban case-studies, sidelining phenomena currently occurring in rural areas and villages, and which are rooted in socialist political administration and economy. In this session we therefore seek to open up the central themes of the Three Decades of Post-Socialist Transition conference to the investigation of rural areas and rural/urban relationships.

Questions we wish to raise include:

- What is the impact of socialist rural planning today?
- What is the impact of the relation between urban and rural in the past and today?
- How has the transition affected agricultural practices and policies?
- How are politics of memory-making and heritage shaped in rural areas?
- What is the relationship between the built environment and nature in post-socialist rural areas?
- How might themes such as tourism, branding, and gentrification, typically theorized in relation to urban areas, be conceptualized or play out in post-socialist rural settings?

Vittoria Capresi, Faculty of Architecture, Technical University of Berlin

Emily Bereskin, Center for metropolitan studies, TU of Berlin

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- 1** “There is a need to restore services and grocery stores to our countryside...”: discourse on rural peripheralisation in Czechia against the background of rural socioeconomic development / Bernard, J.
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“There is a need to restore services and grocery stores to our countryside...”: discourse on rural peripheralization in Czechia against the background of rural socioeconomic development

Abstract: *In recent years, a discourse on rural peripheralization emerged in Czechia, emphasizing the loss of residential attractiveness, economic activity and human capital in rural areas. The aim of the paper is to grasp important elements of this discourse and to reveal the contradictions between the discourse and existing statistical evidence of rural development trends. While the peripheralization discourse presents the countryside as a place endangered by growing spatial disparities, available socio-economic indicators show much more differentiated development and document population profits in the majority of rural areas. Rural peripheralization is among the well-known and repeatedly described aspects of the post-socialist transition. In many Central and Eastern European countries, rural areas have been considered the loser of the transformation processes and strong polarization trends in favour of metropolises have been detected. Compared to that, in Czechia neither a substantial rural decline, nor an important discourse on rural peripheralization emerged at the beginning of the transition. Surprisingly, more than two decades later, aspects of rural peripheralization came up as an important part of expert discourse on rural development. In the paper I am describing the specific features of this discourse and its role in shaping rural policy. I show that the peripheralisation discourse strongly emphasizes the responsibility of the state for the situation in rural communities and links the existence of locally oriented place-based services and amenities with rural quality of life. At the same time, I draw attention to the contradiction between the arguments of this discourse and the existing statistical evidence of the contemporary rural situation.*

Keywords: *rural, discourse, peripheralisation, socio-economic development, Czechia.*

Introduction

During the second decade of the 21st century, the Czech political discourse on rural areas has been undergoing a quiet, but significant, change. In mass media and political statements, warnings about rural decline, the disadvantages of rural living and the depopulation of rural areas have emerged. These claims and arguments together constitute a specific discourse on rural peripheralisation that presents the countryside as a place endangered by growing spatial disparities. Rural peripheralisation is one of the well-known and repeatedly described aspects of the post-socialist transition. In many Central and Eastern European countries, rural

¹ Institute of Sociology of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague. E-Mail: josef.bernard@soc.cas.cz

areas have been considered to be the losers in the transformation process, and strong polarisation trends in favour of metropolises have been detected. Compared to this, Czechia has been one of the exceptional cases, where neither a substantial rural decline nor an important discourse on rural peripheralisation emerged at the beginning of the transition. It is all the more peculiar that a peripheralisation discourse would come up more than two decades later, as an important part of a political discourse on rural development. In this paper, I describe the specific features of this discourse and its role in shaping rural policy. I show that the peripheralisation discourse links the existence of locally-oriented, place-based services and amenities with a rural quality of life, and argue for a relation between poor access to opportunities and rural depopulation. At the same time, I draw attention to the contradiction between the arguments of this discourse and existing statistical evidence for the contemporary rural situation, and search for the origins of that discourse.

Post-socialist rural peripheralisation and Czech exceptionalism

As Swain (2016) put it, the post-socialist transformation period has widened the gap between urban and rural areas in most Central and Eastern European countries. The post-socialist economic restructuring affected rural labour markets severely (Brown & Schafft 2003; Swain 2016). Rural residents lost many job opportunities, either as a result of the collapse of state and cooperative farms, the rationalisation of agricultural production or rural deindustrialisation, and a weakening of existing commuting patterns. At the same time, foreign direct investments concentrated primarily on metropolitan areas during the transformation period (Förster et al, 2005). Spoor (2013) even interpreted the model of the economic development of post-socialist countries as unbalanced, urban-biased and growth-pole-oriented, and doubted that this development model was able to achieve a trickle-down effect to strengthen the rural areas. Macours and Swinnen (2008) described the processes that resulted in rural decline in the transition countries as a combination of insufficient industrialisation of the countryside under socialism and the disintegration of relatively developed and capital-intensive agricultural production systems into small-scale farms with low productivity, but they also brought to mind that this form of negative development occurred rather in the poorest, mostly south-eastern, transition countries. In contrast to this, the countryside in the western post-socialist countries – including Czechia – benefited from the higher capacity of the national economies, and from the fact that the transformation problems associated with agriculture did not affect the labour market in a significant way.

German sociology and geography contributed significantly to the conceptualisation of peripheralisation because the decline and depopulation of (not only) rural areas emerged as an urgent issue in the former East Germany. The post-socialist transformation in East Germany resulted in a long-term, consolidated high level of unemployment and strong outmigration from rural East Germany (and most of its cities) to the western part of the newly unified state. In the most heavily affected rural areas, this outmigration has resulted in the emergence of an unbalanced social structure. Mostly younger and more educated people left, and women moved disproportionately more than men (e.g. Leibert, 2016). German social research refers to peripheralisation as the sum of economic, demographic and political processes that result in the emergence of regions with difficult spatial accessibility, disappearing services and deteriorating infrastructure, increased economic and social disadvantage, subjective deprivation and stigmatisation of the population (Steinführer et al. 2016). Peripheralisation

has been conceptualised as a process of regional decline, consisting of mutually reinforcing economic, social and demographic factors (Bernard et al. 2018; Keim, 2006).

Besides the structural aspects of peripheralisation, a discursive aspect of the process of territorial decline has also been described. Certain places and regions in society are associated with a variety of negative features, creating a social construct of disadvantaged, peripheral areas of decline. Plüschke-Altoff (2016) argued that rural areas are frequently represented, and even constituted, as peripheries in hegemonic discourse, being described as areas lacking development potential, and documented this argument with examples from the Estonian mass media.

In contrast to the majority of Central and Eastern European post-socialist countries, most rural areas in Czechia have absorbed the economic and social restructuring during the transition relatively smoothly. As Šimon and Bernard (2016) showed, most Czech rural areas escaped the dangers of social marginalisation as a consequence of agricultural and industrial transformation. Labour shedding in agriculture did not lead to significant unemployment growth.

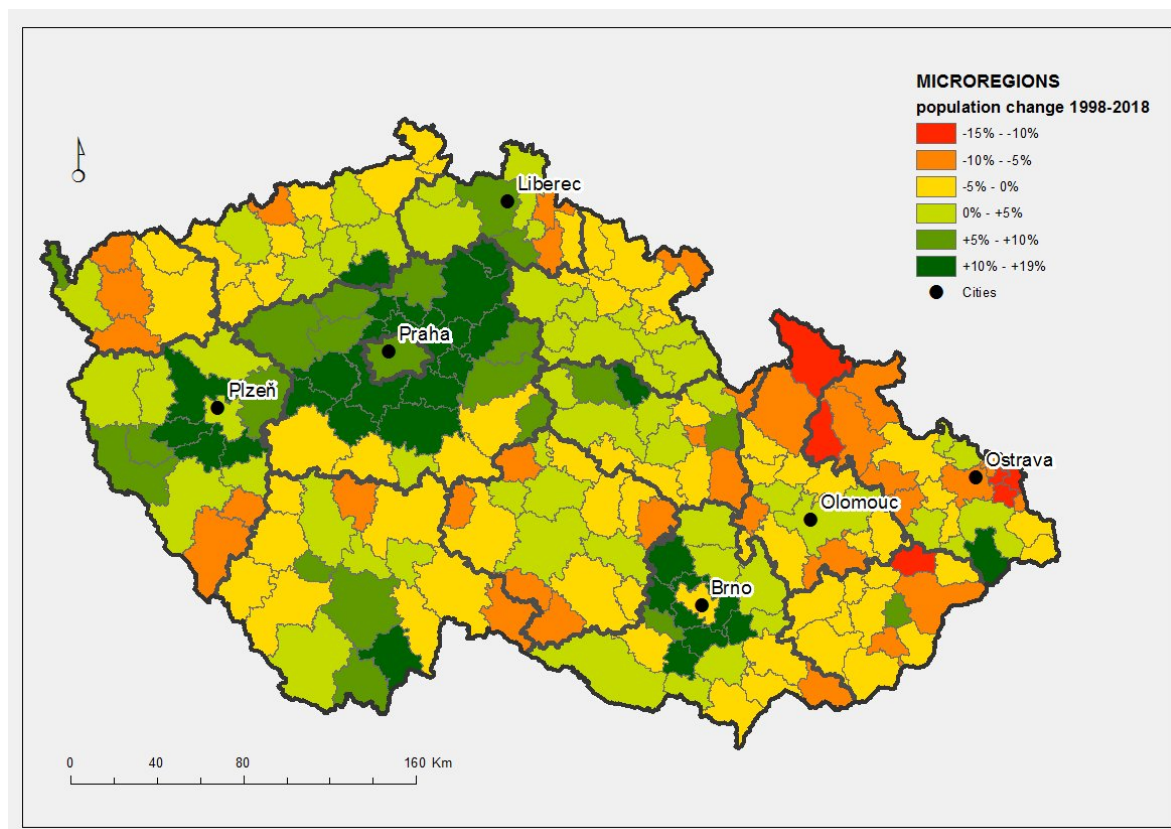


Fig. 1. Population development by microregion, Czechia, 1998–2018. Source: Czech Statistical Office

The last decade of the 20th century also saw the reversal of population concentration trends and the rural–urban migration typical of the socialist and pre-socialist periods. In fact, after a short stabilisation period, strong population deconcentration started to produce population increases in most rural areas. In terms of population development, two important phenomena have been observed in Czechia over the past 20 years. First, at the regional level, there has been a strong population increase around large cities and in the peri-urban countryside

surrounding metropolitan regions. In the rest of the territory, population development has been selective. Only a negligible number of microregions have experienced a pronounced population decline, exceeding a 10% population loss, during the last 20 years [Figure 1]. Second, a strong residential decentralisation, from large settlements to small ones, has taken place, most pronounced in the form of the suburbanisation of large cities, but also, to a lesser extent, in predominantly rural regions. This is evident, even in areas that have seen an overall population loss. Even there, rather the towns have been shrinking, while the populations of the villages have been growing [Figure 2]. In sum, rural depopulation has not evolved to be a serious issue during the last 20 years, and current trends do not indicate any approaching serious rural peripheralization.

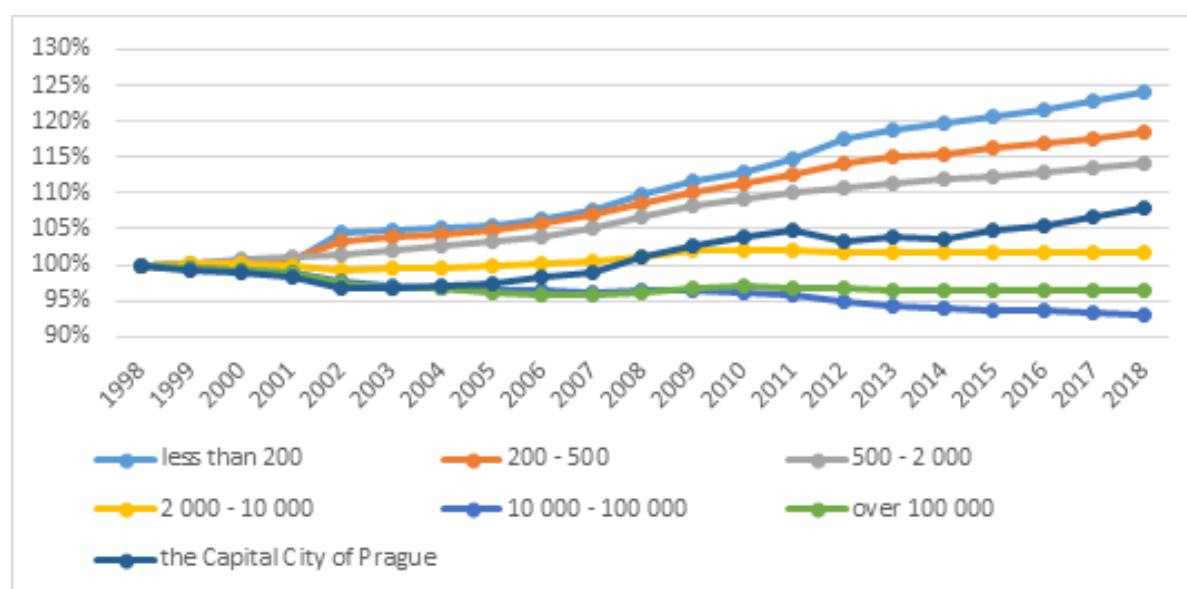


Fig. 2. Population development of settlements of different population size, Czechia, 1998–2018. Source: Czech Statistical Office

Rural areas in Czechia are spatially differentiated in terms of labour market opportunities, poverty and development potential. Areas affected by various forms of disadvantage include the rural hinterland of regions stricken by industrial restructuring during the 1990s, and remote rural areas with poor accessibility to cities (Bernard & Šimon, 2017). As a whole, however, rural areas in Czechia have not shown a significant tendency towards peripheralization during the post-socialist transition, whether from a socioeconomic or demographic point of view.

During the first decades of transformation, rural peripheralization did not appear to be a major theme, either in the political or expert discourse on the countryside. Although in the early years of the transformation, some academics expressed concerns about a possible increase in rural poverty and income polarisation in the countryside (Hudečková & Lošťák 1995), the issue of rural disadvantage and decline did not expand in the discourse of the 1990s and 2000s. Pospěch (2014) mapped the rural transformation discourses in Czechia, showing that, during the 1990s, the multifunctionality of rural areas was increasingly emphasised. As a new issue, an emphasis on images of a rural idyll, referring to positive social values, a sense of community and the rural culture, emerged. Simultaneously, the frame of a rural renewal was emphasised, in terms of rediscovering the traditional rural values destroyed during the communist regime. Typical aspects of peripheralization, such as poverty,

depopulation and infrastructural and social decline, have been touched on only indirectly in the discourse, being framed as an outcome of communist policy errors.

Emergence of the Czech peripheralization discourse and its aspects

Recently, a number of texts have appeared that show the countryside in a different light. Their main topics include the fear of rural decline, depopulation, an increasing rural–urban gap and an overall ‘loss of viability’ of rural areas. Similar texts have appeared not only in the mass media, but also in statements by various political parties and interest groups.

For the purposes of this paper, I used a methodologically simple two-step procedure to analyse the important aspects of this discourse, rather than a systematic discourse analysis. First, articles dealing with the issue of rural depopulation from 2008 to 2018 were counted in three Czech internet newspapers (*iDnes*, *ihned*, *Novinky*). Second, a selected corpus of six newspaper articles, four statements by political parties and one media interview with politicians were analysed to examine the prevailing theses and arguments that appeared in the peripheralization discourse. All the texts selected touched deeply on the issue of rural disadvantage. This corpus was neither complete nor representative; however, it allowed important aspects that repeatedly appeared in the discourse to be grasped.

Figure 3 illustrates the newly emerging popularity of the topic of ‘rural depopulation’ in mass media. Whereas the issue was only marginally touched on up to 2016, it experienced a sharp increase in frequency in 2017, remaining significant through 2018 and into 2019. This likely signals the appearance of a new agenda. As described above, the discovery of this agenda is not based on any substantial new findings concerning population development and the socioeconomic situation in rural areas.

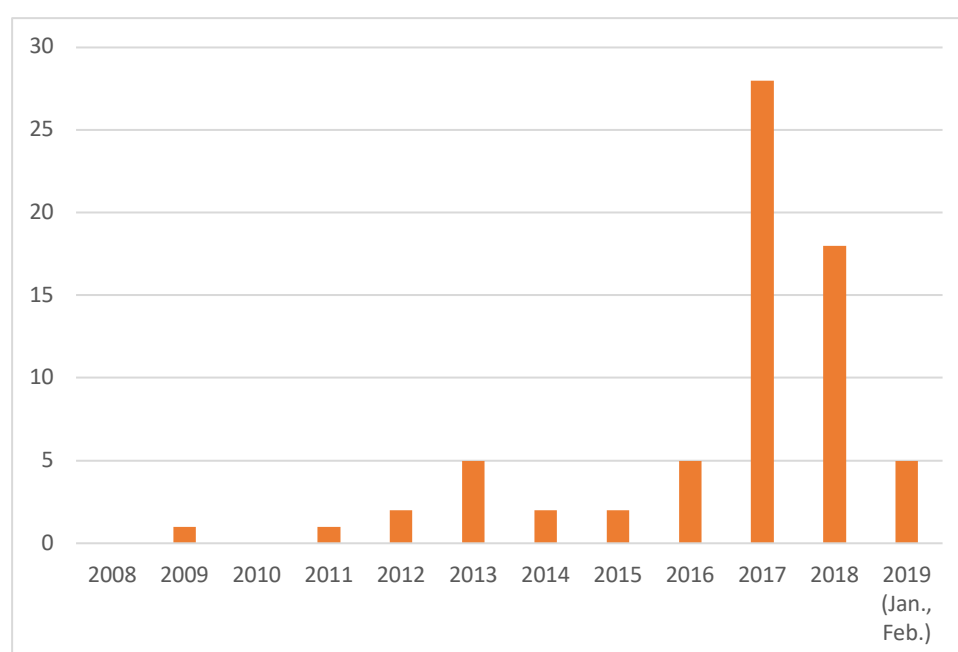


Fig. 3. Number of articles dealing with ‘rural depopulation’ in Czechia in three Internet newspapers (*iDnes*, *ihned*, *novinky*), 2008–2019. Source: own calculation

According to the discourse, rural disadvantage has several forms that can be broadly separated into two different categories. The first refers to ‘depopulation’. It has been argued

in various ways that: „Young and educated people are leaving small communities, usually for work and better services” [*newspaper 5*], and that “if the Czech countryside is to have a future, it is necessary that people are interested in village life. Ideally, it should be young, active people who have a relationship with their community and want to live in it, not just sleep in it” [*political party 4*]. The contrast between the terms ‘living’ and ‘sleeping’ illustrates well the importance attributed to active life in rural communities.

The thesis of depopulation is an obvious contradiction to the statistical evidence, being basically an absurd claim that, in recent years, dozens of small rural municipalities have completely disappeared (no one has disappeared). However, the context in which the statements on rural depopulation appear in these texts is of more interest. They are made in the context of the availability of work and services, but also of the functioning and viability of rural communities. Depopulation is, on one hand, being attributed to the low attractiveness of rural living, mainly for young people and, on the other hand, it is contributing to a further reduction in this attractiveness by decreasing the demand for services and deleteriously affecting community life in individual villages.

The second category of rural disadvantage can be termed an ‘absence of opportunities’. This reflects the statement that rural areas are insufficiently equipped with services and job opportunities to ensure an acceptable quality of life. A countryside without sufficient facilities becomes a “depressive place without perspective” [*political party 2*] and rural life leads to a “decline in living standards” [*newspaper 3*]. The issue of amenities and jobs is seen as a central handicap of rural living. Its importance is being illustrated by statements such as, “There is no work, there are no places to shop, go to the pub, for culture” [*political party 3*] and “Many young families are leaving because there is no infrastructure in the countryside, there are no shops and services” [*newspaper 4*].

A lack of amenities in rural municipalities, together with an insufficiently attractive labour market, are being presented as the main aspects of rural problems. Together with depopulation, they create a mutually reinforcing spiral of increasing peripheralisation, as the depopulating countryside itself is no longer able to generate sufficient activity and demand to provide services.

In contrast to the peripheralization discourses in Germany (Bürk, 2013) and Estonia (Plüschke-Altoff, 2016), the Czech discourse does not contain any express images of poverty, unemployment or deprivation. The unattractiveness of rural areas is based much more on the poor accessibility to services, limited choice of jobs, particularly good jobs, and endangered community life.

A specific aspect of the analysed discourse is its emphasis on small rural communities and distinct localism. The threat to the countryside is being interpreted as a threat to individual small rural settlements and communities. Poor access to services is repeatedly being interpreted in terms of the absence of service provision in small rural communities. The availability of shopping centres and hospitals is not being addressed, but the lack of small village shops, general practitioners’ offices and pubs is, as illustrated by: “A satisfied village has at one’s disposal a doctor, school, shop, post office, fast internet, pub, and rich community life” [*political party 2*].

Similarly, when addressing poor job access, in addition to emphasising the need for the existence of high-quality public transport to enable smooth commuting, the emphasis is on the support for small and medium-sized businesses that can thrive in small settlements. As stated by one of the politicians interviewed: “We want to focus support on small and medium-sized

entrepreneurs who play a crucial role in villages. They form the basic rural infrastructure services” [newspaper 1].

Conclusion

Even in a situation where the rural population in Czechia is growing, and rural labour markets are providing sufficient job opportunities, a political and media discourse on the rural periphery has emerged with unexpected intensity. It has a slightly different form to the peripheralization discourses described in other post-socialist countries, but also bears important similarities, especially the emphasised relationship between lack of opportunities and depopulation.

A question remains as to where the roots of this discourse came from and what the reasons are for its amplification. The answer can be found on two levels. The first is a pragmatic one. The discourse presented here is being used by interest groups as an argumentation tool for negotiating subsidies and various forms of policy support, and also by political parties as a way of addressing rural voters. Rural depopulation is used as an argument to demand aid. In a personal communication with the chairman of a business support organisation that has prepared a major campaign to promote rural entrepreneurship, I asked about the reason for repeatedly using arguments about depopulation, and received a remarkable reply: “If we want to achieve something in terms of support from the government, we need a marketing shortcut”. The discourse relating depopulation to the requirement to support business and services is thus being used as a marketing tool.

The second level is deeper, and explains why, in many cases, this discourse is being accepted by the mass media and the public. Images that appear in the discourse have, for decades, been part of a great societal narrative on modernity. Urbanisation and the disappearance of traditional rural life, including the weakening of rural communities, is an important aspect of the development of modern society. Images of traditional rural communities living together and maintaining strong local institutions, including associations, services and business, are one of the most important aspects of the collective memory of modern society, and have become a nostalgic counterpart to modernity. Claims of a ‘dying’ countryside naturally fit into this narrative of modernity. Thus, the current peripheral discourse is skilfully mixing some of the real-world problems of remote and economically weak rural areas with a story of a disappearing rural way of life that fits into a society-wide narrative.

Acknowledgments

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Spatial patterns of rural population dynamics during the post-soviet transition phase: an empirical study from western Siberia

Abstract: *Rural depopulation in post-socialist countries jeopardizes the provision of infrastructure and public services, undermines local economies and leads to stigmatization of the countryside. This paper aims at understanding the driving forces of rural depopulation with the example of Tyumen province in Western Siberia where we investigate spatial patterns of rural population dynamics from 1990 to 2010. Our results reveal two opposite trends. We found a decreasing role of agricultural development and an increasing role of transport accessibility to cities as determinants of population dynamics. Structural changes in the economy resulted in rising spatial division with growing towns and villages in metropolitan areas and shrinking peripheral settlements. The study highlights the crucial role of transport accessibility to the major cities for rural economic development.*

Keywords: *rural depopulation, rural out-migration, peripheralization, post-socialist development, agricultural development, Russia.*

Introduction

In the neoclassical paradigm labour migration is seen as an adjustment mechanism, which helps to smooth disparities between regions (Hazans, 2003). However continuous out-migration can start a chain of negative changes. The loss of qualified workers undermines the local economy. Reduced budgets and falling user numbers jeopardize the provision of infrastructure and public services (Naumann & Reichert-Schick, 2013). Together these factors constitute a vicious circle, leading to potential stigmatization of regions with high levels of out-migration, and further depopulation (Myrdal, 1957; Drudy, 1978; Burk, 2013).

Modern European history provides several examples of depopulated areas like shrinking cities in the old industrial regions (Wolff & Wiechmann, 2018) or the out-migration from the increasingly economically marginalized countryside in the European North (Eliasson, Westlund & Johansson, 2015) and South (Pinilla, 2008). Another striking example of rural depopulation can be found in post-socialist Russia (Nefedova, 2012; Alekseev & Safronov, 2015; Karachurina & Mkrtchyan, 2016). Its peripheral regions in the Far East, Eastern Siberia and the Northern part of European Russia were losing their rural population due to out-migration at rates between 1.5 and 3% annually between 2011 and 2015 (Nefedova & Mkrtchyan,

¹ Institute of Geography, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, Russia. E-Mail: a.v.sheludkov@igras.ru

² Institute of Landscape Ecology, University of Münster, Germany

³ Leibniz Institute of Agricultural Development in Transition Economies (IAMO), Halle (Saale), Germany

2017). Between 2002 and 2010 the Russian government closed 2165 abandoned villages. Another 19,500 (12.7% of the total) had lost their permanent population by 2010 already (Zubarevich, 2013). However, the driving forces of rural depopulation in Russia and its relationship with the transition are still poorly understood.

The main magnets for rural emigrants in post-socialist countries are large metropolitan areas (Schmidt, Fina & Siedentop, 2015). After 30 years of transition only large cities have fully integrated into the global market and have caught up economically with Western Europe (Leibert, 2013). Close proximity and easy access to cities is increasingly becoming a principal factor for the persistence and prosperity of rural settlements (Mkrtchyan, 2013; Karachurina & Mkrtchyan, 2018). However, a city-centred explanation obscures the fact that rural areas have also been deeply transforming during the transition, and these changes in the rural economy could affect patterns of rural out-migration. The actual interplay of the 'push' and 'pull' factors – from cities' as well as for villages' sides – still needs to be evaluated.

This paper aims at identifying the driving forces of rural population dynamics in Russia during the transition period from 1990 to 2010. We take the example of Tyumen province in Western Siberia to answer the following research questions:

- (1) How did spatial patterns of rural population dynamics change over the transition period?
- (2) What role did accessibility of cities (measured as travel distance) play in determining the rural population dynamics throughout the transition period?
- (3) How did structural changes in agriculture affect rural population dynamics?

By answering these questions, the paper contributes to a better understanding of the relationship between transition and rural depopulation, particularly in a setting that are relevant for other post-socialist countries (across which rural depopulation is a common phenomenon).

Materials and Methods

Study area

Tyumen province is located to the East of the Ural Mountains and covers 160,000 km² [fig. 1]. Tyumen is the administrative centre for the northern oil and gas autonomous districts of Western Siberia, whose rapid growth triggered fast economic development across the province. The population of Tyumen city increased from 0.56 million in 2008 to 0.77 million in 2018. The second and the third largest urban centres in the region are Tobolsk (102,000 people) and Ishim (65,000 people).

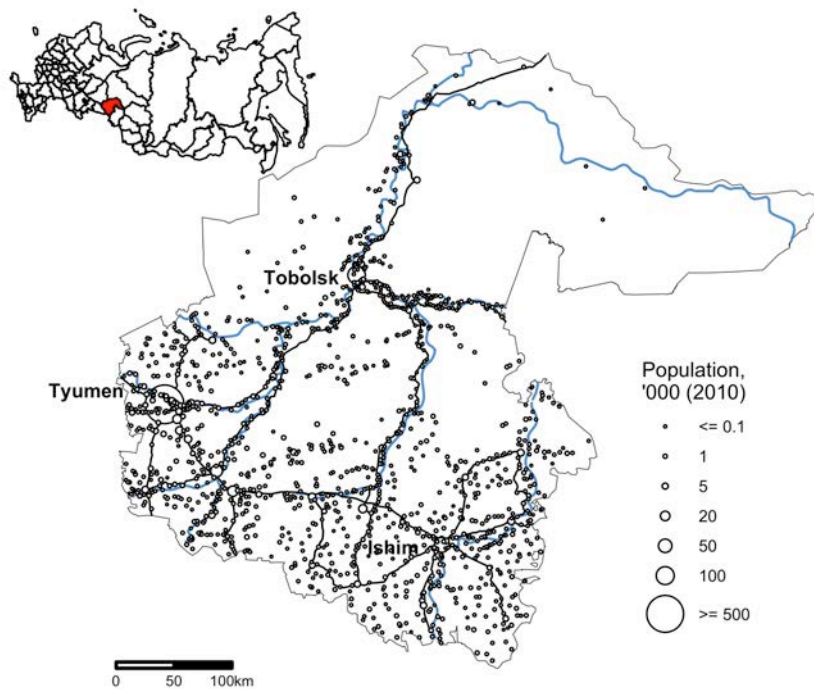


Fig. 1. Population size per settlement across the study area

The southern part of Tyumen oblast largely represents agricultural landscapes and is part of the Western Siberian grain belt. In 1995 the rural population reached 562,500 people and after that started decreasing [fig. 2]. The decline was partially compensated by administrative conversion of small towns into rural settlements. The urban population, in contrast, started growing in 2003.

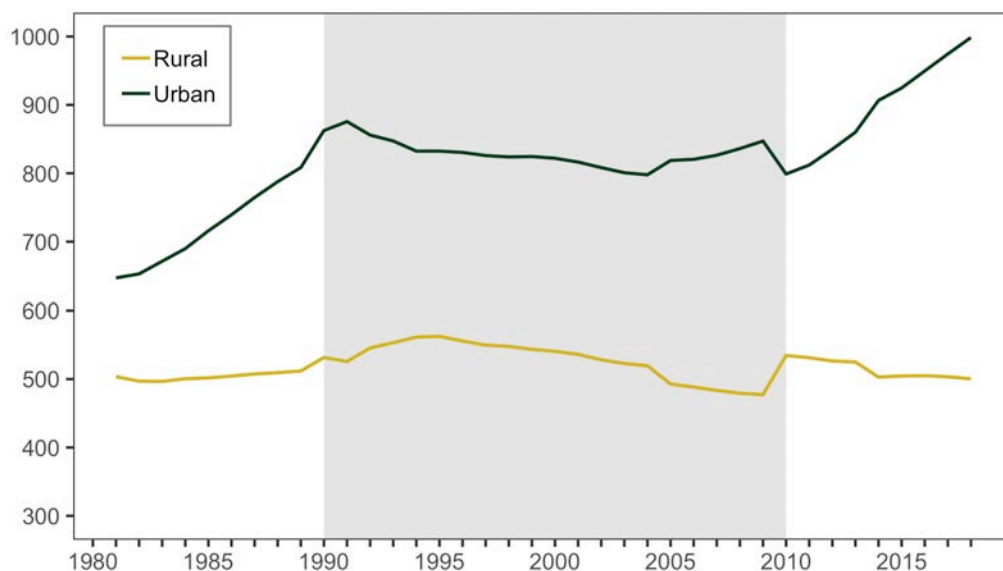


Fig. 2. Population in Tyumen province, 1981-2018 (thousand inhabitants). The grey shading marks the study period. The sharp changes of 1991, 2004, 2009, and 2014 reflect the administrative reorganization

In 1990, there were 1300 settlements, not including cities [table 1]. Most settlements (619 or 48%) belonged to the group of villages with a population of 101–200 and 201–500 people. 412 (31.7%) villages had less than a hundred inhabitants. By 2010 97 (7.5%) villages were abandoned or united with neighbouring cities. The number of middle-sized settlements decreased, while the number of small villages (<100 people) increased.

The settlements are united into 22 municipal districts ('rayons').

	Population size	1–10	11–50	51–100	101–200	201–500	501–1000	1001–3000	3001–5000	5001–20000	Total
Year	1990	70	170	172	298	321	161	75	8	25	1300
	2010	73	203	195	238	275	132	56	14	19	1203

Table 1. Settlements structure by population size

Data

We used data at settlement level from the Russia-wide population censuses of 2002 and 2010, and from regional statistical committee bulletins (1990). The periods between the time steps were assumed as the early (1990–2002) and late (2002–2010) transition periods. We also used annual data on population and agriculture from 1990 to 2010 at the rayon level that we derived from regional statistical committee bulletins (TyumenStat, 2018).

Analysis of the spatial patterns of population dynamics

To investigate changes in the spatial patterns of rural population dynamics over the transition period we derived geographical locations of the settlements to map the population changes for each of the two transition periods. Then we compared the hotspots of population increase and decline between the periods.

Drivers of rural population change

To measure the impact of urban development on rural out-migration we used population dynamics (%) in individual settlements as dependent variable and transport accessibility (measured as shortest road distance, in kilometres, km) to the provincial capital (Tyumen) and to the rayon centres as predictors. The distances were calculated using the OpenStreetMap⁴ road network. To reveal the role of agricultural development in determining population dynamics we modelled annual population change per rayon as a function of sown area, yield (cereals), and dairy cattle per rayon. To investigate whether the effect sizes of the determinants were changing over time, we built models separately for the two study periods and compared the coefficients of the models. Because of the different data structure, we used two types of models. First, we used a linear mixed effects regression for the dataset at settlement level with three-time steps. Second, we used a panel regression for the dataset at rayon level with annual data. We standardized all independent variables for comparing the contribution of each determinant to the variance of dependent variable. The analysis was conducted in R (R Core Team, 2018) with the packages lme4 (Bates et al., 2015) and plm (Croissant, Millo et al., 2008).

⁴ Map data copyrighted OpenStreetMap contributors and available from <https://www.openstreetmap.org>

Results

Spatial patterns of rural population dynamics

We found a clear spatial division between growing and shrinking rural settlements, which was especially pronounced in the late transition period from 2002 to 2010 [fig. 3]. Depopulation prevailed in most of Tyumen province, while pockets of population growth existed in a few spots, associated with cities, major routes and rivers.

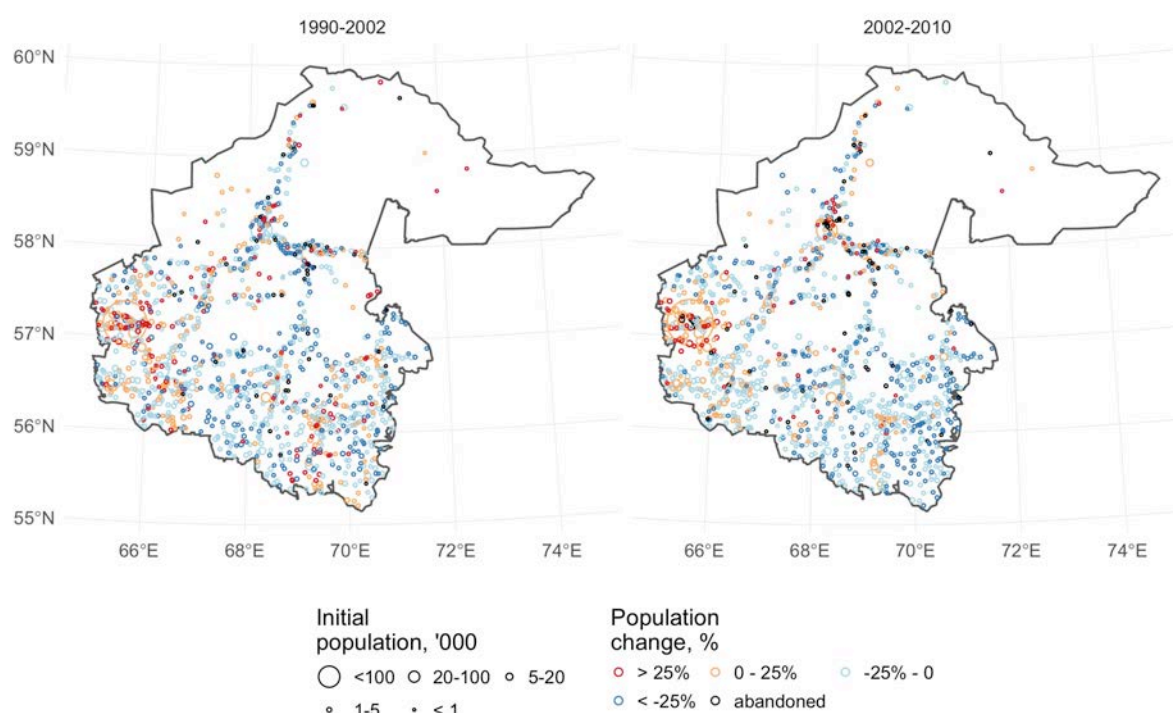


Fig. 3. Hotspots of population change in Tyumen province

In the 1990s 927 (70%) out of 1,318 settlements were shrinking. There were two major areas of growth: along the Trans-Siberian railroad and a parallel major road transport route in the Southwest of the study area, and along the Ishim river in the Southeast. The northern part of the study area was largely losing people, with exception of villages with non-Russian population. In 2002 to 2010, the number of shrinking settlements increased to 975 (76%) out of 1,273, while population growth increasingly concentrated on the surroundings of the metropolitan regions. Most of the growing settlements were located around Tyumen, a smaller proportion around Tobolsk, and some very few around Ishim. The only growing settlements beyond the metropolitan areas were the administrative centres of regions.

The role of accessibility of cities and rayon centres in determining rural population dynamics

The results of the linear mixed effects regression model [table 2] confirmed that accessibility of cities and rayon centres became vital for the population growth in the rural settlements over the transition period.

	1990–2002	2002–2010
Distance to Tyumen (km)	-0.014 (0.015)	-0.052 (0.012)
Distance to rayon centre (km)	-0.169 (0.060)	-0.247 (0.071)
Constant	89.918 (5.859)	100.661 (4.692)
Observations	1,247	1,221
Root-mean-square deviation (RMSD)	27.829	24.063
R ² _m	0.024	0.112
R ² _c	0.148	0.221

Table 2. Linear mixed effects model results with the percent of initial population at end of period as the dependent variable. Notes: Standard errors are in parenthesis. *R*²_m (marginal *R*²) represents the variance explained by the fixed effects and *R*²_c (conditional *R*²) interpreted as the variance explained by the entire model, i.e. by both fixed and random effects.

The effect sizes of accessibility to both Tyumen and rayon centres dramatically increased between the two periods: from -0.014 to -0.052 and from -0.169 to -0.247 respectively. The error of the model (RMSD) decreased while the explained proportion of the variance in the dependent variable (in terms of marginal as well as conditional *R*²) substantially increased.

The role of agriculture in driving rural population dynamics

The influence of agricultural development on rural population dynamics diminished during the transition period.

	Absolute values		Standardized variables	
	1991–2000	2001–2010	1991–2000	2001–2010
Dairy cattle ('000)	0.137 (0.029)	0.044 (0.027)	0.629 (0.135)	0.121 (0.075)
Overall sown area (million ha)	-0.079 (0.046)	-0.037 (0.031)	-0.202 (0.118)	-0.097 (0.081)
Yield cereals (t/ha)	0.075 (0.111)	-0.036 (0.128)	0.056 (0.083)	-0.022 (0.077)
Distance to Tyumen (100 km)	0.013 (0.067)	-0.156 (0.049)	0.016 (0.083)	-0.195 (0.061)
Constant	-1.973 (0.368)		-0.877 (0.182)	
Observations	220	220	220	220
R ²	0.171	0.094	0.171	0.094
Adjusted R ²	0.155	0.037	0.155	0.037

Table 3. Panel regression results with the percent change in annual population as dependent variable. Notes: Standard errors are in parenthesis. Distance to Tyumen (km) was calculated as average road distance across all settlements of the respective rayon, weighted by population size.

In 1990s, development of the labour-intensive sectors of agriculture, such as dairy production, was crucial for population growth in regions [table 3]. Neither crop production nor accessibility of regional capital made appreciable contributions to the variance of annual population change in regions. Since the early 2000s, the importance of agriculture in shaping rural population dynamics decreased: the effect size of dairy cattle fell three times. The total explanatory power of the model (in terms of R^2) also decreased. At the same time, a negative relationship between population changes and distance to the regional capital became apparent.

Discussion

Our analysis revealed two opposite trends: a decreasing role of agriculture, and an increasing role of transport accessibility of cities and rayon centres in determining the spatial patterns of rural population dynamics. On this basis it is not surprising, that during the 1990s pockets of rural population growth were identified both in and beyond metropolitan areas, while during the 2000s peripheral villages were largely depopulating.

The introduction of market economy in Russia put rural territories with better natural and infrastructural conditions in a more advantageous position, enabling economic persistency. During the first decade of the transition, when the urban economy suffered crisis and cities were less attractive for people, the labour-intensity of agriculture played an important role in shaping patterns of migration. For example, we observed substantially less depopulation during this period in areas where agricultural production rested on primarily labour-intensive dairy farming. However, since the early 2000s the adoption of labour-saving technologies in agriculture and the subsequent reduction in employment contributed to rural out-migration as a 'push' factor, while economic growth in large cities made them stronger 'magnets' for in-migrants from countryside.

Conclusion

Our findings show that economic development of rural areas in post-socialist countries cannot be provided solely by developing the agricultural sector. Instead, our study highlights the growing importance of transport accessibility to urban cores. Development of towns and villages depends on their ability to be incorporated into larger geographical bodies such as metropolitan region. These findings are important for other post-socialist setting, too, where changes in the rural economies and increasing attractiveness of urban centres stimulate large rural emigration waves.

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Monuments to Yugoslav people's liberation struggle in natural areas—memorialization of authentic historical localities

Abstract: *The process of institutional confirmation both of the cultural-historical and artistic value of the monuments and memorials dedicated to the People's Liberation Struggle in socialist Yugoslavia began in the mid-1950s. Although monuments of different scale and quality in individual locations, both within and outside of urban areas, started to appear immediately after the end of WWII, the marking of places where important battles, different organizational activities and political meetings took place preceded the actual plans for memorialization especially in infrastructurally undeveloped and remote areas. Thus, historical sites important to the People's Liberation Struggle were marked in vast parts of economically underdeveloped areas with dense forests. Local governments, as well as republic and federal ones, soon recognized that their memorialization presents an opportunity for both economic revitalization through forming of larger memorial areas where tourism, as well as educational and cultural activities for promoting achievements of the People's Liberation Struggle could develop. Memorialization and management of these large natural areas, as well as protection of cultural and natural heritage, the erection of new memorials and tourism development, occurred through the development of increasingly complex spatial plans. This paper will outline the introduction and development of different forms of memorialization and formal means of protection of large natural areas where important episodes from the People's Liberation Struggle took place – natural parks, authentic historical localities, memorial areas etc., and suggest ways in which they shaped planning strategies in non-urban areas, since the introduction of planning tools in the design and setup of memorials represented not only a leap in conceiving the memorial typology and politics of memory, but also a change in the general understanding of programming of space, resources and their rational use.*

Keywords: *heritage, planning, non-urban areas, nature protection.*

Introduction

The process of institutional confirmation both of the cultural-historical and artistic value of the monuments and memorials dedicated to the People's Liberation Struggle, workers' movement and socialist revolution² in socialist Yugoslavia³ began in the mid-1950s. According to the first

¹ Office for Photography / Ured za fotografiju, Zgreb, Croatia. E-Mail: lovrencic@gmail.com

² For the purpose of this paper, I will use terms *monuments* and *memorial complexes* dedicated to the People's Liberation Struggle (PLS).

census that began in 1956 and lasted until 1960, there were 14,402 erected monuments (Milenković, 1961). Until 1990 and break-up of Yugoslavia, estimated number of monuments and memorials dedicated to the PLS was around 16,000 and more.

This typologically heterogeneous assemblage⁴, both in regard to the method and quality of craftsmanship, the artistic value and the physical size, was never completely inventoried and categorized. Only a part of these memorials had been valorised and registered as a memorial, cultural and/or natural heritage.

This paper aims to outline the introduction and development of different forms of memorialization and formal means of protection of large natural areas where important episodes from the Peoples' Liberation Struggle took place – natural parks, authentic historical localities, memorial areas etc., and suggest ways in which they shaped planning strategies in non-urban areas, since the introduction of planning tools in the design and setup of memorials represented not only a leap in conceiving the memorial typology and politics of memory, but also a change in the general understanding of programming of space, resources and their rational use.

Marking of the PLS localities

Although monuments of different scale and quality in individual locations, both within and outside of urban areas, started to appear immediately after the end of the WW2, the marking of places where important battles, different organizational activities and political meetings took place in most cases preceded the actual plans for memorialization, especially in infrastructurally undeveloped and remote areas. Stronger memorialization activities in cities or in their immediate vicinity, especially from 1945 till late 1950s were, among other things, related to the state of infrastructure and the accessibility of these localities. However, important PLS localities outside of inhabited areas, where the most intense activity of Partisan units had been present, were continually marked (sometimes by erecting a simple monument), and eventually different forms of commemorative practices, of different formal degree and adapted for various locations, started to develop – from wreath-laying ceremonies to walking tours and talks with veterans, as well as certain forms of excursion (tourist) offer.

Development of commemorative activities, activities of “fostering combat traditions” and mediating war memories were entrusted to branches of the Association of the Peoples' Liberation Struggle Veterans,⁵ but they were regularly developed in cooperation with broader social community and social standards organizations such as educational institutions, cultural-artistic, professional, sport-recreational associations and tourism societies. The processes of institutionalization, memorization, and creating war narratives ran in parallel.

³ The name of the state officially declared by the Constitutional Assembly on 29th November 1945 was the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (FPRY), while the new Constitution from 7th April 1963 declared the official name of the state to be the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY).

⁴ Individual sculptures and sculptural-architectural complexes were being erected, as well as commemorative plaques, memorial busts, homes and schools, memorial forests, parks and burial grounds, while authentic sites were being marked and memorial sites were being established.

⁵ The Alliance of the Peoples' Liberation Struggle Veterans of Yugoslavia was founded in 1947 in Belgrade. In 1961 it changed the official name into The Alliance of Associations of the Peoples' Liberation Struggle Veterans – SUBNOR. Their tasks included keeping record of former combatants, the provision of social care to disabled veterans and children of fallen comrades, as well as taking care of partisan cemeteries. -Regarding the remembrance of the PLS, they also took care of commemorating significant events and personalities, supervising processes of monuments erection, and organizing and coordinating the anniversaries.

The cooperation between local communities and tourist social organizations was vital for planning and development of excursion sites,⁶ and already in the early 1950s, monuments and memorials to the PLS, as well as locations without monuments, find their place in discussions on the development of tourist offer and were selected in large numbers as those on which to create excursion sites.

The absence of infrastructure was tackled by setting up of simple excursion and picnic sites and by developing simple participative and recreational activities in nature, requiring only minimal investment and elementary accommodation (camps, motels, mountain lodges).



Fig. 1. Youth camp, National park Sutjeska – Tjentište
Foto: ccn Images / Arhiva Turistkomerca

Youth activities, including the recreation of Partisan marches and rifle shooting, were being conceived and developed in cooperation with SUBNOR and the Youth Alliance members, scouts and pioneers. By tracing original routes of Partisan units, SUBNOR in cooperation with mountaineering clubs started developing a network of hiking trails, the so-called Partisan transversals, that crisscrossed in more significant localities, and often connected many different memorials and authentic objects from the PLS. By combining recreation and education through the printing of maps and mountaineering booklets that traced original routes of Partisan

⁶ The establishment and equipping of excursion sites in proximity to urban centers and the organization of excursions in the mid-1950s was becoming an important task of tourist associations. In accordance with sociological researches and trends in care provision to the working population, excursion tourism took an important position in the current discussions of the period, as an important and useful form of tourism development suitable for fostering tourist habits, workers' health benefits and psychological well-being, and furthermore as a tourism form which was also financially accessible to broader sections of society, while also having great educational and cultural potentials.

troops through beautiful nature, these trails embodied the popular slogan “Get to know your homeland to love it more”.⁷

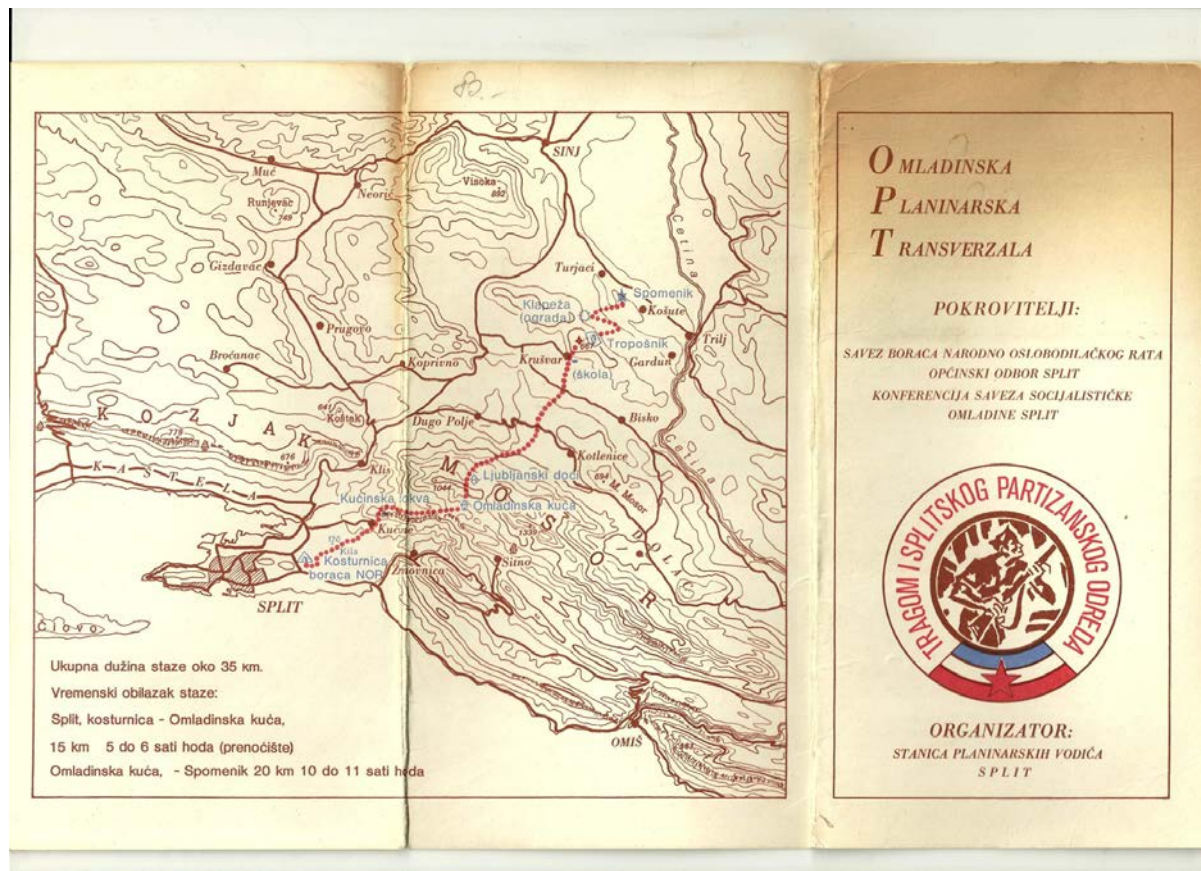


Fig. 2. Youth Partisan Transversal, hiking map

The admissibility of planning a certain form of commercial solutions in the case of monuments to the PLS had been adopted in 1957 during the counseling on issues related to the protection of the monuments to the PLS, some of which were in a state of decay, and some of which had already fell into ruin (Milenković, 1961). This was a formal acceptance of practices that had already existed at some PLS sites, whose immediate aim was to generate financial resources for the maintenance of monuments, while indirectly stimulating economic development of the wider area through the development of tourism.

Namely, after the experience of tourism development on the Adriatic coast, which had stopped the emigration processes, secured working places and developed infrastructure, it was widely acknowledged that one of the key roles of tourism was the development of the economically underdeveloped regions. By applying the same logic both to monuments dedicated to the PLS as to the rest of cultural and natural heritage, and by its incorporation into tourism trends (especially in the case of continental tourism) at the end of the decade, a framework had been created, within which the existing PLS monuments would then be fitted into multifunctional circuits, while new ones would be planned as sites of honouring, education,

⁷ The first trail was opened in 1955 in Slovenia. The transversals, apart from recreational also had a military function, and the state encouraged and subsidized societies that organized excursions and traced routes. The mountaineering associations that maintained transversals also took care of monuments and memorials that were located in the less accessible areas. (Andrejčič, 1986).

recreation and entertainment. While plans and projects on local and communal levels were rather small in scale, protection of large natural areas was being conducted on republican and federal levels.

Legislation

At the beginning of the 1960s, the first major plans and projects for the development of memorials and advancement of tourism on localities related to the PLS were implemented outside the urban areas. New legal tools provided the possibility of protecting authentic localities within framework of the republican nature protection laws. The so-called second generation of laws in the field of protection of monuments and nature was being adopted,⁸ which for the PLS monuments and memorials meant the institutional confirmation both of their cultural-historical and artistic value in the case of the already erected sculptures and preserved authentic objects (by their entry into cultural heritage registers), and their memorial value in case of authentic localities (entry into the natural heritage registers). National (historical) parks and natural memorial monuments (terms vary depending on the republic in question) had become formal means of protection of large natural areas where important episodes from the PLS took place. This was the legislator's response to the demand to protect the historically important natural localities for the memorialization of the PLS.⁹ This was the first law to define (large) natural zones outside of inhabited areas that were of importance for the PLS, and to define the official manner of their designation,¹⁰ its governing bodies and protection mechanisms.

The Law on Nature Protection in the Territory of the People's Republic of Croatia had been adopted in 1960, predicting five categories of protected natural objects, including the category of natural memorial monuments. National parks were defined as larger, spatially limited areas of natural appeal that had special scholar, cultural, educational, and tourist significance, while those areas (natural localities and places) in which, either in recent or more remote history, significant political or cultural events took place (such as significant and decisive battles, assemblies or manifestations, or places of legendary character) were proclaimed as natural memorial monuments (Zakon o zaštiti prirode na području NR Hrvatske, 1960; Alfirer and Kevo, 1960: 6; Krstić, 1987: 18).

⁸ The first generation of laws is related to the legislation that was adopted immediately after the WW2, in 1945 (modeled on the Soviet legislative), and that was defined by mutual care and protection of monuments of culture and natural rarities, while federal units adopted laws of identical name and similar content (1947-49). The second generation of laws, adopted in 1959, represented the introduction of social management principles and decentralization in the field of monuments and nature protection, as well as the introduction of economic relations in social services commerce operations. Unlike the legal model for the cultural monuments protection, with the existing federal law on the basis of which the republican laws were adopted, in the case of nature protection there had been no political will for the adoption of a federal law, therefore this area was regulated exclusively on the level of republic. (Krstić, 1987)

⁹ The PLS had been, by its very character, partisan warfare (that is why monuments to the PLS are often called *partisan monuments*): since partisan warfare is used in those cases when national territory is either completely or partially occupied, the usage of the characteristics of natural terrain (that is unknown to the enemy) – with an aim of military bases setup and hospitals construction, as well as the provision of shelter to the local population – is of utmost importance. In Croatia, the economically undeveloped areas extensively covered with dense forests were of special importance for the formation of partisan bases and liberated territories, while also serving as locations for confrontation with a numerically and technologically superior enemy. (Kleut, 1983)

¹⁰ While national parks were designated as such by republics on basis of special laws, natural memorial monuments were designated by municipal assemblies after official consultations with the Office for Environmental Protection.

It was immediately clear that many places and natural areas, which would be protected according to the specified category, would “also be protected as cultural-historical monuments as well”, which would further guarantee permanent conservation of “natural ambient, in which these cultural-historical monuments are situated”. (Alfirer and Kevo, 1960: 6)

Regarding the implementation of protective measures, this Law, as well as the Law on Nature Protection in the Territory of the PR Croatia, introduced principles that allowed for the so-called active heritage protection by implementation of preventive protection on one hand, and real protection on the other hand (by creating conditions favourable for the unobstructed natural development, i.e. by taking administrative, legal, technical, economical and other measures with an aim of creating such conditions). Unification of these elements – management and protection of both cultural and natural heritage, the erection of new PLS memorials, tourism and, in case of underdeveloped areas, economic development – occurred through creation of complex spatial plans both for individual sites and whole areas. Namely, a legal obligation of creating spatial plans was brought forth (general managing plan), which defined protection, site planning, improvement and usage of national parks, i.e. natural memorial monuments, while it also presented an obligation to state institutions and work organizations to actively seek cooperation with regional institutes for the protection of nature and the protection of monuments when making preparations for the realization of urban and regional spatial plans (the higher order plans).

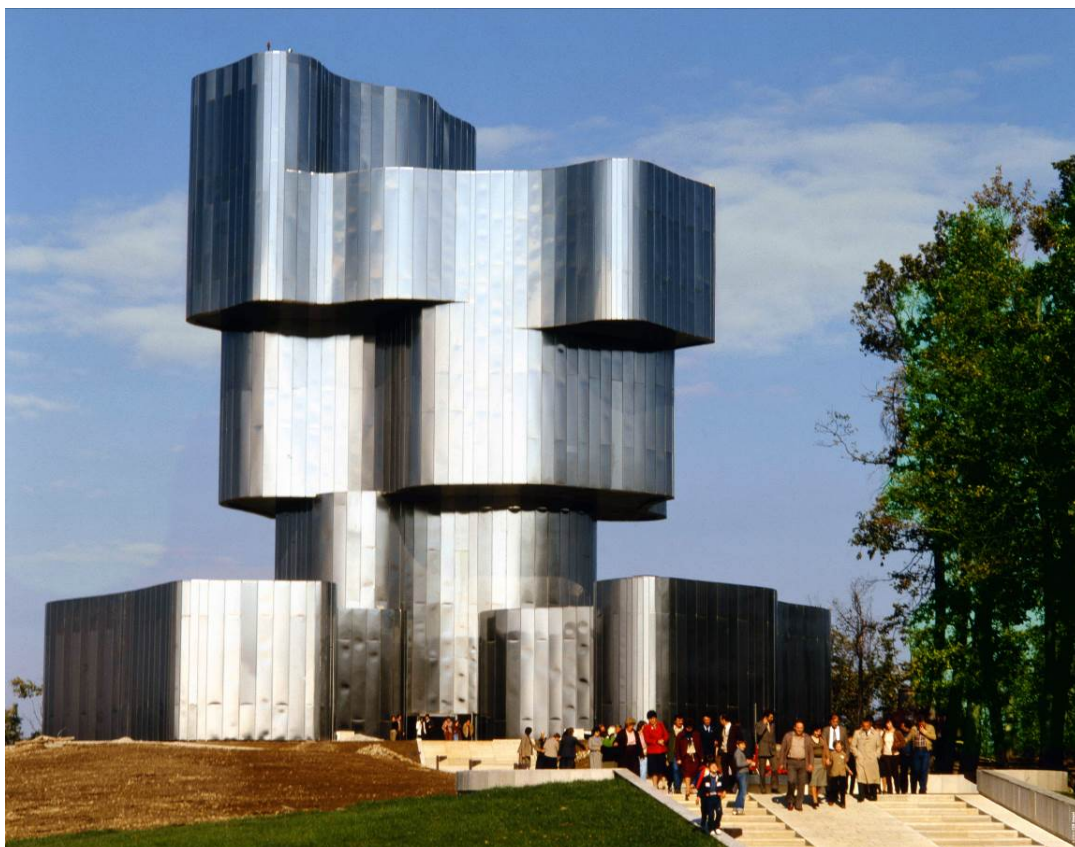


Fig. 3. Petrova Gora Monument, Vojin Bakić, 1981

foto: ccn Images/Arhiva Turistkomerca



Fig. 4. View from the Petrova Gora Monument
foto: ccn Images/Arhiva Turistkomerca

The site planning of Petrova Gora

The implementation of the described procedure can best be seen on the example of the site planning of Petrova gora, a memorial area of major significance for the PR Croatia. The site planning of Petrova gora began immediately after the adoption of the Law on Protection of Cultural Monuments and the Law on Nature Protection by the PR Croatia in 1960, while its course would shape the next generation of laws as a representative example of development and management of a large natural area that evolved into a specific memorial type – the so-called memorial territory.

Petrova gora played a significant role in the WW2. In addition to the important battles that took place here, in this economically underdeveloped area with dense forests, important organizational activities and political meetings took place, while in 1941 this area remained the only free territory in the occupied Europe. The Central Partisan Hospital, established in 1942, attended to 5,000 wounded, while remaining hidden throughout the entire war.

Immediately after the WW2, began the idea of memorizing this glorious place, so already in 1946, the cornerstone for the construction of monument on Petrovac, the top of Petrova gora, had been set, while in the mid-50s the memorial house was erected. A more systematic arrangement of the memorial area began in 1961. That year, the Vojnić – Petrova gora road was built, which enabled the reconstruction of the Central Partisan hospital and the beginning of development of the memorial area. The Historical Commission was established with the task of reconstructing all significant events in the WW2 and marking of significant sites. The same year saw the founding of the Directorate for Memorial Buildings, an administrative body for

the area, and the Tourist Society Vojnić (Primorac, 1963: 35), while the Central Partisan Hospital with its surrounding facilities was placed under protection as a cultural monument. In 1962, a motel in Muljava had been erected, as well as additional access roads as a part of work actions in which youth and citizens took part, collectively landscaping the site. Upon order of the Directorate for Memorial Buildings of Petrova gora, in 1965, an interdisciplinary team of the Institute for Urbanism of the Zagreb Faculty of Architecture, with Ante Marinović-Uzelac as a head planner, created The Guidelines for the Facility Basis of the Petrova Gora Memorial Area, in which tourism was recognized as “the most advantageous means [...] of economical activation, while the opening of this area to tourism means at the same time its economic-social regeneration.”

In 1969, Marinović-Uzelac, head of the interdisciplinary team of planners and tourism experts, building on The Guidelines, elaborated The Facility Basis of the Petrova Gora Memorial Area (a general urban plan).¹¹ Since the area of Petrova Gora had been classified and protected under the Nature Protection Act as a natural memorial monument in the same year, the general plan treated the monumental and natural values equally. Planning and arrangement was covered by the Law on Spatial Planning and Use of Construction Land as a so-called Special Purpose Area.

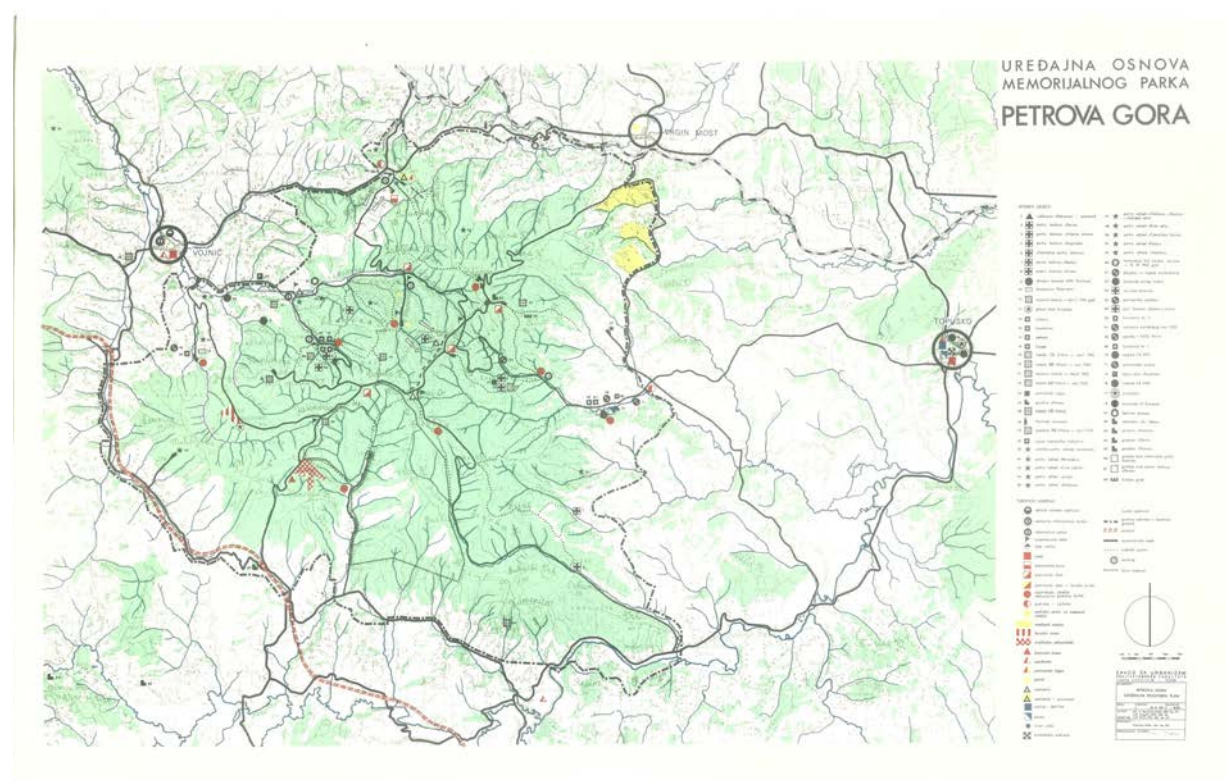


Fig. 5. General plan for the Petrova Gora Memorial Area
Marinović-Uzelac, Alfirer and Milić, 1969

¹¹ The authors were planner Ante Marinović-Uzelac, tourism expert and economist Dragutin Alfirer, and architect Bruno Milić (Marinović-Uzelac, Alfirer, and Milić 1969).

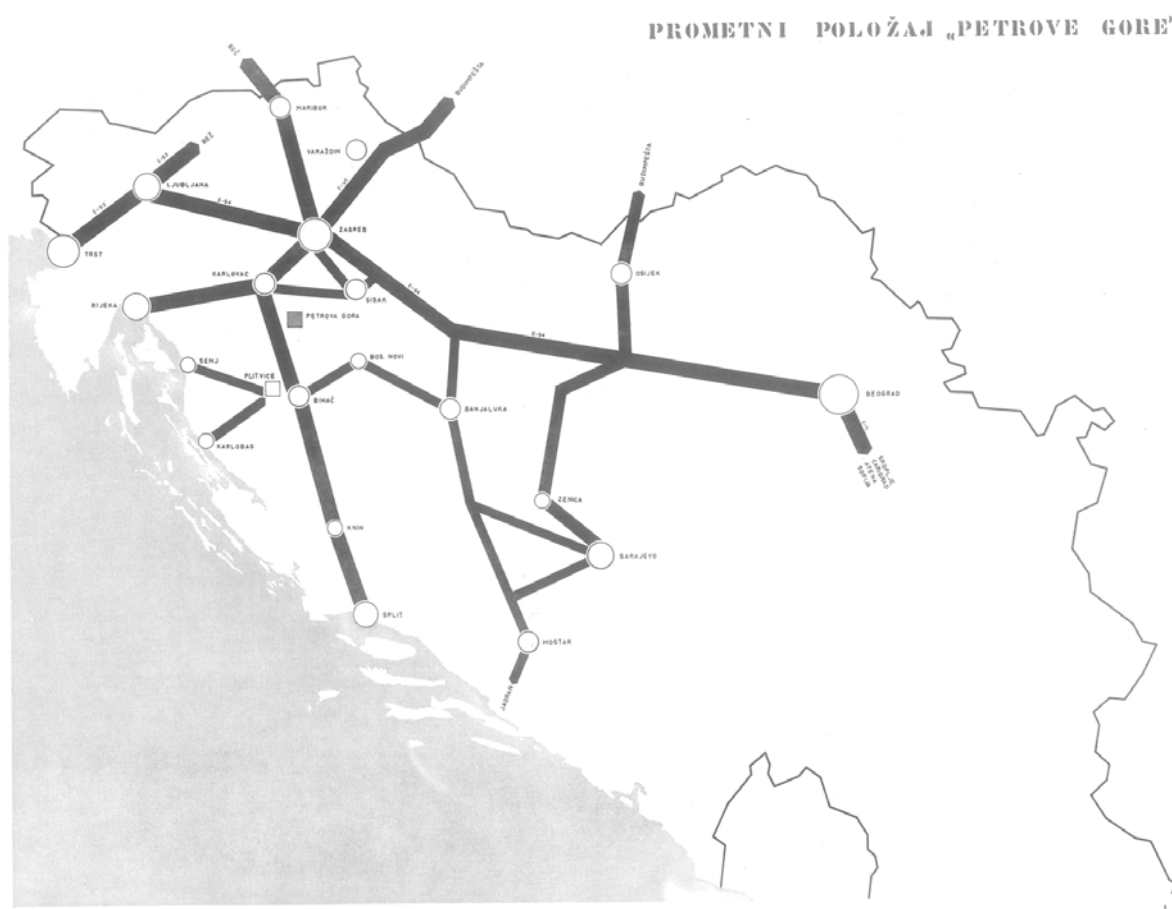


Fig. 6. Traffic situation, Petrova Gora Memorial Area
Marinović-Uzelac, Alfirer and Milić, 1969

The coverage area comprised over 17,800 hectares and included almost all of the prominent sites and buildings of historical significance for the PLS and earlier periods, and provided a realistic basis for rational investment in the development of the area. The spatial concept of the plan entailed several protected zones, while it particularly regulated the relations concerning natural and cultural heritage protection and the protection of the existing economic activities within the memorial area (forestry, agriculture). Tourism development was based on the development of cultural and educational tourism intended primarily for young people, followed by hunting and recreation, as well as rural tourism.

The basic form of physical movement through the protected areas was hiking, and through the area of Petrova Gora stretched a hiking trail consisting of 15 checkpoints, with an overall length of 52 km. In the original text of the plan, Marinović-Uzelac used a new term – memorial terrain. What is crucial for understanding the concept of memorial terrain is that it is “mostly characterized by a dynamic experience of space with a series of individual memorial sites located in an authentic ambience” (F. Wenzler, *Arhitektura* No. 155, 1975). Thus, it could be stated that this was planning with with a combination of activities in mind.

The plan was adopted by The Socialist Republic of Croatia’s Parliament in 1970.

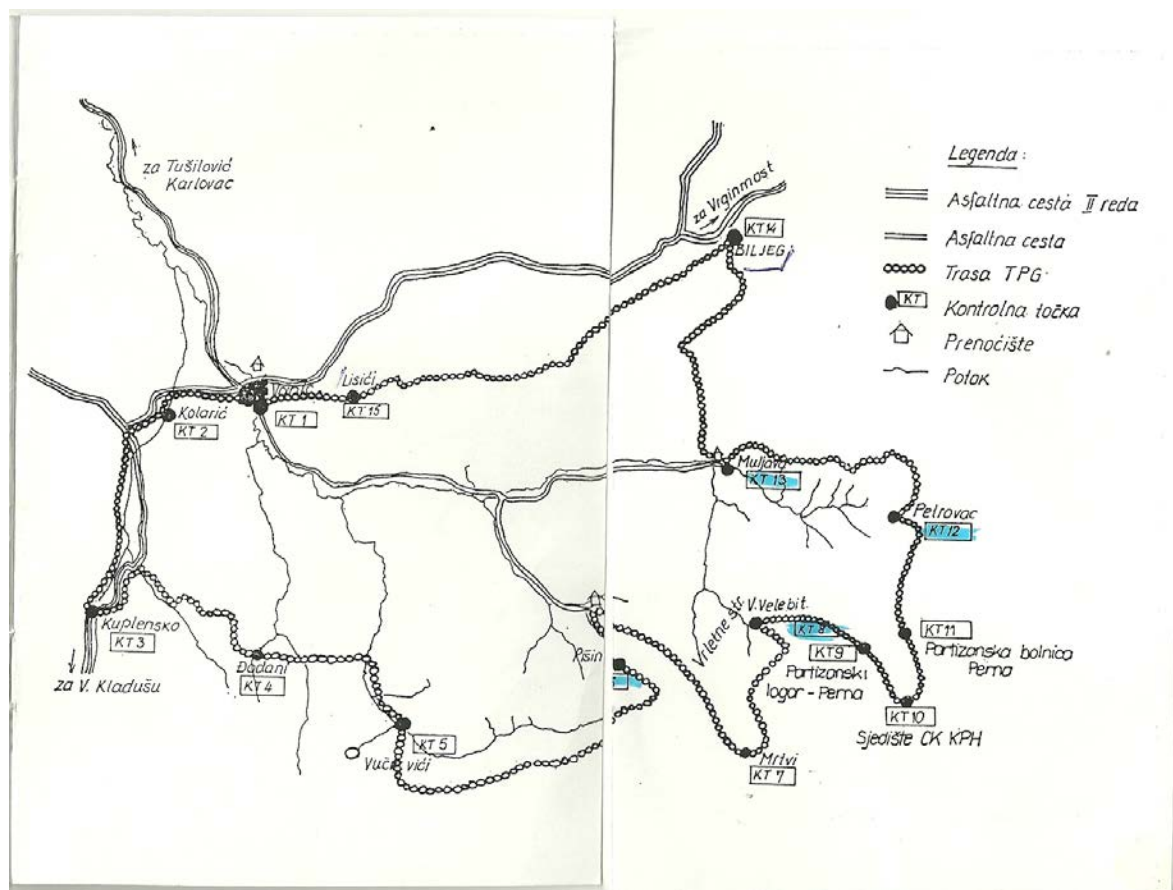


Fig. 7. Petrova Gora Partisan Transversal, hiking map

The success and importance of the general plan for the development of Petrova gora is best reflected in the fact that more memorial terrains were established soon after its adoption, and at least two of those achieved drafting of a general plan: in 1972 the memorial area of Kalnik on 32,000 ha, and in 1973 the memorial area of Bijeli potoci – Kamensko on 1,065 ha.

Memorial terrains are a new category in the protectionist domain. On one hand, they fit into a set of national parks of its kind. On the other, they represent, as locations of historical events, not only natural but also socio-natural and general cultural value.' (B. Pavlović, *Arhitektura* br. 155, 1975.).

In the following Nature Protection Act in Croatia (1976), a memorial-terrain type, accompanied by the category of the memorial-object was introduced as one of the formal forms of protection. They were defined as part of nature related to significant historical or legendary events.

Conclusion

It would be wrong to perceive the PLS memorialization practices in the territory of socialist Yugoslavia as politically directed top-down processes, unrelated to the socio-political situation and isolated from parallel processes, such as the development of administration and laws related to local self-government, tourism, protection of cultural and natural monuments, and rethinking of memorialization as such.

Local governments, as well as republic and federal ones, soon recognized that memorialization presents an opportunity for both economic revitalization through forming of larger memorial areas where tourism, as well as educational and cultural activities for promoting achievements of the PLS could develop. With time, this turned out to be the strategy of (permanently) attracting the local population to visit memorials outside the dates of official commemorations.

The development of formal protection of the large PLS memorial areas and the reflection on their economic activation for adequate protection, indicates the process of adopting integral spatial activity. In the case of large memorial areas, and especially in the case of memorial terrains, it is becoming obvious that precisely by making extensive spatial plans and aligning them with higher order plans, the development of memorial areas was being planned in terms of transport connection, the development of infrastructure, as well as the development of complementary economic branches and tourism. Taking into account the real base for rational investment and development, in some cases meant reliance on the already existing economic activities and the development of new (primary tourism) activities that take into account the sustainable use of resources.

Thus the rapid development of the PLS memorial sites, which can be observed in the late seventies and eighties, when an annual number of visitors to larger memorial complexes ranged between four and five million people, was a continuation of the processes that had begun in the previous decade: not only of marking and designating memorial areas, but also of realization of large infrastructure projects of constructing the country's transportation network, introduction of the concept of active protection of cultural and natural heritage, tourist districtization and regional planning.

(Translation Luka Antonina)

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Zakon o zaštiti prirode na području NR Hrvatske (1960).

Zakon o zaštiti prirode SR Hrvatske (1976).

CHAPTER 9

New patterns of land appropriation in post-socialist space

Since the advent of neoliberal transition, post-socialist space became a disputed territory where new landed oligarchy, foreign interests, old capital and citizens aligned together either to allow or to resist patterns of land appropriation. Recent decades of economic and political crises have witnessed new waves of urban and rural land acquisitions, with new land codes emerging and the opening-up of land reserves to local and foreign investors. One feature, however, remains familiar – common people are still deprived of their land, now in the hands of the few.

Land is foremost a political category, it is a finite resource that can be appropriated, distributed, and owned. Throughout the history of civil society, acquisition of land has been associated with accumulation of power. In Russia, for example, land appropriation is shaped by multiple historical forces and legacies of collective land ownership and fictitious private property, centralized state oppression and the autonomy of the people. Against this background we see the post-socialist space as a unique avenue to contest predominant theoretical assumptions about the triad of land, capital, and power. The proposed session aims to put a start to this scholarly task.

Daniela Zupan, Faculty of Urban and Regional Development, National Research University Higher School of Economics in Moscow

Vera Smirnova, Faculty of Urban and Regional Development, National Research University Higher School of Economics in Moscow

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- 1** Spatialities of land enclosure in the Russian imperial and socialist periphery / Smirnova, V.
 - 2** Urban commons in two Western Balkan capitals / Toto, R., Cacic, M., Nientied, P.

Spatialities of land enclosure in the Russian imperial and post-socialist periphery

Abstract: *Since the onset of Stolypin land reforms of 1906, the Russian periphery became a centre of territorial struggle, where complex alliances and strategies of different actors came together to carry out or resist land privatization. Using original documentation of Russian imperial land deals obtained from the federal and municipal archives, I explore how the coalitions of landed nobility, land surveyors, landless villagers, and new proprietors used land enclosure as a conduit for extra-legal governance, mere profit making, or, in contrary, as a means of resistance. Through critical discourse analysis, I illustrate how the Russian state and territories in the periphery were dialectically co-produced not only through institutional manipulations but also through political and public discourses. I then extend this analysis to explore the ‘new land enclosures’ in the post-socialist urban and rural space by delineating continuities and exploring similarities with the fictitious property regimes promoted in late imperial Russia. Through a comparative theoretical analysis, this paper re-examines some predominant assumptions about land and property in Russia by positioning the Russian rural politics within the global context of capitalist land enclosure. At the same time, by focusing on the historical reading of land privatization from a Russian perspective, this study introduces a more nuanced alternative to the traditional property discourse often found in Eurocentric interpretations.*

Keywords: *land, enclosure, private property, territorialization, Russia.*

On land enclosure

In August of 2016 farmers from the Kuban region of Russia organized a march of 17 tractors driving to Kremlin to discuss the failure of the current administration to stop the land rush and violence in the pursuit of land plots. It was a rare attempt to express disagreement with Russia's land privatization policy and yet it marked a turning point in the struggle of the people over land rights. As many argued, the state officials often claim to hold a fictional meeting of land-share owners and lease their piece of land for 30 years, the decision gets registered in the Federal service for state registration, cadastre, and cartography, and unsuspected villagers lose ‘use rights’ to their plots:

“Our village is the most deprived. There was a collective farm named after Maxim Gorky, which then became the Agricultural Productive Cooperative “Shkurinsky,” where worked 600 people, there were two and a half thousand heads of cattle

¹ Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Russia. E-Mail: vsmirnova@hse.ru

and three thousand pigs – everything was stolen. All harvest from 2009 worth 200 million rubbles, all the equipment, everything was stolen” (Gazeta, 22 August 2016).

Land appropriation in Russia is an ordinary story, yet it is grounded in multiple historical dialectics of collective land ownership and fictitious private property, centralized state oppression and long-lasting communal autonomy of peasant farmers. One way to disentangle this paradox is to trace the genealogy of the Russian land appropriation, its consequences, and continuities throughout history.



Fig. 1. 'Tractor march' from Krasnodar region to the Kremlin on August 21, 2016 (Source: Radio Svoboda)

The global assault on land today indicates the persistence of the logic of “enclosure” in the development of capitalism (Arrighi, 1994; DeAngelis, 2007; Harvey, 2011). Land is foremost a political category, it is a ‘finite resource’ that can be appropriated, distributed, and worked (Elden, 2010). As Karl Polanyi argued (1957), land is also a ‘fictitious commodity,’ it cannot be reproduced to meet economic demand since its social, cultural, and economic value far exceeds the price imposed by the markets. German jurist and political theorist Carl Schmitt (2003), on the other hand, saw fertile soil to contain the ‘inner measure of social justice,’ meaning that all work is rewarded fairly by harvest and productively cultivated land is equated to private property.

The term ‘capitalist land enclosure’ goes back, evidently, to the formation of capitalism, or the 16th century England – as reasoned Karl Marx to be the classic example of ‘primitive’ or ‘original accumulation’ of capital. Carl Schmitt notably argued that every settled society was born in and from the land (2003). Land appropriation, redistribution, and production, for Schmitt, were the three main pillars that predetermine the order of the Earth, thus, were primary for the formation of the civil society. The question of ‘primitive accumulation’ or enclosure of land greatly informed the history of political thought – it was explored as a ‘divisio pri-

maeva' by Hugo Grotius (2012 [1625]), studied as a 'prior accumulation' by Adam Smith (1976 [1776]), and examined as 'extended' or 'expanded accumulation' by revolutionary Marxists, such as Rosa Luxemburg (2003 [1951]) and Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (1964 [1899]).

Recent scholarship in geography have contributed to this question with works that explored singular examples of 'land enclosure' in response to temporary crises such as 2006–2008 waves of agricultural land grabs associated with the global economic recession or the overlapping crises of capital over-accumulation starting in the 1970s (Levien, 2012; McMichael, 2012; White et al., 2012). Yet, fewer works examine land enclosure as a continuous state strategy or as an ontological condition of global (and local) capital and even less inquire into the spatial rationalities and territorial techniques of land enclosure under capitalism and its manifestations throughout history.

I see enclosure as both - a fundamental moment and a prominent territorial feature of the capitalist mode of production. Enclosure works as a political technology throughout history, better understood as a "set of variegated regulatory procedures as complex and diversified as the uneven geography of dispossession they shape" (Vasudevan et al., 2008). The traditional definition of enclosure as the "transformation of commonable lands into exclusively owned plots and the concomitant extinction of long-standing common rights to soil" (Blomley, 2007: 2) also speaks to the recent modes of organized property violence yet follows different spatial arrangements.

Building on these theoretical explorations, I examine complex interrelations between land and power in Russia through the rubric of enclosure. To do so I connect the analysis of enclosure's spatial rationality to a range of particular examples of land reforms in late imperial and post-socialist periods. Through a spatially nuanced account of these cases, I outline a brief genealogy of enclosure that allows tracking diverse geographies of dispossession through different historical stages of capitalist development. What material, social, and corporeal techniques are involved in the process of land enclosure? How do they operate and change in time? And what are their morphologies? To explore these questions, I rely on archival records of Russian imperial land deals, two surveys on landed poverty launched by the Imperial Free Economic Society (FES) in 1877 and 1910, and peasant complaints, in addition to secondary data on post-Soviet land privatization.

Imperial and socialist formations of enclosure

Paradoxically, the role of land differed only slightly during Russian imperial and early socialist periods. During both regimes, land served at once as a means of social reproduction in the communes or collectives and political power of the elites. For villagers in the margins land was foremost 'God's property' that should be distributed equally among those who worked it (Medushevsky, 2015). This 'sacralization' of land in a traditional Russian society was historically grounded in the common right to land in the Russian land commune or the so-called *obshchina* – a unique territorial arrangement known for its customary techniques of everyday land repartitioning, unlike in Western Europe and England, where peasant households held hereditary rights to one or several scattered strips of land (Moore, 2002; Sevilla-Buitrago, 2015; Smirnova, 2019).

Emphasis on private property in land was in the core of the Russian imperial land consolidation acts of 1906, which offered the former serfs a right to exit the land commune in exchange for land title. Dismantling of the land commune employed new and foreign territorial techniques

of enclosure and private property borrowed from traditional Eurocentric experiences. Peasant households were obliged to consolidate scattered strips of allotment land into unitary, private farms. Territorial delineation of enclosed land followed complex guidelines. Andrey Kofod, a chief inspector for the land reform, proposed at least four distinct spatial variations of the newly privatized farms, where, as he emphasized, “the farmer’s wife would be able to call her husband for lunch from the furthest corner of the house” (RGIA, 408.1.272: 61). The commons, such as pastures, forests, or lakes, as Kofod believed, were “absolutely not compatible with enclosed farms” and had to be divided among adjacent households (ibid: 62). Kofod’s guidelines attempted to establish a unified territorial order, the one that “broke the close-knit mass of peasants” with its new borders, as someone emphasized in the anonymous report.

One could argue this was an arrangement that supported contradictory movement between the homogenization, territorial fragmentation, and hierarchization of space, as notably argued French philosopher Henri Lefebvre (1991: 212), through which territory was cleared of any differences and unified under a standardized territorial order of private property to ease the circulation of capital.

Some peasants treated land reform as a ‘contagious disease,’ claiming that “in the near future all land will be in the ownership of the rich and well-off” (Chernyshev, 1917: 75). Others were afraid that the new proprietors will “sell their land in exchange for alcohol and become a burden for the commune” (ibid.: 75). Yet, by the beginning of 1917, only 20 to 30 percent of all allotment land was successfully enclosed. This small fraction of enclosed households was volatile and experienced waves of massive destruction by the peasants that stayed in the commune killing the livestock and demolishing properties of the peasant-proprietors in the protest of enclosure (GARF, 102.116.42). These uprisings skyrocketed on the verge of the revolution after which, paradoxically, the famous *obshchina* was revived by the early Soviet power.

After the revolution of 1917, old landed wealth was re-expropriated by the state using new spatial technologies of enclosure for the production of new ‘collective’ wealth. Yet, as Carl Schmitt argued referring to this situation, “expropriation of the old owners opened up new and enormous possibilities for appropriation” (Schmitt, 2003: 334). Decree on Land of 1917 proposed by the Socialist Revolutionary Party entailed a fundamental confiscation and re-allotment of land that belonged to the gentry, church, and peasant proprietors. It only granted rights to use a bare surface of land if it was productively worked, similarly to the land law under Catherine II that obliged nobility to own the ‘bowels of the Earth’. Individuals, who lost the ability to work the land, had a right to abandon their share and go on the state’s pensions. Realization of this principle meant, ironically, a return to the pre-capitalistic, feudal forms, recreating the model of conditional land ownership in exchange for services, liquidated by Peter the Great almost two centuries prior (Medushevsky, 2015).

With the onset of collectivization policies of the early 1930’s a new mode of enclosure or ‘exceptional measures’ started forming in response to the deepening grain crisis and food shortages in cities (Atkinson, 1983). Until then, the scope of enclosure’s territorial practices was limited, both in terms of the scale of influence, spatial dynamics, and actors involved. The piecemeal enclosure of land in imperial Russia followed a meticulous set of territorial techniques and coercive strategies that differed from a full-blown land grab by the state in the period of collectivization. Collectivization extended state ownership onto peasant’s grain and livestock, followed by enclosure of land and enclosure of the commune at last.

New enclosures

Today, new enclosure is the “modus operandi of neoliberal urbanism” (Hodkinson, 2012). It operationalizes the privatization of spaces and resources seeking to exclude the urban poor. In December of 1991, Presidential Decree No. 323 declared all collective and state farms to become joint-stock companies. Their members turned into shareholders and received monetary asset shares and land shares of three to fifteen hectares for free. 99 percent of all land formerly held in the hands of collective farms was distributed in the form of paper vouchers, and only 13 percent of that land was officially held as material private property (Wegren, 2014). Land shares could be leased or sold. Yet, the exchange of shares for an actual land title was a complicated issue that required time, money, and familiarity with the administrative processes. Territorial allocation of land shares was not specified in the paper, making all land a fictitious commodity and an object of speculations or bare robbery.

The deliberate bankruptcy of the former Soviet land enterprises and fictive legality of obtained land shares allowed for investment capital of domestic oil and gas companies, local oligarchs, and foreign money, starting to flow into Russian land reserves. Scale of land grabbing increased massively, in particular in times of financial crisis of 1998, when agri-food business was a safe outlet for investments – “by mid-2008, according to the Institute for Agricultural Market Studies, 196 large agro-holdings controlled 11.5 million ha, of these agro-holdings, 32 had landholdings of over 100,000 ha” (Visser and Spoor, 2011).

Answering journalists’ questions at an annual press conference, Russia’s President Vladimir Putin compared Russia with a bear that won’t share their land, their taiga, with anybody (RT 2014, October 24). Paradoxically, the rates of land grabbing by foreign actors is snowballing, with the Ukrainian land deal of 100,000 hectares with the government of Libya, and appropriation of farmland in Central Eurasia by Western investors from the UK, Sweden, and Denmark, and petrodollars from the Gulf States (Visser and Spoor, 2011).

New enclosures and fictive property

Recent decades have witnessed new waves of fostering private land ownership in Russia with Vladimir Putin opening-up old land resources to local and foreign investors with the new Land Code of 2002. Russian land legislation is still based on the ‘ownership’ by the means of ‘productive use,’ while most large-scale agro-holding companies, held by the foreign capital, the state, and Russian private investors, await the bankruptcy of the farms and depreciation of the land before selling it for profit. At the same time, a new law on church property restitution transferred 1000 historical sites to the ownership of the Russian Orthodox Church from 1995 through 2010. Property in modern Russia can be seen as a liability. It may attract the “attention of a greedy adversary or a law enforcement officer offering ‘protection’ in return for a share in your business; it can be used by a dishonest partner to sue you for a non-existent crime; it can be confiscated by the state” (Trudolyubov, 2018). Paradoxically, refusing property ownership offers territorial autonomy and allows escaping state rule.

New enclosures, walls, and fences

Material technologies of new enclosures are not far from primitive. In the Kuban region, large agro-holding companies rummaged the road and now farmers have to detour through the landfill adding 10 km to their travel. While in other cases new landowners put up the fences

and checkpoints on newly obtained land parcels, forcing farmers to abandon their property completely. Fences have persisted in Russian rural and urban periphery through crises and changing political systems. They are our manifestation of ownership that none of the forms of property or government has been able to satisfy. The changing political regimes have rather sustained the Russian character of fencing off, where fences serve as the last solution to the lack of legitimacy and security of private property. In Russia, they are not only a new and old spatial technology of enclosure but a manifestation of people's fear and distrust of the government.

New enclosures, new urban commons

Similar to the Tsarist period, people in modern Russia are still reliant on the land that they hold in the form of summer plots or *dachi*. As dacha gardening is widely seen to be a subject of Soviet nostalgia, it still serves as a source of 'quiet food sovereignty' or home after retirement in times of economic instabilities (Visser et al., 2015). As some estimate, the number of urban populations that rely on dacha for food production ranges between 40 and 80% (Treivish, 2014). These new peri-urban commons possess a similar legal status as the favelas or shantytowns in Latin America and Asia – "over 30% of summer homes in Russia are not officially sanctioned" and only "20% of owners of plots of land have legal title to them" (Trudolyubov, 2018). Urban citizens in Russia are still reliant on their summer plots and often tend to move there permanently when retired.

Discussion

Rather than an obstacle to capitalist development, the spatial legacy of state socialism as well as that of feudal imperialism, served as the "very infrastructure" for capitalist accumulation through enclosure (Golubchikov et al., 2014). Erroneous goals and fraudulent implementation of land reforms in the early twentieth century have contributed to the brutality of the modern practices of land capture – from primitive technologies of fencing to complicated extra-legal mechanisms of property restitution. Russian state capitalism where old political elites became main nodes in the new economic 'growth machine' (Golubchikov and Phelps, 2011) fed on the insecure system of land ownership to continue new cycles of accumulation.

Today, Russia is facing new rounds of enclosure, with different severity and outcomes not only limited to enclosure of territory but enclosure of social and cultural identity of Russian rural life. Russian cities are also undergoing similar processes, ranging from the localized and piecemeal urban regeneration strategies to a massive housing renovation project with a possibility of displacement of some 1.6 million people in the city of Moscow alone, as a spatial-temporal fix to prolonged economic stagnation. These examples are not an exception but potentially a part of a global mosaic and dialectical movement of 'commoning' and primitive 'appropriation' that provides an illusory solution to the fundamental state of crisis persistent under capitalism today.

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Urban commons in two Western Balkan capitals⁴

Abstract: *The theme 'urban commons' receives a lot of (scholarly) attention. A miscellany of approaches looks at urban commons, from an institutionalist approach of governing the commons, to a 'third way' - an 'anti-capitalist' view moving beyond state and market. Urban commons like public spaces differ from 'traditional commons'; they are considered more of indirect value and generally less as common-pool resources (like forests, grazing areas). In the city, the commons is an inherently relational phenomenon, where (social) value is created through interaction. Public spaces as urban commons, in their free accessibility, bear the potential for practices of commoning founded in a community process. Urban commons have hardly (if at all) been related to the post-socialist Balkan city, though collective action and ownership was strongly proclaimed by these countries before the fall of Berlin Wall. Practices (experiences, social capital, governance) of urban commons in post-socialist cities differ from those in Western cities, due to at least 3 reasons: i) after 1990/91 private sector led urban development has dominated; ii) government authorities and urban institutions are searching for new roles and responsibilities, resulting in ambiguous urban spaces exposed to neglect or commercialization; iii) communities have strong and negative memories of forced collective action. In this paper we review theory on [new] commons and give a contextualization of urban commons in post-socialist cities. Then, follow results of a study conducted in two Western Balkan capitals: Podgorica and Tirana. A number of public spaces typologies (squares / public spaces of different size and status) are analysed in both cities from the perspective of design principles of robust commons. The mixed methods used in the investigation and analysis deals with the common resource, the institutions and the community. The study concludes with suggestions for potential handling of the commons studied. The paper will reflect on the potential of the concept of urban commons for post-socialist cities.*

Keywords: *urban commons, public space, design principles, post-socialist cities*

Introduction to urban commons (UC)

This paper discusses the potential of urban commoning in the capital cities of two small Western Balkan countries (WeB); Tirana in Albania, and Podgorica in Montenegro. We observed

¹ Co-PLAN Institute for Habitat Development, Tirana. E-Mail: rudina_toto@co-plan.org

² University of Montenegro, Faculty of Architecture, Podgorica. E-Mail: cacic.marija@yahoo.com

³ Polis University, Tirana. E-Mail: nientied1@chello.nl

⁴ This paper reports on outcomes of an ongoing research project of Western Balkan Network for Territorial Governance and covers 4 cities; Podgorica, Tirana, Szczecin (Poland) and Stara Zagora (Bulgaria). A concise overview of the research will be included in the planned book *Urban management in emerging economies. New paradigms and practices*, by J.Fransen, et al. (eds.), Edward Elgar.

and analysed public spaces typologies of different size and status in both cities. UC has been defined in different ways: as a space of social interaction, where resources are collectively owned or shared between or among communities' populations – these resources are said to be 'held in common'. Alternatively, in terms of a shared resource that is co-owned and/or co-governed by its users and/or stakeholder communities, according to their own rules and norms. A city's open spaces as UC differ from 'traditional commons'; they are considered more of indirect value and generally less as common-pool resources (like forests, grazing areas, etc). In the city, the commons are an inherently relational phenomenon, where (social) value is created through interaction. Open spaces in the city are considered as commons given their nature as places for unconfined social access and exchange and based on the degree of place appropriation. Open public space presents the threat of overcrowding, but it also poses the risk of under-cultivation if it fails to attract parties who are well suited to generate agglomeration benefits. Capturing the positive gains of spaces for urban interaction is, in large part, what draws commoners to open spaces. Such gains, in turn, give these spaces value and add to the attractiveness, culture, and vibe of the city.

"The commons have the potential to highlight the question of how cities govern or manage resources to which city inhabitants can lay claim to as common goods, without privatizing them or exercising monopolistic public regulatory control over them." (Foster, 2016: 285). User-managed, but often not user-owned, resources represent not only a new way of managing urban commons, but indeed a democratic innovation for how we distribute and manage common urban assets.

There are various approaches to the urban commons, ranging from a broad perspective suggesting that the entire city (urban ecosystem, infrastructure, etc.) is a commons, to the lines set by Ostrom (1990; 2010) putting emphasis on effective design and governance of UC, and to looking at the commons as an alternative to public/private arrangements (Dellenbaugh et al., 2015; Ćaćić, 2018).

	Authorised entrant	Authorised user	Claimant	Proprietor	Owner
i. Access	X	X	X	X	X
ii. Withdrawal		X	X	X	X
iii. Management			X	X	X
iv. Exclusion				X	X
v. Alienation					X

Table 1. The bundle of rights for commons. Source: Schlager and Ostrom, 1992.

Key theoretical notions of Ostrom guided this study. Ostrom developed a theory of collective action and common pool resources (CPR) in which "a group of principals can organize themselves voluntarily to retain the residual of their own efforts" (1990: 25). Commons can have a variety of arrangements shaping socio-ecological interaction. Important in Ostrom's writing is *subtractibility* – appropriators are rivalrous, the use of the resource units diminishes what is left for others and *accessibility* – it is not possible, or very costly to exclude others from accessing the resource system. For subtractable goods, depletion can occur; for non-excludable goods, the free-rider problem (Ostrom, 1990; Toto, 2019). The property system for commons is envisioned as a bundle of rights, not merely as legal ownership (Schlager & Ostrom, 1992). Rights (Table 1) define the boundaries of the system.

Are WeB post-socialist cities different for UC?

Cities of WeB bear special features regarding a study of open spaces through the lens of UC. First, the term 'public' is associated with 'collective', a concept with an, at times, negative connotation in former socialist countries. Grabkowska (2018) studied how the term 'public' in Polish printed media is linked to the state and to the era of collective work. Communities have negative memories of forced collective action, like in Albania (Nientied & Janku, 2019). The negative connotation is rooted in the past, but after 1990, neo-liberal (urban) development strengthened individualistic values. Second, since the changes of the early 1990's, all over WeB private sectors have been leading in city development, and public sectors have followed. Public officials have been commodifying and selling urban resources such as land, goods and services. Third, based on communist perspectives of good urban planning with much open space, urban land patterns allowed for infill after 1990, which urban governments facilitated, eager to support and benefit from private sector development. Hirt's essay (2014) on the 'post-public city' uses the term 'disappearing act', i.e. the process of spatial privatization. Fourth, the development of a government sector after 1990 in WeB has been troublesome and characterized by political tensions, slow response to civic demands, corruption and failure to deliver basic facilities.

These points together are intertwined also with *civic culture / values*. Individualistic values in the WeB cities dominate over collective values, across population groups. From presidents who want to put their personal mark in city development, e.g. the main squares of Skopje and Tirana (Nientied & Aliaj, 2019), to careless car drivers littering the streets; from city developers who sell apartments without proper infrastructure and maintenance to corrupt police officers.

Cases

The open spaces selected represent 3 typologies of size of the user basin; large-city scale, intermediate, and neighbourhood scale. Features explored through the lens of UC included spatiality and standards, use/functions and social interaction, boundaries, management practices, challenges and finally prevailing values.

Tirana

Tirana, a city of around 500,000 inhabitants in a larger municipality of almost 800,000 had an unprecedented and uncontrolled growth after 1990, fed by rural-to-urban migration. Most urban development have taken place either on previous public space, or as new (informal) sprawling suburbs on former agricultural land. Extreme densification in the consolidated urban core happened mostly on public space, as infill development, and was fuelled by property restitution and/or compensation to former land owners. Now, open public and green space in Tirana is limited.

Scanderbeg Central Square (40,000 m²), designed originally in 1931 as part of the overall urban ensemble of the city centre, surrounded by government's buildings, conveys history, symbolism and identity. However, historical events and often controversial development decisions have affected the quality of this space, its identity, and interlocked community's values. Scanderbeg square is the central meeting point of Tirana's radial streets and is the prime celebration space. However, due to modern renovations, the square's history has been 'wiped-

out' (Nientied & Aliaj, 2019). It remains an important space at city scale, for its identity, symbolism, and historical, and spiritual ties. The square represents also a political medium to bring citizens together for fostering common purposes. The whole city, plus temporary visitors constitute the basin of users for the central square. Users have access rights. They are not involved in the open space management. Commoners have more than one right (table 1), or have a sense of place attachment. The municipality owns and manages the square. Users can organise fairs, festivities, public gatherings, or rent partially the space for temporary uses. Citizens appreciate municipal management instead of participating in common governance, despite the array of values they attach to the place. Citizens pay taxes and hold local government accountable for governance.

1 km Park (35,000 m²), a former military aerodrome runway in west Tirana, abandoned after 1990, and surrounded by new residential buildings, was renewed in 2010 into an urban park. The project preserved the linear character. The basin of users encompasses residents of the neighbourhood, passers-by, owners of commercial activities and their clients, and users' groups from other neighbourhoods who visit the park for recreational purposes. Some bonding, common concerns, and willingness to cooperate for space preservation are present mostly among shop and cafe owners, who consider the space as UC due to proximity and the role the park plays in their businesses. The space under municipally ownership and management. The residents agree to this; they could contribute in kind to cleanliness but look for 'the others' to induce initiatives. Moreover, they are doubtful about paying temporary fees for specific interventions on the space, due to low trust in government and fear of free-riders.

Pocket park (1400 m²) is an internal yard with open access to any users but frequented mostly by residents (commoners) of the surrounding building blocks. Residents share ownership of the open space and consider the yard as commons. During 2015-16, a local NGO supported the commoners in developing bonds, building trust, and self-engaging to redesign and revive their space. While residents considered the yard as their common space, there was a need for an external independent actor to promote self-organization, guaranteeing financial interactions, and bridging between the residents and the municipality. The cooperation was successful regarding space improvement and nurtured a functional UC. Currently, the challenge lies on managing the overcrowd effect of students (free riders) of a nearby school, who have lunch in the site and leave their wastes behind.

Neighbourhood park (1800 m²), built in the 1970s, is one of the few public spaces inherited from the communist period, not overrun by new development, and requalified partially into a neighbourhood outdoors sport area. This municipally owned space is also used for parking, as children's playground, and for recreation. The users consider it as commons, but their willingness to pay for common maintenance is weak. The neighbourhood is relatively consolidated and show social bonding. The presence of non-utilitarian values over open space is subject to its history; in recently creates spaces residents search mostly for direct utility and socialization values. On the other hand, there is a legacy of the pre-1990s feeling of imposed collectivism. It is a key factor in pushing residents away from collective action and commoning.

Podgorica

Podgorica's urban texture, with 153,000 inhabitants (whole city has about 186,000), faces expansion problems due to [un]controlled urbanisation, where urban space is a result of the contested claims of urban development, a marked-based economy with commercialisation of land, and demographic growth. Inconsistent implementation of plans and migration over the

last two decades have made urban development dysfunctional and have led to unstoppable processes to which social collective consciousness doesn't have much influence. Associated economic and political actors dominantly decide on the city's development, where spatial manifestations are borne out of personal interests, while the open public spaces (as collective goods) are neglected. There is also lack of a normative and regulatory framework, which is deemed essential for higher quality development of public spaces and collaborative management, as tool for reviving and protecting [common] open public spaces.

Independence Square (15,000 m²), as the main city square, occupies the centre of the orthogonal grid of the first urban modernist tissue – Nova Varoš (plan from 1879), the main administrative and socio-cultural centre. Except for the position in the urban tissue, other physical features have changed due to historical and socio-political contexts and led to weaker identity values. Labelling the square as 'main' gives it a symbolic value – the place has an important place in the inhabitants' mental maps, although the users (basin of users is the whole city population) do not like the square very much, nor take interest for direct engagement in maintenance. Local authorities take care of maintenance and monitoring. The square is municipal property, accessible to everyone for organising public events and gatherings, after obtaining a permit. Openness to the large users' pool eliminates any potential feelings of rejection, while a large number of users gives the square quality and increases its importance. This openness makes the square specific, as a commons where historical, spiritual and symbolic values are shared.

Unnamed square (4000 m²) is located in a specific spatial-sociological area, in the city's largest suburb, that started as unplanned development from the 1950's on, when people from other parts of Montenegro and refugees from neighbouring countries migrated to Podgorica. The process of urbanisation and urban renewal is in progress, but new planning documents have not paid enough attention to public spaces, hence this square is currently the only public amenity in this part of the city. It is public property, owned by the city, but it is not well maintained. The pool of users refers to the neighbourhoods, pedestrians and different groups of users from other neighbourhoods, given the lack of public spaces in the vicinity. The organisation of public activities requires a permit from the authorities. Despite the rare attempts of few NGOs to participate in maintenance, users leave it to the local government, showing unwillingness (but not indifference) for its maintenance, due to fear of free-riders and vandalism, which appear in Podgorica's public spaces. Only utilitarian values (socialisation) are attributed to this space.

The semi-open courtyard of the *Maxim building* (2500 m², about 5000 inhabitants) was built in 2005 in a part of the city that has become the secondary centre. The courtyard is disorderly, partially paved, without greenery. The municipality owns the space. Residents do not feel the need to encourage reconstruction, or show some form of self-organized management, so this courtyard is exclusively used by passers-by and does not show any signs of commoning practices.

The atrium (1700 m²) of the residential building in *Tuški put* neighbourhood was built in 2012, with open access, represents a well-maintained property with visible signs of commoning. It is owned in common by the 582 apartment owners and open access resulting in an expanded pool of users from the surrounding areas. The common property is paved, partly green, surrounded by commercial and businesses' premises on the ground floor. Management relies on the 'home rules' of the social housing legislation. Nevertheless, a large pool of users (in a way free-riders) reduces the possibility of respecting the rules, but this does not disturb the func-

tioning and management. In fact, the many users add value – they make the atrium more vibrant and more pleasant. Success of commoning is based on the potentials of belonging, proximity, accessibility, protection, and control.

Block IX, a residential building with a limited access courtyard (1000 m²) has similar physical characteristics as the previous case. The atrium is common property of the 155 apartment owners and the users' pool includes residents and employees of the ground floor's businesses. Management relies partly on the social housing legislation, but also on the user's informal rules. Despite the closed access for others, as well as a smaller number of users than in the previous case, this common property shows poor connections between the owners-users, so the common interest is not clearly visible.

Conclusions

The cases in this paper show that urban commoning is more present in neighbourhood (small users' basin) open spaces, but size is not the decisive factor. A central square or intermediate open space has less of a common's governance, even when being well-maintained and valued by citizens. However, the historical formation of the space, the interests and energy of the community owning/sharing space, collective trust among citizens and between them and the local government, and the amount of rights over the space, are key in defining the commoning potential for open spaces as UC.

In post-socialist societies, urban commoning is negatively affected by the legacy of imposed collective action pre-1990's ideologies. After 1990's, massive and immediate privatization of public commodities took place, and signified a new model for dealing with commons. While for most natural resources a historical tradition of commoning had endured, the practice of urban commons became different.

Values that users and commoners attach to open spaces depend also on the history and position of a space in city making. Whether a space is new or older, holds identity or has no history, whether a space generates place-attachment or is strange to users, evokes positive or negative memories, and defines the potential for users to become commoners. In post-communist cities, memories of forced collective action have often pushed people towards individual thinking and lack of empathy for commoning.

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CHAPTER 10

Innovating the Post-socialist City: Challenging Legacy. Emerging Fears?

The main topic of the session addresses the relationship between post-socialist cities and urban innovativeness, exposed to both internal and external transitional processes which have occurred since 1989. The legacy of socialism and the Cold War, the drastic socio-economic changes and a number of emerging global issues (e.g. aging population, global warming, economic turbulences, fast-shifting political landscapes and increased cross-border mobility) have created an unstable urban setting, overwhelmed by multiplying fears, environmental risks, contextual uncertainties and increasing global anxiety. Consequently, De Cauter's six strata of New Fear (2004) - demographic fear, dromophobia, economic fear, xenophobia, agoraphobia/political fear and the fear of terrorism, constantly influence human (re)actions in/on urban space, challenging the openness of urban systems while simultaneously shaping new 'shelters' in a form of self-sufficient cocoons.

However, all these threats and problems often trigger innovative solutions and models of urban practices, manifested in urban space as 'in-between' urban ecologies. The post-socialist cities, due to their specificities of socio-economic, political and historical legacy, represent a challenging environment which generates urban fears, while the innovativeness of urban practices frequently follows a very unique path.

The session welcomes case-studies or theoretical contributions which analyze and evaluate both positive and negative examples of new urban practices, spatial typologies, unconventional approaches and their amalgamation with urban hardware and software of post-socialist cities, driven by their geo-political role, governmental framework, cultural and historical experiences, formal and informal processes and anticipated future. Considering the trends and imperatives of recent urban paradigms (sustainable transitions, resilience, green economy, social equity etc.), as well as the ideas of an "ecological/environmental citizenship" (Van Steenberg B., 1994) and the "green state" (Eckersley, 2004), the presented cases should consider the effects of specific social, technological and/or spatial responses which tend to provide a symbiosis of environmental values, political rights and obligations.

Aleksandra Stupar, Faculty of Architecture, University of Belgrade

Tuula Teräväinen, Department of Historical and Geographical Studies/Environmental Policy, University of Eastern Finland

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- 1** Spatial multiplicities and urban conflicts: an experimental cartography proposal of continued un-protected urban conditions in Belo Horizonte metropolitan area, Brazil / Cruz, M. C.; de Cássia Lucena Velloso, R.
 - 2** Local responses to urban shrinkage: the emergence of a comprehensive view in a former mining city Novoshakhtinsk, Southern Russia / Batunova, E., Trukhachev, S.
 - 3** Sustainable functionalism, after neo-liberalism and socialism / Toloue Hayat Azar, P.

Spatial multiplicities and urban conflicts: an experimental cartography proposal of continued un-protected urban conditions in Belo Horizonte metropolitan area, Brazil³

Abstract: *In the 1980s, an eminently urban Brazil with extreme social inequality was open to a representative democracy with new political parties inspired by the European social-democratic ideal of the nineteenth century. Plus, new social movements, they claimed rights then included in the Constitution where a chapter on urban policy conditioned the right to property to fulfil the social functions of the city, regulated by the City Statute, after years of negotiation. Thus, municipalities acquired a set of innovative instruments of: urban intervention, direct popular participation and inclusion of people historically excluded from the right to the city. Despite an innovative urban policy and a federal pact with UN 2030 sustainable development agenda, apparently committed to the protection of life in the city, Brazilian political structures failed to represent minorities in general. In the last decades, Brazilian cities face increased violence, housing precariousness, and environmental vulnerabilities. It is assumed that the advancement of the neoliberal model organizing social life, whose central affects are fear and competition between individuals, imposes a condition of continuous un-protection that engenders the fear of difference, of immigration, of dispossession of property and of privileges of gender and race. Recent electoral results point to re-emergence of conservative forces and serious retractions: criminalization of social movements, and depoliticization of public spaces. It is assumed that the un-protection takes on a paternalistic and reactionary character of anti-urban spatial and housing solutions adapted and submitted to ideas of social control. But their ability to engender conflicts and processes of socio-political resistance in the restoration and expansion of democratic pacts is also suggested. What is proposed, for now, is to know cartographically the Metropolitan Region of Belo Horizonte by its spatial multiplicities and urban conflicts supposedly enunciated by urban un-protection without losing sight of the role of instruments of urban politics.*

Keywords: urban un-protection; urban conflicts; neoliberalism; (critical) cartography

*Pelo argumento da proteção
pelo argumento da dedicação
o indivíduo pode ser chantageado
por alguém ou uma instituição⁴*

¹ School of Architecture of the Federal University of Minas Gerais. E-Mail: ritavelloso@gmail.com

² School of Architecture of the Federal University of Minas Gerais.

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A (very) short introduction about non-post-socialist transition in Brazil

In his inaugural speech, the 'average man'⁵ chosen by 58 million Brazilians to govern a country with a continental dimension and an estimated population of 210 million, of which more than 84 percent live in urban areas, announced that Brazilian people began to get rid of socialism. According to him, the post-socialist transition would have taken its first steps in *terra brasilis*. What would be no less challenging for the critical reflection sought here, if indeed the first far-right representative of the (young and incomplete) Brazilian democracy was not referring to the legal-parliamentary rupture of Labors Party's (PT) fourteen-year cycle in command of the country (2003-2016), which had a tacit social acceptance since intense street dissatisfaction movements in 2013, that in the name of fighting corruption and an angry frustration with national politics establishment possibly paved the way to opportunistic narratives of common fears brought back from the 1950s and 1960s, such as the communist 'danger' and desires for a conservative 'restoration' of order and morality.

Since then, through hatred and disinformation, the conservative forces issued the narrative of a Brazilian socialist regime due these years of moderate social policies as well the strengthening of the identities of social minorities. Socialism was never an alternative nor experienced in the country, so no Brazilian has even seen its shadow. We must remember that in other periods of authoritarian regression and populist arrangements of Brazilian history, parties, workers organizations and popular manifestations aligned with socialist ideals were always violently repressed by the government, if no, alliances and pacts to bar these ideals' penetration were always activated by local elites. In recent times, official speeches and reform proposals come without any embarrassment criminalizing popular movements and announcing retractions of fundamental social rights justified as obstacles not only to the efficiency of the state or the market as well as a threat to Christian values of the traditional Brazilian family, whatever that means.

But if periods of fear and insecurity are the locus for reactionary offensives in exchange for protection, so they are the settings for popular mobilizations as those that, in the late 1970s, played an essential role ending the military dictatorship (1964-1985) and in building a representative democracy and a new constitution (1987-1988). Even though led by conservative and even progressive liberal forces that intended only to command a liberal transition to modernize the capitalist system of a Brazil eminently urban and of extreme social inequality. In its urban agenda, expanding the social function of property was at the centre of the political dispute but finally, after years of popular struggle, incorporated it into the Federal Constitution (1988) making the right to private property in Brazil relative on collective interest.

Thus, a long way of institutional and political structuring began, with a lot of negotiation, going through the 1990s, that in despite a process of entrepreneurship of the functions of the

⁴ 'For the sake of protection / For the sake of dedication / The person can be coerced / By someone / Or an institution'. Lyrics by Marcelo Yuka (1965-2019) for the song 'Cidade do amparo' / 'Protection City' (2016). Here in free translation. We dedicate this paper to the memory of this Brazilian multi artist and activist whose song lyrics and poetry powerfully reverberated social injustices in Brazilian cities.

⁵ The 'average man' indicates a rupture with the idea that the choice to preside over the country was not due the qualities that would make it fit to govern. People choose a career politician from a diminutive party and a self-declared antiestablishment by resembling a common citizen from a Brazilian average family: a type of Brazilian, especially a white and heterosexual male, the main signer of the privilege system, whose social recognition weakened in recent years, with the strengthening of gender, class and race agenda (Brum, 2019).

State, achieved the conquest of the Statute of the City (2001) that regulates fulfilment of the social function of the city and property, bringing together advanced urban, tax and legal instruments. Other improvements in Brazilian urban policy followed the inclusion of the right to housing as a constitutional right (2000), the creation of the Ministry of Cities (2003)⁶, the right of free public technical assistance for the design and construction of social interest housing for low-income people (2008), the law of land tenure of settlements in urban areas (2009), the Urban Mobility Act, the National Protection and Civil Defence Policy (2012) and the Metropolis Statute (2015) would be some. That is to say, a long journey that has unfolded in other initiatives of democratic management and urban regulation setting up social protection contents which includes the right to the city, in the sense of possibilities of building a 'new city' and not just including those who have always been excluded from it.

But how, after three decades of recognized advances in urban politics, have the conditions of life in Brazilian cities deteriorated? Even after the country has experienced an economic growth in recent decades, record levels of public investment, and hosting global mega-events such as the World Cup and the Olympics, which have mobilized many other investments. Some hints: a real estate and automotive boom fuelled by federal government policy decisions⁷ that would not only have boosted the horizontal expansion of our cities but also made them more expensive and segregated. And the preference for urban experiments of neoliberal techniques of strategic urban planning and city marketing have shifted to a (at least) secondary plan, the list of urban policy instruments, since almost all of them is not applied and largely unknown to the Judiciary.

Hence, urban problems are not only caused by lack of laws, but also of the hegemonic and complex relations that govern society and, therefore, it is not enough that laws exist to contain the spatial growth of poverty, violence and helplessness. Cities are the space of financial domination from the globalized world, the place of wealth concentration and poverty as well, where helplessness or lack of protection, even as a phantasmagoria, has been strongly placed itself as a necessary condition for capitalist reproduction — global warming, terrorism, agrichemicals, economic crisis, unemployment, organized violence (state police, militia and drug traffickers), immigration, owning natural resources reserves, personal data breaches and so on — creating opportunities for wealth when what matters is protection of capitalist new form of accumulation and profit. The social acceptance of un-protected conditions in daily life would cover and justify neoliberal inequalities and their effects on the processes of social and political organization.

First understandings about un-protected urban conditions

*As grades do condomínio
são para trazer proteção
mas também trazem a dúvida
se é você que está nessa prisão⁸*

⁶ As soon as it began (2019), the current federal government extinguished the Ministry of Cities.

⁷ In the last real estate boom, there was a rise in real estate prices far above inflation. This explains the higher cost of housing and rent in well-located areas, favoring speculative practices.

⁸ 'The grilles of the condominium / Are to bring protection / But they also bring the doubt / If it's you in this prison'. Lyrics by Marcelo Yuka (1965-2019) for the song 'Minha Alma (a paz que Eu não quero)' / 'My Soul (the peace that I do not want)' (1999); free translation.

The hypothesis of continued un-protected urban conditions would have a socially selective character, not hierarchical but cumulative. It would not be a system, but a process that feeds 'feelings of insecurity' in a conservative social web with hatred and intolerance to diversity, with fear of/desire for organized violence, with loss of private property and privileges of race and gender, as well threats to the 'order' and to the traditional family values. Thus, they would be engaged in seeking protection in absolute truths and in an apolitical world: where they sure their being, assuming for themselves spatial and housing solutions, usually via the market, of a paternalistic, reactionary and antiurban aspects, adapted and submitted to ideas of social control; fragmentation and confinement of individuals which find consummate expression in enclosed residential condominiums, commonly in the most valued areas of the cities and endowed with an architecture (of violence) dedicated to protect their patrimony and to hurt who intends to cross their walls; not forgetting the shopping malls, the protected place to leisure and consumerism; and not forgetting, the will to a militarized daily life.



Fig. 1. Emancipation of the un-protected. People from Vila Autódromo speaks out: 'Do not remove!! Urbanization is the solution!'. Available in: <http://www.canalibase.org.br/demolicoes-aumentam-pressao-na-vila-autodromo/> (accessed in 19th May, 2014).

It is fair to point out that continued un-protected urban conditions would have other specifics spatial transcriptions in Brazilian cities that would derive from counter-hegemonic actions, conflicts and socio-political resistance processes in the restitution and expansion of democratic pacts specially about living and working conditions. In this sense, access to housing would be an aspect of a continued un-protected urban condition in ways of absence, precariousness or restriction of public policies in expanding citizenship rights in the field of housing and access to

regularized and urbanized land which exposes directly or even indirectly the urban population in situation of social and economic vulnerabilities that struggles for refuge in the city.

Thus, the response capacity of much part of the less favoured urban population would occur through tactics of a creative, resilient and self-made architecture and urbanism: occupation and possessions of land as well of abandoned or unfinished buildings; or the self-construction of dwellings that, generally, need to deal with situations of cohabitation, rugged topography and limits of space due to high constructive and population density; scarcity of basic public equipment and services for the exercise of daily life; and juridical insecurity of land tenure that puts informal settlements or occupations into situations of removal threats. Those would be expressions of an accumulative and severe cycle of an un-protected urban condition.

Knowing that un-protected urban conditions are socially induced when installing mega urban projects that often engender urban conflicts⁹ in terms of expropriations, forced removals and 'gentrification' (Smith, 2006), it has been in these contexts of mega project implementation that non- dominant practices and techniques have been carried out as an 'insurgent planning' (Miraftab, 2009) or a 'conflicts planning' (Oliveira et al., 2016), characterized as collaborative processes of social resistance and struggle against hegemonic city projects aligned with the logic of 'urban entrepreneurship' (Harvey, 1996). However, even when local governments reject popular plans or when they give up carrying out a mega project, the end of the popular struggle for 'making the city' is not decreed, a cycle of un-protected urban conditions must persevere. For this reason, we join these two conditions with a hyphen, and we call it 'un-protected'. It is a double and a distinct condition, though they do not oppose each other and do not stop changing their distinction. So being un-protected implies movement: it is in the 'between' being unprotected and protected that something happens. Here's the place where we want to investigate, assuming as well that an unprotected condition doesn't have a finish line to a definitive protected condition.

A few considerations

*Eu e meu irmão passamos a temer a cidade
toda vez que se fala em proteção*¹⁰

The central idea, by now, is that continued un-protected urban condition would be a cruelly lived problem that is constantly being replaced. It would not be a synthesis, nor a revelation of a logic. It would be the observation perspective of inequality in the city webs, with moments of expansion, overflow or retraction. Continued un-protected urban condition, therefore, proposes movement, as we said before, thus creating a space of indeterminacy and transitory, with power for alternatives and new urban planning modalities: of contestation, of the unpredictable, and of a doable contra-hegemonic agenda. This might require new ways of representing the society and the territory at metropolitan and urban contexts. Thus, if in a

⁹ During the interventions for the 2016 Summer Olympic Games, in the city of Rio de Janeiro, a popular settlement known as Vila Autódromo became a representative case of resistance. For more, look for TANAKA; G. et. al. (Org.) (2019) 'Viva a Vila Autódromo: O Plano Popular e a Luta contra a Remoção'. Rio de Janeiro, Letra Capital Editora.

¹⁰ 'My brother and I come to fear the city / Every time some talks about protection'. Lyrics by Marcelo Yuka (1965-2019) for the song 'Oração pra quem sempre se acha na razão' / 'Prayer for those who are always in reason' (no date); free translation.

cartography, one can only mark paths and movements with coefficients of luck and risks, it might require an experimental cartography or an 'un-cartography' as a research and an aesthetic creation method, which implies a micro-investigation (de-codification) that exposes the relations of power that constitute the continued un-protected urban condition and can supports tactics of approximations to social justice. The experimental cartography indicates that the cities must be taken by the most unprotected ones from its own representation.

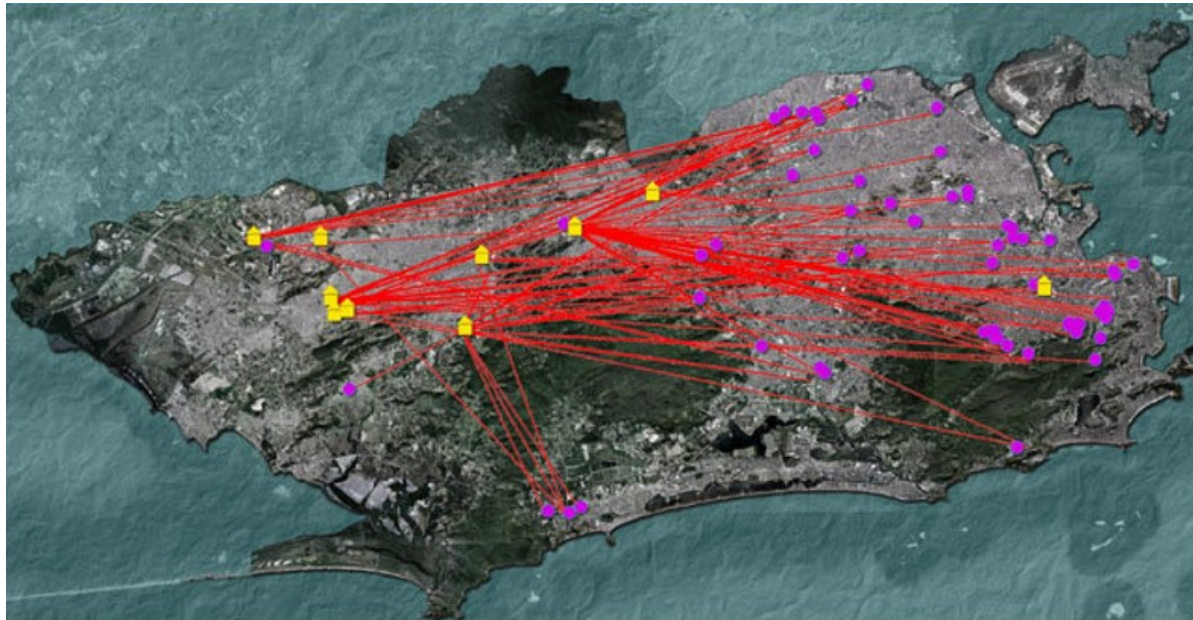


Fig. 2. Selective un-protected condition. People displacements for Rio de Janeiro's 2016 Olympic Summer Games/Lucas Faulhaber. Available in: <https://comitepopulario.wordpress.com/tag/remocoes-forçadas/> (accessed in: 15th May, 2019).

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Local responses to urban shrinkage: the emergence of a comprehensive view in a former mining city Novoshakhtinsk, Southern Russia

Abstract: *While the Russian urban system consists mainly of the currently shrinking cities, local planning and policies in most of them are growth-oriented. The paper explores a rare case of the ‘decline-oriented’ planning and policy in the former mining city Novoshakhtinsk in Southern Russia. It demonstrates that the city should cope with the complex combination of socialist ‘underdevelopment’ and recent urban shrinkage negative consequences. The results obtained through the documents analysis, field observations and open-ended interviews with the local policy-makers and planners show the existing challenges that impede the implementation of decline-oriented policies and the essential role of the local leaders for adequate policy-making and planning under shrinkage conditions.*

Keywords: *shrinking cities, mining cities, planning, urban policy, Russia*

Introduction

A shift to the policies that accept urban shrinkage is a painful and complicated process within the political ideology of neoliberalism (Schatz, 2013; Hospers, 2014). Although many cities in the world have to cope with economic and population decline, they continue to plan in growth paradigm (Haase et al., 2014; Pallagst, Fleschurz & Said, 2017). The systematic changes usually happen when a city's attempts to return to population growth fail, shrinkage consequences in urban physical fabric become a notable issue and there are actors interested in confronting problems related to urban shrinkage (Bernt et al., 2014; Pallagst, Fleschurz & Said, 2017). Coping with shrinkage cities move from trivializing to countering, accepting or even utilizing it (Hospers, 2014), implementing different strategies, which Pallagst, Fleschurz and Said (2017) classify as ‘expansive strategy’, ‘maintenance strategy’ and ‘planning for decline’.

Mining cities are usually the most vulnerable cases of shrinking cities, which destiny depends on the global processes influencing mining industry (Martinez-Fernandez et al., 2012) as well as on success of one particular company and characteristics of the deposit area. The strong associative connection of the development trajectory with economic performance in many cities makes it difficult to adequately assess the causes of depopulation and accept its inevitability (Hospers, 2014).

¹ Politecnico di Milano, Italy. E-Mail: elena.batunova@polimi.it

² Southern Urban Planning Centre. E-Mail: stu78@inbox.ru

In Russia, about 70% of the existing cities are shrinking, but most of them ignore this process in their planning and policies (Batunova & Gunko, 2018) improperly approaching depopulation as a temporal consequence of economic decline. In fact, natural demographic decline is the main contributor to urban shrinkage in the majority of Russian cities, and mining cities are not an exception (Cottenau, 2016).

Novoshakhtinsk represents a rare for Russia case of the municipality that is moving towards the application of a 'decline-oriented' approach (Schatz, 2013) – planning with the assumption of the future population decline and tendency to adopt a city's development to these new conditions. The present research aims at the analysis of the existing and expected consequences of urban shrinkage in Novoshakhtinsk, evaluation of shrinkage perception by the local authorities and their vision of the future in the conditions of depopulation as well as drivers, obstacles and opportunities for development of the local strategies addressing shrinkage.

Novoshakhtinsk, Rostov region, Southern Russia

Novoshakhtinsk is located in 86 kilometres to the north of the regional capital – Rostov-on-Don (a city with a population of 1.13 million people) and 20 kilometres to the east of the Russian-Ukrainian border. It is one of eight mining cities of the Rostov region,³ which history is linked to the exploration of a large coal-mining area, the Donetsk coal basin. The coal mining started here in the second half of the 19th century by the Russian Empire and reached its maximum in the second half of the 20th century, after WWII. After the USSR collapse, the Donbass region was divided into the proper Donbass, which remained within the territory of Ukraine, and its smaller part, the Eastern Donbass – in the Rostov region of Russia. In the 90s, the Russian government started the program of the coal-mining industry restructuring: the coal-mining production in the region dropped from 30 million tons in 1988 to 5.8 million tons in 2017 (Tarazanov, 2018), the number of mines declined from 64 in 1995 to six left in 2018 and the number of employed in the coal-mining sector people fell from 117.3 thousand in 1990 to 7.5 thousand in 2018 (Concept..., 2012). Simultaneously, the demographic crisis began in Russia, caused by a complex combination of the 20th century's historical events' echo, the second demographic transition and the dramatic change in socio-economic conditions (Eberstadt, 2010). Affected by demographic and economic crises, all mining cities of Eastern Donbass started to shrink.

Novoshakhtinsk founded in 1939 by the Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR of January 31, 1939. N 649/36 (Charter, 2009) through the unification of two mining towns – Kominternovsky and Molotovskiy (USSR., 1939) with a total population of 48 thousand people. The first masterplan developed by the state (arch. I. Dedkov) planned population increase to 85,000 people by 1942 (Pilipenko, 2009). The city grew up to the 60s and in the following period, its population remained at the level of 100-107 thousand people. Since 1994, the population of Novoshakhtinsk has constantly been declining except 2005, when three surrounding towns – Sokolovo-Kundryuchensky, Sambek and Krasny – were included into the city borders through the administrative change that increased the city's population by about 15,600 people (or 15.5%) [Figure 1].

³ The mining cities of the Rostov region include Gukovo, Donetsk, Zverevo, Kamensk-Shakhtinsky, Krasny Sulin, Novoshakhtinsk, Shakhty and Belaya Kalitva. Their total population number was 641,399 people on January 1, 2018.

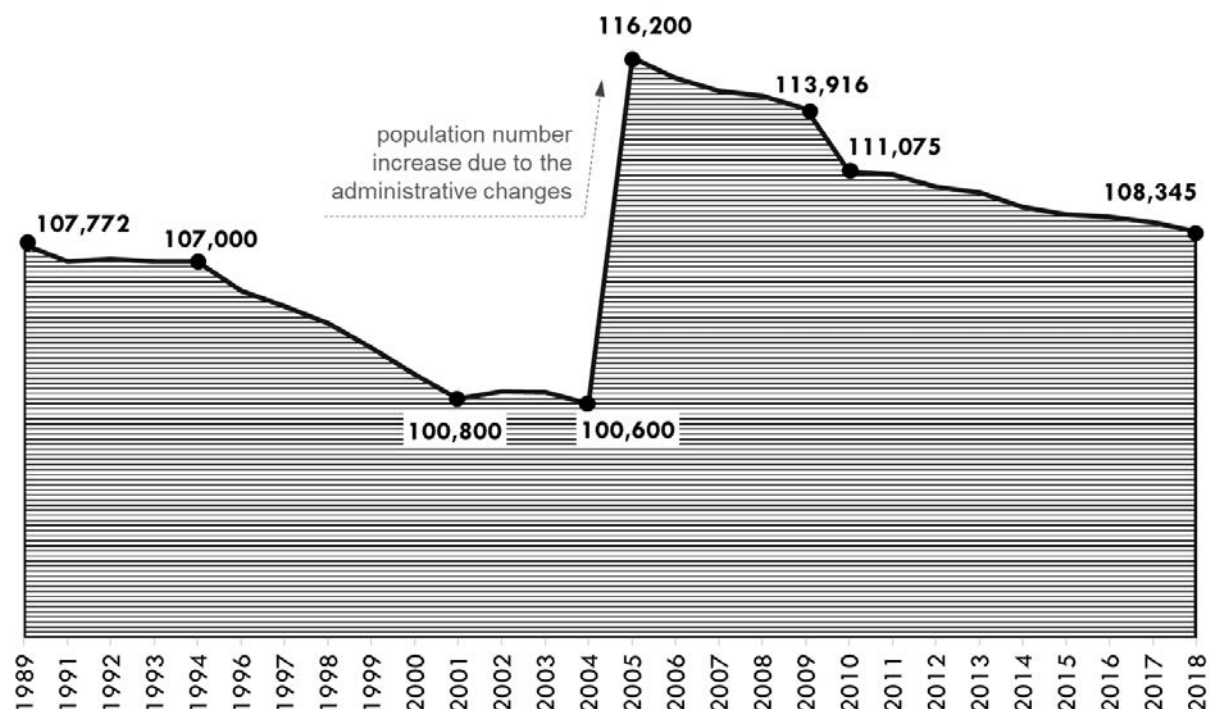


Fig. 1. Novoshakhtinsk population change 1989-2018 (Rosstat)

The causes of the Novoshakhtinsk's depopulation include both job-related out-migration and natural population decline. In 2003, after the tragic accident at the mine 'Zapadnaya-Kapital'naya', all the mines in Novoshakhtinsk were closed, and it became a former mining city, which had to search for the alternative solutions for its development. At the beginning the city experienced out-migration, but it managed to reverse the negative trend in 1999. Unfortunately, a positive migration net is not able to compensate for significant natural population decline: mortality in Novoshakhtinsk steadily exceeds the birth rate twice. In the 21st century, the city loses more than 500-1400 people annually (or about 0.5%-1.4% of its population). The negative age structure characterises Novoshakhtinsk: in 2017 there were only 15.9% of people in the age group 0-15 and 28.6% in the age group 60+. Considering the overall demographic situation in the region and the whole country, the natural population decline in Novoshakhtinsk will worsen in the nearest future.

Method and data

A mix of quantitative and qualitative methods was used in the research design. Desk research included a literature review, quantitative statistical data analysis for determining the causes and trajectory of urban shrinkage and qualitative analysis of the approved strategic, planning and program documents for evaluating the local policy. A goal of the semi-structured interviews with the representatives of the local authorities was to understand what drives the emergence of innovative policies in the shrinkage conditions, who are the actors of these transformations and which limits and opportunities for the implementation of such changes exist. The most informative interviews were conducted with the Novoshakhtinsk's Mayor Igor Sorokin, the Deputy Head of the City Administration for Economic Affairs Marina Ermachenko

and the Chief Architect Elena Kuznetsova. The rest of the interviewees represented the Property Management Committee of the City Administration, the Department of Chief Architect, the Department of Housing Policy of the City Administration and the Department of strategic planning and regulation of tariff relations of the City Administration. The research included several field observations in the period 2012-2019 that helped to understand continuing transformations of the Novoshakhtinsk's urban environment.

Issues and actions

Slow economic growth, lack of jobs and meagre municipal budget remain the key issues for the Novoshakhtinsk's local authority. In 15 years after closing the last mine, Novoshakhtinsk managed to diversify its economy through the attraction of new private and state companies working in the secondary and tertiary sectors. The city administration also provided with material and non-material support the local initiatives in the social sphere. According to the City Mayor, over the past 10 years, about 5,000 jobs have been created. All these measures attracted in-migrants and reduced the depopulation pace: the population number in Novoshakhtinsk in 2018 corresponded to the medium (stabilization) projection proposed by its General plan developed in 2007.

Nevertheless, these positive changes do not guarantee stability and prosperity: due to the specificity of the Russian budget system very few taxes remain in municipal budget and their amount is decreasing. In words of the City Mayor, there is no economic stimulus for the active promoting of local development, and it depends a lot on personal preferences, choices and capacities of a local leader. The attraction of both state and private investments is challenging because all mining cities of Eastern Donbass compete for the same companies and offer similar advantages. Moreover, not only other municipalities compete for the state investments, but also the regional administration, which prevents forming a partnership between the region and municipalities (Dyadik, 2016). The Novoshakhtinsk's Mayor explains the city's relative success in economic development by the readiness of the local authority to 'carry investors in their arms' and preparation of projects with which the municipality can compete for investments in advance.

While the issue of the economic decline in Novoshakhtinsk after the USSR dissolution is an obvious attribute of its shrinkage, it is difficult to distinguish between the consequences of urban shrinkage and a legacy of the Soviet period development in physical conditions of the urban environment. Being formed through the unification of settlements, founded in the closeness to the mines, Novoshakhtinsk has a fragmented planning structure and low density. Now the city's fragmentation is aggravated by shrinkage, which provokes two notable consequences: degradation of never complete peripheries and abandonment that spread all over the city. The local administration started implementation of the 'compact city' concept (even if it is not labelled in this way) in its spatial planning through the reinforcement of the city centre and preventing urban sprawl. It also created a register of the abandoned houses: currently, it includes about 900 units, and municipality continues monitoring. The inclusion of abandoned buildings in use is a difficult task because 94,49% of housing in Novoshakhtinsk is privately owned. However, the municipality is working on this, going through the necessary legal procedures to recognize the property as abandoned and to provide it after to new businesses, local initiatives or families for the improving their living conditions.

An extensive city plan composed by the separate settlements needed an extended road and technical infrastructure as well as a network of social facilities close to housing. In the socialist period, most of that infrastructure was maintained by the mining enterprises while now it became a burden for the local budget. In 2004 the city implemented a strategy that is defined by Pallagst, Fleschurz and Said (2017) as 'expansive': it incorporated three villages to increase its official population number, which worsened the situation. The road and technical infrastructure have never been sufficient, and the scarce quality of the urban environment is rather a legacy of the Soviet era. The initial closeness of housing to the mines, absence of special measures during its construction in the past and long-term mining operations created a threat to the integrity of buildings and structures: the large fragments of the city fabric are affected by undermining.

In fact, in the period of shrinkage, the situation was slightly improved through the implementation of housing and economic development projects and active use of the national and regional state development programs for the housing and infrastructure restructuring [Figure 2]. The significant amount of new housing was constructed in the 2000s, in which people from the dilapidated buildings relocated. Some social facilities were reconstructed for the first time in several decades as well in the same period.



Fig. 2. Residential building in the undermined territories, which inhabitants relocated to new houses. Waiting for demolition. Photo by E.Batunova, December 2018.

In words of the City Mayor, all the implementing measures form a scope of planning and policy attempts oriented to the improvement of the residents' life quality. Thus, a strategy of socio-economic development was approved – a document that not required by the state, a city interdepartmental commission on socio-demographic issues was established, and in 2018 the municipality decided to develop a masterplan addressing shrinkage issue.

Discussion and conclusion

Novoshakhtinsk is a shrinking city, which population decline did not reach a dramatic dynamic, but which will likely continue to depopulate constantly. Until now the shrinkage consequences are not that evident in the cityscape, and it is difficult to distinguish them from the results of the socialist 'underdevelopment'.

However, due to the realistic perception of the phenomenon by the local authorities, a city has passed the stage of the shrinkage's ignoring, and comprehensive policy to cope with it is evolving since the municipality works actively with the different aspects of decline. Moreover, shrinkage is not perceived as a feature of hopelessness. As the Novoshakhtinsk's Mayor, Igor Sorokin, said: 'there is nothing to be afraid of, a decline is just new conditions'. Such a position is quite uncommon in the Russian political context. Amongst identified by Hospers (2014) four types of policy responses towards urban shrinkage, there are countering - when a local authority sees urban shrinkage as a temporal process and aims at the attraction of new residents, and accepting - when a city tries to stabilise a population number retaining the existing residents. Novoshakhtinsk's municipality acts within these two types of policy responses. Being aware on the fact that depopulation is not temporal, Novoshakhtinsk searches for the migrants and businesses attraction: without them, it would be impossible for the city not only to stabilise its population number but even to decrease depopulation dynamic because of the dramatic pace of the natural population decline. Nevertheless, these attempts are quite realistic and are based on local resources. The municipality also implements a strategy of utilizing urban shrinkage transforming the city in more compact structure and using the vacant buildings for providing them to new businesses or local initiatives.

The case of Novoshakhtinsk illustrates that understanding the complex urban shrinkage causes, lying at different scales and not manageable by the local authorities, provokes an emergence of comprehensive local planning and policy, oriented to cope with the challenge. However, the current policy and legal framework in Russia creates a paradoxical situation, in which the main resources for the local development come through the state investments and, at the same time, the state itself forms barriers and provides few opportunities for the implementation of decline-oriented planning. In such conditions the role of the local leaders is essential, and their actions lead to results not because of, but in spite of the prevailing circumstances.

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Sustainable functionalism, after neo-liberalism and socialism

Abstract: *In the early 1990s - a period which coincided with the publication of Agenda 21, a non-binding action plan of the United Nations for sustainable development - the idea of governance based on sustainability values was introduced. Nations adopted the framework guidelines for setting policies to reduce social inequality and environmental issues. However, due to the fact that today's economy is excessively reliant on oil, governance based on neo-liberal principles is unable to deliver the required policy changes at a fast-enough pace. In order to fill the gap governments have decided to give more powers to cities through devolution processes. Creating sustainable cities nowadays is one of the biggest challenges of urban environments, the achievement of which requires not only greener products, but also relies on people's engagement with regards to the adoption of behaviours aimed at less social and environmental impact. This paper reviews various governance ontologies and seeks to explain the mechanisms for sustainable governance and how different or similar it is to socialism or neo-liberalism, and concludes with the identification of areas for improvement in the sustainable urban governance of European cities.*

Keywords: governance ontologies, sustainable governance, green cities

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the terms Organisation and Organism have been frequently used to define two types of order (Hayek, 1973: 52). For many scholars, the order seen in organisation was what could describe governments, and the order seen in an Organism was what could be seen in Darwinian evolution (Hayek, 1973: 52). In today's governance we are still dealing with whether bottom up or top down mode of governance should be adopted for solving social, environmental, and economic problems of our communities. However, the nature of social structures and the methodologies used for governing them is not matter of choice but is a matter that needs to be studied and understood, to be able to answer the question of which tactic can work best when it comes to solve today's communities' problems. The following explains the various governance ontologies throughout history with the aim of defining the areas of improvement in today's governance.

Evolution Ontology

People change things gradually based on the day to day work and the answers they find for solving their problems. In governance based on Evolution theory, people use the routines that they have found useful in the past as tools that control and manage their communities. Actors in an evolutionary system satisfy their needs, changes therefore happen from bottom-up in an

¹ Heriot Watt university, UK. E-Mail: pt48@hw.ac.uk

incremental way through trial-and error and behavioural learning (Geels, 2010: 498). Nowadays, although some suggest that a change in current consumerist culture is needed from the bottom up, others see the issue as a problem that needs to be addressed at the higher levels of contemporary societies. The Conflict theory ontology agrees with the latter argument.

Conflict Ontology

During the expansionary phase of societies, communities created different groups for doing tasks, and also started to interact with communities outside their social system. This interaction between groups and communities were not just aimed at satisfying their needs, but also started to use other groups for their own advantages, and a struggle over the superiority of different groups or communities began. Conflict ontology is based on governing people in a top-down fashion. This ontology includes processes and struggles and argues that order arises from the coercion exerted by powerful groups and through the suppression of opponents. Conflict theorists believe that until the powerful actors are strong enough to marginalize and oppress challengers, transition cannot happen. Transition only occurs when there are shifts in the balance of power that allows challengers to push through changes in the existing structures (Geels, 2010: 501).

The introduction of new technologies in factories, although a rational way for moving forward, can cause struggles and conflicts as by doing so managers increase their control and authority over workers (Braverman, 1975). Similarly, supporting oil and automobile businesses is a rational way for carrying on economic growth, but this hinders the needed social and environmental change. Game-theory studies strategic interactions between rational decision makers which have been extensively developed in the 1950s (Bianchi, 1995: 772). When a Marxist scholar tried to explain the social changes through the game-theory (conflict ontology) mechanism (Elster, 1982), he faced criticisms. A colleague of his points to the historical materialism theory, which studies the level of productive forces of societies based on its economic structure and substructures, and argues that evolutionary changes also transform societies although not in a sudden way (Cohen, 1982). Another critic gives the example of an orchestra where musicians gather together because they share the collective goal of creating beautiful music, and argues that game-theory is unable to explain this social behaviour (Wolff, 1990). Working together because of a shared goal is the underlying mechanism of structuralism.

Structuralist Ontology

Through a combination of Marx and Hegel's philosophies, Gramsci argues that the stability of the *status quo* does not only occur through the ruling class oppressing other groups, but also through the creation of hegemony. Hegemony originated from the Greek word *égesthai*, which means to rule (Cristea, 2013: 79). Gramsci defines hegemony as a political direction which is not based on power coercion, but mostly based on cultural ideology (Cristea, 2013: 81). Although change in ideological structuralism may seem difficult, transition can occur when a new structure is being introduced and succeeds in gathering enough believers. At the height of the struggle between the working class and capitalists, and the rapid pace of change of norms in society during the 19th century, some societies such as Britain started to apply gradual evolutionary changes to the rules in an attempt to remove certain inequalities within society. When Germany embarked in creating a hegemonic structure to save community unity, by creating an honorary system for serving the community and blaming problems on other

communities (T. Parsons, 1942). The events that happen in human society and how people interpret them are also key determinants in the success of any structure-based society.

Constructivist Ontology

For a structure or meaning to become embedded in a society, people need to be able to talk about examples and then engage in practicing it themselves. Actors as creative entities engage in sense-making mechanisms through conversations, debates, negotiations, and learning processes. What is different between constructivist learning and evolutionary learning is that the former also consists of conceptual learning, which means besides just learning by doing things you also learn through imagining how things can be done in a different way (Geels, 2010: 499). Transition happens when different groups after seeing and hearing examples and holding conversations, start to agree about the best way forward. Holding constructive events based on promoting certain visions have always been used as a way of reinforcing the possibility of a transition. These events usually follow certain codes of conducts or ideologies that usually are being devised during the structuralism phase.

The hegemonic structure of Adolf Hitler, which was based on the ideology of being a master race, as well as constructing events to enable people to envision the promised perfect outcome, diverted the social anger of the time in Germany into a force that ignited the two World Wars. After the World Wars the governments started to govern people based on their own, although this time rather controlled, structuralist and constructivist ontology. However, creating a structure that would feel fair for everyone in a society started to prove unattainable. The socialist structure soon engaged in controlling the constructivist path of the society by limiting freedom and information management, while the capitalist countries from late 1940s were struggling with controlling their colonized counties and the unrest there were being felt by the population of the occupier countries (Smith & Jeppesen, 2017).

Rational Choice Ontology

Frederik Hayek, contrary to many scholars of his time, believed that societies follow the order of organisms and that that order of a great society cannot entirely rest on design. He was a strong critic of the Keynesian model of social economy. His argument was that it is not possible to know the exact facts of past which worked on selection of a particular biological form during Darwinian evolution; therefore, it is not possible to create an structure which can predict future development (Hayek, 1973: 16) Hayek believed that people should be left to make their own rational choices, and that the information gathered from people's behaviour can be used for creating order in society. This idea was at the basis of the creation of neo-liberal governments. From 1980s the idea of democracy and neo-liberalism started to get promoted. Neoliberalism was encouraging ideas such as competitiveness, economic growth, privatisation, limited government regulation, individual responsibilities.

Transitions in neo-liberal governments, which are based on neo-classical economy, usually occur as gradual adjustments to changing prices (Geels, 2010: 497). This is due to the fact that people are more likely to make desired choices and change their behaviour if they see that there is a cost benefit for themselves. But it was not just personal greed, or competition that was managing the neoliberal governance system, but relaxing regulations on businesses and competition since the 1980s, also resulted in increase in controlling people's behaviour through the produced objects, and their design and related psychological values.

Interactionist Ontology

It is not only humans who shape artefacts but artefacts also shape humans. For example, people's behaviours have changed dramatically in the last century, in a way that consuming fossil fuel has been normalized, after the introduction of machines such as air-conditioning, cars, dishwashers (Shove & Walker, 2007). Fetish was a man-made artefact that, in South Africa cults, was believed to have super-natural powers to protect its owner; and Marx has used this concept to describe the psychological value of commodities for people. By calling this Commodity Fetishism, he argues that the commodity form and its value have no connection to the physical nature of the commodity, but are defined through the social relations between men and the fantastic relation between things (Marx, 1990: 165). Similarly, the Interactionist Ontology is about understanding the perceived values that artefacts, their design, and arrangement have on people through studying their behaviour.

Discussion

Based on Hayek's neo-liberal view, institutions should have an evolutionary growth-based process; and the role of the governments is more about resolving upcoming conflicts through setting appropriate rules. Hayek considered cultural heritage to be a set of empirically tested behaviours which have prevailed because they have turned a group of men who have adopted them more successful (Hayek, 1973: 17). Hayek completely dismisses the structural form of culture which is based around human values. Through his strong belief of experiential-based knowledge, he developed Rational Choice ontology for governance, which was supposed to bring unlimited growth. Parsons in his book talks about the origin of knowledge and argues that although Kant believes in knowledge to be based on experience, neo-Kantians also believe in the validity of concepts (S. Parsons, 1990: 297).

When the growth project of neoliberalism faced social and environmental challenges, the need for having a long term structurally-based plan became clear. After the Second World War, in 1945, 50 countries signed the United Nations Charter in order to promote global peace and security. ("History of the UN,") As part of the neo-liberal transformation, nations have started to reduce their structuralist and constructivist governance activities, focusing instead on increasing their international trade activities, where the international organisations usually were responsible for setting these trade rules. However, after the release of the Brundtland report in 1987 at the UN, for keeping the promised peace and future growth, the UN needed a value-based structure. The structure of sustainable development was created through collaboration of 193 sovereign states, which are currently members of the UN. They then created a framework for the 21st Century, called Agenda 21, in an attempt to translate and implement the sustainable development structure in various nations ("Agenda 21," 1992). However, today countries' economies are now too reliant on oil, and governance based on neo-liberal principles is unable to deliver the required policy changes at a fast-enough pace. In order to fill the gap, therefore, governments in Europe have decided to yield more powers to cities through devolution processes. Cities now have developed their own carbon reduction strategy, and being a green city is being seen as a value. This value, encourages people to gradually change their behaviour towards low carbon products as an answer to problems, based on the Evolution ontology. However, it seems that cities should also start to also make use of organizational, or top-down based strategies, if they are aspiring to increase the pace of the change.

Functionalist ontology

Nowadays, many scientific phenomena are being looked at as Complex Adaptive systems, which is an alternative to the linear-reductionist way of thinking that has ruled scientific thought since the time of Newton (Rebecca Dodder, 2000). Functionalism is about controlling and studying a dynamic system towards the overall objective of the system. The complexity of dynamic non-linear systems can only be comprehended through the determination of the elements involved and the interaction between these elements. This can then yield us scenarios in which a behaviour can be predicted or a goal can be achieved. In today's societies, we have developed institutions that measure and analyse both the qualitative and quantitative data that can be used for governance. Transition in this system is deliberate although internal and external dynamics can greatly influence the pace and even success of this transition.

Conclusion

Although the bottom up changes that are currently happening in cities should remain and be encouraged, the devolution strategy of governments also require the cities to take more policy-related actions to reduce the conflict between economy verses society and environment. Based on this, some policy measures such as introduction of car park charges or clean air zones have recently started to happen. Cities can also deploy structuralist, interactionist, or constructivist mods of governance within their overall functionalist ontology. Nowadays, different European cities already have created a structure for reducing their carbon emissions on annual basis.

Transition through interactionist ontology can happen by introducing new designs and arrangements after investigating and understanding the meaning and values that certain artefacts can convey to people. For example, existence of certain infrastructures such as designated car park space for households encourages car culture. City planners are currently engaged in developing environmentally-friendly infrastructure and designs, and in the design process they study people's behaviour and consult citizens.

However, it seems that cities fail in constructing environmentally-friendly identity for citizens, that would encourage them to adopt new green behaviours. The Netherlands has successfully managed to associate cycling as an integral part of its people's national identity (Stoffers, 2012), where bicycle represents neutral, balanced, and level-headed identity (Ebert, 2012: 120). The fact that this community has managed to define an activity as their identity has more to do with constructivist ontology, and holding strategic cycling events and smart branding has been an essential factor in this. When it comes to constructivist identity-building programmes and events in today's cities, one can see lack of unity or structure. Although the majority of European cities facilitate or fund various social or environmental events, these separate events don't have any structural links and, in most cases, lack continuity. I would therefore argue that in order to achieve the green cities' goal, encouraging responsible values amongst citizens through holding strategic events is an area that requires improvement.

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Promises of Strategic Urban Planning

The 'traditional' or formal approaches to urban planning inherited from the modernism times have been actively criticised over the last decades for their sectoral views instead of integrated thinking and cooperative (collaborative) practices, and for being restrictive instead of motivating and supporting effectively new developments towards consensus-based future visions and (urban) sustainability. In this context, strategic (urban) planning has become 'a new hope' aimed to improve urban development patterns and processes in Western, Central and Eastern Europe alike while meeting all these new, better characteristics.

The enthusiasm for strategic planning approaches has been lasting for more than two decades already – firstly, imported in Central and Western Europe and here broadly applied, tested and discussed at the regional and municipal level, and quite recently discovered and promoted in Eastern Europe. The latter discovery has been supported importantly by international organisations (e.g. UN, GIZ, USAID, etc.) and private planning companies from abroad. But finally, 'policy transfers' are always challenged by the specific local contexts of implantation, its actors, institutional settings and broader governance arrangements, its legacies, situative needs and by many more intervening factors. These contexts influence on the concepts and processes of transfer themselves, potentially triggering (un-)intended local effects.

The critical attention to and sound discussion of the various European experiences with strategic urban planning are thus – from our point of view – of high value with regard to the practice-relevant learning [knowledge] and theoretical thinking. Against this background and with a particular interest to the promises of strategic (urban) planning in post-socialist Europe, the session is intended to tackle the following questions:

Concept: What are [local] understandings of strategic (urban) planning? What are critical differences as well as commonalities, and why?

Mobility: What are values as well as mechanisms which ease or hinder the travel transfer, interpretation and 'implantation' of the strategic (urban) planning concept to local contexts?

Effects: What are – finally – the actual and potential / tangible and intangible outcomes of strategic urban planning on the local ground? What are risks and challenges; what are benefits?

Carola S. Neugebauer, Faculty of Architecture, RWTH Aachen University

Vladyslav Tyminskyi, Faculty of Architecture and Urban Planning, University of Stuttgart

1 The democratization of urban planning in Prague? / O'Dwyer, C.

2 Strategic or strategic? Reaffirmation of socialist planning on the case of Belgrade / Danilovic Hristic, N., Colic, N., Djurdjevic, M.

3 New urban practices in Russia's periphery: actors, institutions, urban regeneration / Kitsos, V.

The democratization of urban planning in Prague?

Abstract: *My paper uses the ongoing debate about Prague's "Metropolitan Plan" to probe the role of municipal-level democracy in the transformation of urban planning in post-communist East Central Europe. The broad trajectory of Prague's urban planning is representative of regional historical trends: urban planning institutions formed a highly developed and prestigious component of the communist-era state. In the 1990s, however, these institutions were radically undercut as remnants of the old regime, and as municipal politicians turned city development over to the invisible hand of the market. As Martin Horak (2007) has documented, these policy shifts yielded a real estate market in which frequent interventions by municipal politicians led to urban sprawl, mounting traffic problems, and political corruption. By the mid-2000s, the label "developer" had extremely negative associations for the voting public. The stage was set for a shake-out of municipal political elites and, potentially, for a reform coalition of civic initiatives, environmentalists, and architects to reclaim and reconceptualize urban planning.*

Keywords: *Prague, strategic urban planning, political parties, discourse, city politics, post-communism.*

Introduction

This paper describes the reform of Prague's post-communist "urban planning regime" following the breakdown of its dominant-party political regime after 2010. The paper's main task is to describe how the city's urban planning regime changed as a more competitive municipal party system emerged. To lead with the results, a new urban planning regime has not yet emerged despite the dramatic makeover of the city's political regime.

In general, post-communist cities have found it hard to adapt their planning models since 1989. The communist model had been based on functional planning – rigid and detailed zoning based on numerous state-defined land-use categories. This model is ill-suited to an economy in which the state no longer directs development. In other ways, however, its combination of rigid permitting and bureaucratic discretion proved perfectly suited to the "political capitalism" that characterized the early phase of post-communist transition. As Martin Horak (2007) has documented, Prague illustrated this quandary: land-use became something negotiated under the table, allowing developers to build (for a price) and political elites to enrich themselves. In Prague, the emergence of this kind of regime – functional in

¹ Department of Political Science, University of Florida, USA. E-Mail: codwyer@ufl.edu

form, clientelist in content – coincided with the consolidation of a political machine led by the neoliberal-conservative Civic Democratic Party (ODS).

The next section will describe how Prague's party system has developed since 1989, and how ODS's dominance underpinned a clientelist urban planning regime. The paper then describes how, despite the breakdown of ODS dominance, a movement to reform urban planning, dubbed the "Metropolitan Plan" (MP), has dragged on for over a decade, and still faces uncertain prospects. I argue that the predicament of Prague's urban planners is at root political. It reflects the gap between the breakdown of machine politics and the emergence of a party system capable of creating accountability between citizens, parties, and the state. The other portion of blame would go to urban planning reformers themselves, who despite authoring a reform plan with many progressive and pragmatic elements, have tended to frame their project primarily in terms of "anti-communism," leaving them politically isolated. To capture this institutional and discursive history, my sources are documents published by Prague's current planning administration, the Institute for Planning and Development (IPR), and 27 interviews with planners, architects, politicians, civil society groups, and developers in Prague in summer 2018.

The Political Foundations of Prague's Urban Planning Regime

Since the collapse of communism, Prague's party system has passed through at least three distinct stages: chaotic beginnings, machine politics, and machine breakdown. Table 1 charts the relative strength of the major political groupings between 1994 and 2018. The party system was only loosely organized through the mid-1990s. Stage 2 emerged gradually, with the consolidation of a strong party machine under the leadership of ODS. The basis of the governing coalition was an alliance between ODS and the Social Democrats – parties that, in theory, were programmatically opposed (Horak, 2007: 142-3). Instead, political rents were their coalitional glue. The first decade of the 2000s was the heyday of the ODS-led machine, culminating in an absolute majority in the 2006 elections. A major fissure appeared in ODS's dominance in 2010, when it was challenged by the liberals, reorganized under the newly founded TOP '09 party. ODS was able to maintain its grip on power for a short time but this government collapsed in 2013 and a reformist mayor, Tomáš Hudeček, took office.

Though Hudeček's tenure proved brief, it began the third, and continuing, stage of party-system development: the near total replacement of the established elites by locally-based, populist, and post-materialist parties. The 2014 elections accelerated this generational replacement, decisively ending ODS's dominance. The newly established ANO party, generally described as populist, took a plurality and captured the mayoralty. Another new political formation, the Trojkoalice, brought the Greens and the locally based Party of Mayors and Independents (STAN) into the governing coalition. In the 2018 elections, this trend continued with wins by the Pirates, who took the mayor's office, and the locally-based "For Prague." Unlike previous eras, Prague politics is no longer dominated by nationally-based parties.

		1994	1998	2002	2006	2010	2014	2018
Established Parties	<i>Conservatives</i>							
	• ODS	41.8	36.8	42.9	60	31.7	12.3	21.5
	• KDU-ČSL			1.4			with 3K	with UFPF
	<i>Liberals</i>							
	• ODA	9.1	with UPP	--	--	--	--	--
	• DEU	5.5	with UPP	--	--	--	--	--
	• SD	5.5	with UPP	--	--	--	--	--
	• US	--	--	2.9	--	--	--	--
	• SNK-ED	--	--	21.4	5.7	--	--	with UFPF
	• SNK	--	--	2.9	--	--	--	--
	<i>Social Democrats</i>							
	• ČSSD	9.1	17.5	17.1	17.1	22.2	12.3	0
New Parties	<i>Communists</i>							
	• KSČM	10.9	14	11.4	8.6	4.8	6.2	0
	<i>Post-materialists</i>							
	• Greens (ZS)				8.6	0	with 3K	0
	<i>Liberals</i>							
	• TOP '09	--	--	--	--	41.3	24.6	with UFPF
	<i>Post-materialists</i>							
	• Pirates	--	--	--	--	0	6.2	20
	<i>Populists</i>							
	• ANO	--	--	--	--	--	26.2	18.5
	<i>Locally-Based</i>							
	• PS For Prague	--	--	--	--	--	--	20
Electoral Coalitions	• STAN						with 3K	with UFPF
	• 3K	--	--	--	--	--	12.3	--
	• UFPF	--	--	--	--	--	--	20
Others / Indep.	• UPP	--	28.1	--	--	--	--	--
		18.1	3.5	0	0	0	0	0
Mayor's Party		ODS	ODS	ODS	ODS	ODS, then TOP '09	ANO	Pirates

Various sources compiled by author.

Table 1. Prague Municipal election results by party types (1994-2018, percentage of seats in the Prague Council). Various sources compiled by author.

It was in the period of ODS dominance that a clientelist urban planning regime was consolidated. As Horak argues, the absence of regulation and oversight created opportunities for local politicians to intervene in development projects and enrich themselves (2007: 169). By the end of the 1990s, such influence peddling had become organized within local state institutions whose approval could make or break development projects. One such institution was the Historic Preservation Office (OPP), an official from which recounted in 2000, "This institution has basically been turned into a business run by [one long-time preservation official in the OPP]. He's the one who is in charge, who decides which investors will have to pay for the privilege of getting their way" (quoted in Horak, 2007: 168). ODS was the "umbrella under which they [corrupt officials and politicians] could find protection" (Horak, 2007: 175). In my own interviews, numerous respondents described ODS mayor Pavel Bém's tenure (2002-2010) as the apogee of this clientelist system.

If, through 2010, the problem of Prague's planning regime had been a political machine capable of capturing land-use and permitting, the problem since has been the failure to establish stable political parties. There has been a strong inflow of outsider parties, whose low institutionalization offers weak bonds between municipal state institutions, urbanism-oriented civil society organizations (CSOs), and commercial real-estate interests. Providing linkages between these elements is a key function of political parties, but in Prague's post-2010 political regime, they are not yet providing it. As the next sections show, the striking feature of urban-planning officials is their political isolation (and even antagonism toward) the other elements typically associated with urban development, such as political parties, CSOs, and developers.

Urban Planning in Prague's New Political Regime

The decay of Prague's political machine opened opportunities for a coalition of liberal politicians and architects to propose an ambitious urban planning reform, which came together in 2012 under the rubric the "Metropolitan Plan." In the next two sections, I trace its trajectory across two dimensions: institution-building and the framing of reform in the public discourse. To foreshadow: despite deep changes to its political regime, Prague's urban planning regime remains in limbo. Its state institutions are both highly politicized and yet operate at deep remove from civil society. Likewise, the framing of the MP has become defined in terms of breaking with communism. Prague's experience shows that, however necessary ending machine politics may be to reforming post-communist urban planning, it is not a sufficient condition for doing so.

The Reorganization of Planning Institutions

As in other East Bloc countries, Prague's urban planning was centralized in the Office of the Chief Architect from 1961 until 1994. The Chief Architect's master plan from 1985 remained in use through 1998 (Horak, 2007: 135). In 1994, the Chief Architect's Office was abolished and its functions were transferred to a new City Development Authority (URM) and City Hall's Territorial Planning Section (Kancelář, 2014: 193, 205). Undertaken in a time of neoliberal economic reform, these reorganizations weakened planning institutions already struggling from negative associations with communist central planning. They likely facilitated ODS's capture of land-use and permitting. In 2006, national legislation on the building code mandated that municipalities update their master plans within five years. Thus, between 2007 and 2009, the URM worked on a master plan revision called "Concept 2009," and it too retained the functional planning model.

By this time, however, architects, urbanists, and other experts were calling for a new approach based on flexible, multi-function zoning (MR 2017, 99), and with the decline of ODS's political fortunes in the 2010 elections they had an opening. These elections brought Tomáš Hudeček, a politician from TOP '09 and a geographer by training, to the City Council. Hudeček took a deep interest in urban planning and city development and organized the reform coalition. On July 12, 2012, the City Council voted to drop "Concept 2009," abandoning several years of URM work and "symbolically reach[ing] the dead end of the functional conception of planning" (Kancelář, 2014: 206). Shortly thereafter, the Council created an independent research division within URM called the Office of the Metropolitan Plan. Román Koucký, an architect with experience designing master plans for other Czech cities, was appointed the Office's head. When Hudeček took over as mayor in 2013, Koucký's team had the full institutional resources of City Hall behind them. To accentuate the break with the functional planning past, the URM was dissolved and replaced with a new institution, the Institute for Planning and Development (IPR). Optimism ran high, and Koucký declared that the MP would soon be ready (MR, 2017: 26).

Many of my interviewees recalled Hudeček's short term as the MP's "golden age" (cf. MR, 2017: 101).² In transforming the URM into IPR, many senior planning officials were edged out and replaced with a younger generation of architects. One architect and IPR collaborator recalled, "It was like a small Velvet Revolution. The ice was melting, and you met people keen

² This section draws on the text by Mariana Pančíková included in MR (2017, 99-105).

on cooperating, at least within the institution. So, there were, I think, big expectations about what would happen.” The research behind the MP was a massive project, extending beyond the IPR itself to include a team of over 60 people at the Czech Technical University and generating thousands of pages of methodologies and conceptual materials. The latter were particularly striking for they included as much philosophical and aesthetic argumentation about the nature of planning as they did “hard data” about Prague as a city. In addition to this work, the IPR prepared a new strategic plan for the city and a *Manual for Public Spaces*. It also attempted to create more public information about planning, opening a handsome new information center with public talks and exhibitions.

The 2014 municipal elections ended this “golden age.” As mentioned earlier, these elections upended Prague’s established political elites. Hudeček’s departure as mayor initiated a period of conflict and uncertainty for the MP and the IPR itself. The new mayor Adriana Krnáčová belonged to ANO, a populist party with an amorphous anti-corruption program. Their coalition partner the Greens took over the city’s land-use planning portfolio and actively inserted themselves into the drafting of the MP. The Greens did not endorse the functional planning approach per se, but they were deeply suspicious of IPR’s vision of increased flexibility in planning, seeing it as a threat to the city’s green spaces and quality of life. Their criticisms resonated with another coalition member, the newly created Party of Mayors and Independents. Pro-business in theory but politically amorphous in practice, ANO was an unpredictable actor in the increasingly rancorous conflict between City Hall and IPR.

Over the next four years, not only the MP but IPR’s existence itself came into question. Here is one description from the IPR’s own materials: “Green Party members undertook an ill-conceived plan to torpedo documents produced by IPR. This brought an explosively destructive form to the public discussion [of the MP] in which the conceptual documents were attacked, as well as individual IPR representatives themselves” (MR, 2017: 102). In this period IPR’s head was changed four times. (In the fragile coalitional politics in City Hall, the secretary for territorial development was changed three times.) IPR was under constant threat of audit, which my respondents informed me, could have shut it down. In 2016, in the midst of this infighting, the secretary for territorial development in City Hall took the extraordinary step of forbidding IPR from publicly discussing the draft MP. This ban lasted for almost two years.

In sum, Prague’s attempt to radically update its urban planning regime has been extremely turbulent, institutionally speaking. The fact that it has not collapsed entirely is perhaps less a testament to the principle actors’ ability to resolve their differences than it is to sunk costs and the absence of viable alternatives. Beginning again, after what would be two unsuccessful attempts to revise the 1999 master plan, is a task that few want to contemplate. This section has underlined how the turbulent party-system environment post 2010 led to the isolation of IPR reformers. Some part of this failure to establish links with parties, civil society organizations, and even developers appears also to have been the fault of IPR planners themselves, in particular to their framing of the MP. As the next section will describe, in the face of criticism, they increasingly framed the project in anti-communist terms. This served to dramatize the break with the past, but it also escalated polarization and increased the stakes of conflict, shutting down avenues for compromise.

Framing the Metropolitan Plan

Even its critics agree that the MP contains many tenets of progressive urbanism: increasing density, containing sprawl, improving public spaces, heritage protection, ecological

sustainability, and housing affordability. Across my interviews from 2018, I heard admiration for the MP's principle of defining and enhancing the *locus genii* of the city's various quarters. Both in the IPR's published materials and in Koucký's public statements, however, the MP's central contribution has been defined as bringing *flexibility* and *stability* to land-use and permitting. The MP's authors contrast these virtues with the extant functional planning model, which they describe as rigid and dirigiste. They argue that Prague's extant master plan necessitated multiple changes to build anything and that getting these changes through City Hall delayed construction (while inviting corruption). More flexible planning would obviate constant changes to the master plan and thus increase the stability of planning rules. Given the experience of the 1990s and early 2000s, this claim was not without merit.

However, as Koucký and his colleagues began to face criticism that flexibility would give free rein to developers, threaten Prague's extensive green spaces, and even increase corruption in the real-estate market, they responded by redefining "flexibility" into "anti-dirigisme," into "anti-statism," into "anti-communism." This framing progression is particularly evident in comparing Koucký's public statements over the period from 2012 to 2016. A defining feature of this "anti-communism" frame is a strong antipathy to the state, and in early interviews about the MP, Koucký's statements focused more on the state than communism per se. When asked about the role of municipal state offices in reference to the MP in 2012, Koucký replied, "It would be impossible for these [local organs] of the state administration to have more power than they do now. Today their power is virtually absolute, which in a truly free society is unsustainable" (MR, 2017: 21). During IPR's "golden age," Koucký tended to present the functional planning model's roots as deeper than the communist period. As he stated in 2012,

"We still have a land-use planning system founded on 1970s-era methods. It's a vulgarized version of the Athens Charter, which is based on mono-functional zones and the segregation of transport" (MR, 2017: 7).

However, as the MP team began to encounter criticism from environmental activists and others, "anti-dirigisme" became "anti-communism." Not only was the extant planning system a communist-era relic, so were the MP's critics. In October 2016, Koucký publicly railed against an unnamed clique of activists, which he numbered as including as few as 10 people, who were blocking the MP:

*I repeat, I do not want to name them because that would only give them publicity, but it's quite evident that there exists a kind of "tribe of hate," and it's very interesting that the links among them are clear. They are people who have never created anything, whose goal is the destruction of others' work. **They are united with the post-Bolshevik urbanist forces who are trying tooth and nail to keep central planning alive....** We must also realize that those trying to destroy the [Metropolitan] Plan are **those who are fully responsible for the state of the Czech cities today because they've been their planners since the 1970s** (MR, 2017: 78, emphasis added)*

In another interview from 2016, Koucký described the opposition to the MP in the following terms:

For almost the past two years, it has not been possible to speak openly about the Metropolitan Plan. During that time, I learned once again what the word ‘censorship’ means, but I was also seriously reminded of the word ‘normalization.’ [The term given to the period during Czechoslovakia’s occupation by the Soviets following the Prague Spring.] I personally was called before a “commission for monitoring the preparation of the Metropolitan Plan” directly reminiscent of the principles of the StB [the communist-era secret police agency] (MR, 2017: 67).

This “anti-communism” framing makes for a binary vision of reform, and as this frame became more defined after 2014, it was accompanied by an increasingly highhanded rhetoric toward civil society groups. This is most evident with respect to the attitude towards activists and journalists, whom Koucký blamed for opposition to the MP (MR, 2017: 50). Because so much is at stake, concessions to critics are to be avoided. It is of course paradoxical that the kind of anti-dirigiste principles undergirding the MP could accompany a growing tendency of the IPR’s planners to isolate themselves from the very non-state stakeholders central to land-use politics: developers, civil society groups, and journalists. In an interview from 2016, this sense of isolation is palpable, with Koucký stating:

We will have to wait and see whether the majority, that has until now been silent, rallies itself. Today we know that in reality there are probably only fifteen or twenty people who are really bothered by the MP. They want to return to the old planning principles; they miss the old centrally planned society. For others it’s a matter of building plots and new development zones. Politicians are silent. Investors are silent. Citizens are silent. Architects are confused (MR, 2017: 72).

This is a very insulated view of the planners’ role – opposed by civil society.

Conclusion

Despite today’s very different municipal political regime, it would seem that Prague’s urban planning regime still retains many of the elements described by Martin Horak in his influential study of city politics in the 1990s: protracted deadlock over how to reform a planning model inherited from the pre-1989 order, isolation of planners from other stakeholders, and a pervasive sense of distrust. One important aspect of Horak’s Prague seems to have diminished significantly, i.e. political corruption. Because of space constraints, I have not touched on this very large topic here, but suffice it to say that my interviews did not uncover evidence that the kind of corruption chronicled through the mid-2000s is widespread today. It’s notable that even with his anti-communist framing of the MP, Koucký downplayed the suggestion that corruption is still a major problem (MR, 2017: 32). This can be considered a positive consequence of the breakdown of machine politics, but it hardly solves Prague’s growth challenges. The failure to resolve the shortcomings of the extant master plan has created construction bottlenecks – delays in permitting extending up to 10 years according to my interviews – and skyrocketing housing costs. Aligning Prague’s urban planning and political regimes is as pressing as ever.

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Strategic or strategic? Reaffirmation of socialist planning on the case of Belgrade

Abstract: *This paper examines the understanding of the term 'strategic' in planning practice in the post-socialist country Serbia. This is a context, which is characterized by the EU integration processes, transition to a market economy, but also strong path dependency. The first part will present a historical overview of transition from traditional rational planning model to more strategic planning approaches considering the main European and international influences. The second part focuses on a case study of General Urban Plan of Belgrade from 1972 and explores its strategic procedural elements. Here we analyse the plan preparation methodology in which some elements of deliberation are rarely considered as a binding component of the rational approach to planning in its purest sense. Finally, this paper discusses the commonalities and differences within General Urban Plan from 1972, contemporary city-level general urban planning documents in Belgrade and novel strategies of integrated urban development. The main aim of this paper is to re-evaluate the socialist legacy in relation to the use of different procedural elements of strategic planning in contemporary conditions.*

Keywords: *legacy, strategic, transition, path dependency, participation.*

Introduction

First roots to strategic urban planning date back to 1930s in Australia. Later on, during 1960s and 1970s, strategic planning has evolved as an approach, tool and philosophy in the countries of Western Europe as well (Albrechts, 2004; Sumpor & Djokić, 2012). Almost 60 years later, a comprehensive unified definition of strategic planning is still difficult to determine, and it builds up on the extensive literature from the field of business planning. Thus, strategic urban planning has partly emerged as a response to a growing need for optimizing planning processes and outcomes, but also in the light of the communicative turn in planning theory and practice. During the 1970s, strategic planning was often equalized to a comprehensive and integrated approach, which aimed to tackle almost all aspects of development at different administrative levels (Albrechts, 2006). After the initial enthusiasm, scepticism was enhanced by the practical impossibility to achieve such ambitious goals in light of the emerging neoliberal regimes. Nevertheless, anew flourishing of strategic planning in 1980s and 1990s was followed by the emerging complex issues of cities which required a long-term plan. These circumstances were emanated through a growing necessity for boosting

¹ Institute of Architecture and Urban & Spatial Planning of Serbia (IAUS). E-Mail: natasadh@iaus.ac.rs

² Institute of Architecture and Urban & Spatial Planning of Serbia (IAUS). E-Mail: natasacolic89@gmail.com

³ E-Mail: milica.djurdjevic94@gmail.com

cities' competitiveness, and, at the same time, social fragmentation, growing interest in environmental issues and degradation of the natural environment, better horizontal and vertical collaboration between institutional and other bodies.

Numerous scholars have tackled the subject of evaluation of strategic planning practices in relation to capacities in adjusting global principles in approaching substantive contextual issues (Albrechts, 1999; Healey et al, 1997; Salet & Faludi, 2000). Still, there remains a continuous need for re-evaluation of both process and outcomes of planning in different local contexts, where the question of values and influences remains a pivotal point around which both practice and research should evolve. Although most planning literature considers post-socialist planning contexts as path dependent, top-down and based on principles of zoning, the practice which followed the strategic turn in Europe, was emanated in the local planning context of Serbia as well. In this paper we recognise two distinctive planning eras where some aspects of strategic urban planning were embraced - the socialist planning practice in late 1960s and 1970s, and contemporary practice from 2000s. The main aim of this paper is to offer an insight into an existing reservoir of knowledge and practice which dates from the socialist planning system and re-examine it in the light of the contemporary strategic and integrated urban development approach in a different socio-economic setting of markets and democracy.

Background and the context

In the local planning context of the socialist Yugoslavia, the common-value, unitary and rational approach strongly influenced planning practice, and where the State was the main protagonist of investments and development (Petovar & Vujošević, 2008; Lazarević-Bajec, 2011). In this era, most planning decisions were presumably implemented top-down, rationalised and legitimised through a scientific, technical approach to planning and without the legal obligation for participation of public until 1960s (Čolić & Dželebdžić, 2018a). A number of authors have recognised the value in better understanding of the socialist legacy and its influence in order to comprehend their outcomes after almost 30 years of transition (Szelenyi, 1996; Enyedi, 1998; Nedović-Budić, 2001; Tosics, 2004; Vujošević & Nedović-Budić, 2006; Tsenkova & Nedović-Budić, 2006; Nedović-Budić et al., 2011). Some of this work represents a theoretical as well as practical base for establishment of an appropriate and context responsive strategic approach to the urban development in Serbia. However, an overall accepted criticism of the rational planning model has left little or no place for evaluation of the socialistic legacy and urban planning practice of former Yugoslavia in relation to the strategic approach to planning and development.

While the early socialist planning era is mostly characterised by the state domination in decision making, centralised administrative planning and economic growth objectives (Vujošević & Nedović-Budić, 2006: 278), the following period of late 1950s was marked with regional and comprehensive plans and focusing on the physical aspects of the urban growth. According to a number of scholars, the most significant period for the development of the Serbian planning practice was between 1965 until the late 1980s. In this period, planning practice was characterised by a cross-sectoral coordination within different levels of government, wide participatory procedures and a strong role of the sub-municipalities, which held legislative power to guide the decision-making process (Enyedi, 1996; Vujošević & Nedović-Budić, 2006: 272). The sub-municipality level of decision-making was especially

important for redistribution of power and establishment of a system in which the significant autonomy at the local level was possible to achieve. The legacy of sub-municipalities (in Serbian 'mesne zajednice') remains in some transformed shape even today, without legislative power and mostly related to their territorial dimension. Their ability to influence the decision-making process has been notably weakened by their unclear and inconvenient definition in the law (Vujadinović, 2010). After the break of Yugoslavia in 1990s, political and planning system underwent through re-centralisation of the power and adaptation to market-based approach. The crisis in this period halted the process of transition, while the democratic reforms started in 2000s (Nedović-Budić et al., 2011).

Since 2000s, the planning system is characterised by transition to market-oriented planning and EU integration process, with a strong influence of international agencies to the local planning practice. These challenges are followed by deregulation, uncontrolled urbanisation, informal construction and usurpation of a state-owned land, societal fragmentation, poverty, and more (Čolić, 2015). The shift to markets was too rapid and dramatic and resulted in incomplete bottom-up approaches with the emergence of so called 'entrepreneurial' approaches where the development is subordinated to investors' needs (Vujošević & Nedović-Budić, 2006, Tasan-Kok, 2004). At the same time, the EU integration process enabled international cooperation, which resulted in introduction of the new instruments for integrated urban development through integrated urban development strategies.

Procedural aspects of developing strategies

Since 2007, local integrated urban development strategies were developed in the city of Niš, Kragujevac, Kraljevo and Užice. In 2018, the process of developing Sustainable and Integrated Urban Development Strategy of the Republic of Serbia until 2030 (SIUDSRS 2030) was carried out as well. The main task of the national strategy is to: '...establish collaboration between different sectors and define priorities by coordinating the needs and interests of different actors' (SIUDSRS 2030, 2018). The strategy represents a coherent set of decisions, reached through the process of cooperation with various actors in formulating a common vision and common goals, which are used to direct long-term transformative urban development. The strategy represents a mean for governing urban development, and contains a strategic (long-term) pillars and a series of flexible elements as a support to sustainable urban development decision-makers. It is important to mention that strategy is a complementary instrument to the traditional urban and spatial plans.

Several procedural elements of the process of developing strategy are crucial in order to enable integration of not only different aspects of development, but also different sources of funding. One of the main prerequisites for preparation of a strategy is participatory and integrated approach, as well as identification of the *spatial dimension* for integrated urban development. Spatial dimension provides an opportunity for the application of appropriate set of analytical instruments for identifying both issues and potentials, as well as measures to resolve these issues. It also allows for obtaining a comprehensive understanding of complex contextual conditions and factors determining economic, environmental and social aspects of urban development. Participation at various stages of the process of developing a strategy aims to achieve public dialogue and interdisciplinary cooperation of a broad range of stakeholders from various sectors, professional domains and levels of government. Strategy should clearly point to the way the citizens, the civil society and other actors are included in

the strategy implementation. According to a Guide for developing Integrated Urban Development strategy for Cities and Municipalities (2018), strategy preparation should be a collective effort, since the method of joint work increases the probability for successful and long-term implementation. The existing integrated urban development strategies at national and local level in Serbia were prepared through a number of meetings, consultation and focus groups with the members of a different ministries, representatives of local cities and municipalities, public planning departments and enterprises, private sector, NGO and international consultancy sector, university representatives, citizen associations and general public.

A brief overview of some of the procedural characteristics of an integrated strategy development in Serbia after 2000s aimed to point out at some of the 'steps forward' which include wide and substantive participatory mechanisms and integration of different aspects of development with the spatial dimension: governance, economy, social welfare, environment and culture. The following section analyses the GUP 2000 (1972) and GUP 2021 (2003) in order to re-examine if some of these procedural steps were incorporated in the practice of general urban planning in socialist and contemporary planning eras.

Case study - GUP of Belgrade 2000 and GUP of Belgrade 2021

The general urban plan (hereafter GUP) is traditionally seen as the basic strategic and zoning plan in the local planning legislation and practice in the country. The first post-war, authentic GUP of Belgrade was adopted in 1950, and today represents an important historical document⁴. Second generation of GUP Belgrade 2000 was adopted in 1972. This document is often considered as a representative of a 'golden age' of urban planning in the former Yugoslavia, due to the integrated approach to its preparation and adoption process. Finally, the latest General Plan of Belgrade until 2021 (2003) was drafted in line with the changed economic and demographic conditions in a post-socialist Serbia. Later amendments, variations and harmonisation with the changed legal planning framework (ending in 2016), and the adoption of the General Regulatory Plan of Belgrade which contains elements of detailed regulation, led to the situation where this key planning document (GUP) became 'excessive'. Its new role was limited to an indirect link between the Regional Spatial Plan of the metropolis and other more detailed regulatory urban plans.

The first generation of GUP was characterised by the top-down approach to planning and development, interdisciplinary decision-making processes and deterministic orientation, while the second generation of GUP (1972) was developed under the specific socio-economic conditions which allowed for international collaboration, extensive studies prior to its preparation as well as wide participatory processes (Cullingworth, 1997 in Nedović-Budić et al., 2011). During the introductory public presentation⁵ of the GUP 2000 (1972), the director of the Urban Planning Institute, architect Aleksandar Djordjević explained the methodological approach to drafting the plan:

"First, we have established cooperation with some scientific institutions and specialised professional organisations, where we (according to a predetermined

⁴ Presented at the exhibition "Toward a Concrete Utopia Architecture in Yugoslavia, 1948–1980", The Museum of Modern Art - MoMA, July 15, 2018–January 13, 2019.

⁵ Published speech at the Public Assembly of Belgrade for adoption of GUP on 23.03.1972.

program) have ordered the production of certain significant studies or documentation elaborates. Secondly, we have opened up to all users of space, main developers that we called for cooperation, and of course towards the public that we have timely informed and whose participation we wanted and provided. Well...we created a strong team of experts. They have been working on documentation, analyses, forecasts and synthesis for the new GUP in interdisciplinary cooperation. A total of 150 documentary projects were produced. The draft plan is the ultimate product of a long-term process of researching and evaluating alternatives, with increasing numbers of data circulating, until we have obtained a solution that we consider to be optimal. The public discussion of the pre-draft was also one of the kinds. It was an evaluation which influenced the final solution” (Djordjević, 1973).

When comparing methodologies and approaches, as well as key themes in developing general urban plans from the period of 1972 and in 2003, one can make a distinction of similarities and differences in the processes and planning doctrines. While the GUP 2000 was prepared during the period of socialism, the GUP 2021 evolved in a transitional and neoliberal environment. It should be emphasised that in 1972 Belgrade was the capital of a state of 22 million inhabitants, halfway between West and East, with an accelerated growth of living standards. Hence, it was in the interest of the highest state summit on how the city will look and work⁶. The most obvious differences between two plans are recognised in the concept of city development. After the period of accelerated reconstruction of war sufferings (GUP from 1950), the settlements of Belgrade were spreading to the other side of the Sava River and concentrically towards the periphery, following the regular routes. At the time, development followed the appropriate traffic matrix, and enhanced the formation of industrial and work zones, took care of standards of housing and quality of life in general, and envisaged the needs of preserving the environment. The revision of the GUP (1950) represented a natural and inevitable process which allowed for continuity and longitudinal approach to tackling the issues and responding to the changing needs. While the development of GUP in 1950 was based on an “intuitive” approach as it was the first generation of plans, the GUP 2000 (1972) is more often considered as a scientific-based plan⁷.

The case of GUP 2000 (1972) shows that the processual dimensions of the plan included interdisciplinary team work, forming documentary base, developing a number of expert studies and analysis and grasping the participatory process. In addition, the study of the quality of life of citizens of Belgrade was performed by the Slovenian sociologist Jezi-Gore Gorsevski and OECD team for the whole area of the city of Belgrade. The findings obtained from this study were incorporated into the draft planning solution. It may be argued that the system of planning at the time already stemmed towards adopting some of the principles of integrated and strategic approach which relate to interdisciplinarity, research and wide horizontal and vertical collaboration. In addition, both documents contain strategic goals, and more concrete measures to achieve such goals. Finally, both documents contain the all-important spatial dimension which allows for consideration of appropriate set of analytical instruments for achieving balanced urban development. In consideration of the outcomes of the

⁶ Visit of President Josip Broz Tito to the Urban Planning Institute of Belgrade, TREZOR, archives of RTS.

⁷ Gligorićević, Ž., Graovac, A. (2018) 70 godina Urbanističkog zavoda Beograda, knjiga I: Istorijat. Urbanistički zavod Beograda.

GUP 2000 (1972), the striking evidence is reflected in the incorporated norms and standards for development of public land use and public services, whereas for example affordable housing reached quantitative (square meters per inhabitant) and qualitative (materials, light, optimisation of heat) standards which are difficult to achieve in contemporary practice. Finally, it is important to mention that most planning and architectural solutions from the time were reached through international competitions, which were an obligatory part of the process.

The plan from 2003 had a challenging role to grasp the unplanned changes mostly emanated through informal development which first occurred during the 1980s, and later continued in a diversified form until today. Such development led to the expansion of construction land and usurpation of the land which was legally defined 'in the public interest', meaning intended for development of public land use and public services, important traffic and infrastructure corridors. Before the end of the plan preparation process, political structures imposed a new populist demand for the profession, whereas the plan was to be directly implemented on each plot, i.e. enabling the issuance of the construction permit in parts of the city that did not have detailed regulation plans. Thus, a plan which was supposed to propose strategic directions for the development of the city without any cadastre/plot position and number developed in the scale of 1:20000, was in the end interpreted as a planning base for enabling construction. Another issue was perceived in the lack of specialized studies and analysis in the plan preparation phase, as well as the lack of comprehensive top-down decisions in relation to some of the crucial projects such as zones of high level of hazard of the scientific institute in Vinča, airport in Surčin, or several water protection zones. These specific areas were left as 'white spots' in the plan, while their detailed land use was left to be defined after harmonization of the land use with specific legislation in this field.

Discussion and conclusions

Numerous initiatives are on-going in the field of integrated urban development, quality of life and better governance and in order to strengthen the economic position of cities in the European Union (EU). Frequent discussions on transforming institutions and procedures at all levels of government were encouraged by different objectives – from promoting competitive local economy to reducing the gap between citizens, businesses and the state. Debates in this field are often contradictory. They resulted with various forms of transformative initiatives at the local level. Urban governance is seen as a complex set of political entities, where participation, partnership establishment, coalitions, pacts, public dialogue and networks are conceived, in order to develop new policies and rules. Here, planning and urban governance are associated to through the development of strategic plans.

With democratic changes and transition to market economy, Serbia has adopted a new socio-economic framework that has fundamentally changed its relationship towards governance and development of public policies. A new concept for urban development, the so-called concept of good governance, is defined in some of the most important United Nations and EU documents. This concept implies a shift from government to governance, and focusing on the effectiveness of using different resources accessible in a given context, with the inclusion of non-state bodies in the process of shaping public policies (Petrović, 2012). The concept of governance was accepted in principle in Serbia, which has consequently brought forward the need for comprehensive structural reforms to ensure the 'rule of law', clear standards, transparent procedures, free market and high quality of services for citizens and businesses to

establish new relations between state institutions, economy and citizens (Maruna et al., 2018). Some steps towards embracing the concept of governance were recognized through the initiative towards developing integrated urban development strategies at national and local level in Serbia. In this sense, the strategy is seen as a comprehensive document which substantively grasps the main issues and potentials in urban development in relation to different aspects from the field of economy, social welfare, environment, locally specific values and culture. Strategy is also an instrument for governing urban development, and contains a strategic (long-term) pillars and a series of flexible elements as a support to sustainable urban development decision-makers.

The main task of an integrated urban development strategy is to establish coordination over different sectors and define priorities by coordinating the needs and interests of different actors. Although it is a complementary instrument to formal urban plans, this paper aimed to re-examine and compare some of their processual elements in order to provide better understanding of the term 'strategic', often used in relation to traditional planning instruments. The main findings relate to the notion that the socialist GUP 2000 (1972) contains more elements of strategic planning than some newly developed General plans for the city of Belgrade (for example, GUP 2021 developed in 2003). Participatory processes, prioritization based on in-depth research and analysis, international competitions and integration of various elements of development within the spatial dimension - contribute to the need for recognition of examples of 'good practice', even with the benefit of the hindsight. Thus, the analysis of some of the processual elements of the GUP 2000 (1972) suggests that future preparation of integrated urban development strategies should respectfully include the existing reservoir of practical knowledge which dates back to the socialist era but was rejected at the beginning of the transition process. However, in order to be reused effectively, this knowledge should be adapted in line with the new demands required by the democracy, markets and decentralised governance. In this way Serbian planning practice would have an opportunity to establish the planning system based on theoretical recommendations of the strategic approach, practical knowledge acquired throughout process of testing the new instruments of integrated urban development, and, knowledge inherited from the pre-transitional period which relates to the idea of the protection of the public interest through both normative and substantive, bottom-up dimensions. In this way the process of urban development could be modified and some steps of the global urbanisation model, hopefully the most complex and degrading ones, might be avoided (Tosics, 1997).

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New urban practices in Russia's periphery: actors, institutions, urban regeneration

Abstract: *This paper is seeking to address the question of urban policy mobility and institutional change in secondary cities in an increasingly interconnected global environment. It presents a case of urban regeneration in Eastern Siberia. Critical in this case has been the launch of a Corporate Social Responsibility program by a large industrial enterprise. The article follows the birth and development of this program, its impact in the city administration and intermingling with federal initiatives including institutional adjustments to facilitate private public partnerships. This process has so far led to a number of ambivalent results, but also points to a differentiated institutional and actor landscape.*

Keywords: *urban policy; Siberia; secondary city; knowledge transfer; corporate social responsibility.*

Introduction, theoretical considerations

The circulation of ideas and visions towards the good urban life is nothing new. It became however significantly more-dense in the late 20th century, to the extent of rendering the notion of independent, 'domestic' decision-making anachronistic (Garrett et al., 2008; Gress, 1996; Stubbs, 2005 – in Peck, 2010). Cities whose integration in global networks was incomplete, for reasons such as geographic isolation, economic insignificance and geopolitical singularity, also saw increased diffusion processes and mutations in urban policies. These cities, coined "globalizing" (Krätke, 2014), cannot be seen through the eyes of the global or the creative city discourse. Moreover, scholars who write on neoliberalization and entrepreneurial strategies of development (Brenner & Theodore, 2002, Swyngedouw et al., 2002) can also miss paying attention to the actors and institutions involved in the new urban policies.

Robinson (2015) saw a more dynamic approach overlooking separately on policies and change in spaces and suggested a topological and topographical analysis in order to better understand how policy is transferred into different urban environments. McCann and Ward (2010) also observed the difficulty of scholars to express the complex spatiality of policy making. Urban policy-makers and other elites are conceptualized as 'transfer agents' (Stone, 2004 - in McCann, 2011) who do not just distribute a policy but also transform it through circulation (Prince, 2010). Knowledge transfer and policy mobility also have an effect on institutional environments, which can be described by DiMaggio and Powell's structured field. I

¹ Department of Sociology/ Center for Baltic & Easter European Studies. Södertörn University, Sweden. E-Mail: vasileios.kitsos@sh.se

approach my case as the hybrid mutation of policy techniques. Expanding, I argue that the materialization of each project reveals certain things about the dynamized institutional landscapes of the secondary city.

In the chosen geographical area, integration in global networks of knowledge has been partial and for a number of reasons. Similar but not identical to Eastern and Central Europe, that earlier found itself in a 'learning environment' marked by considerable urgency, if not outright vulnerability (Peck, 2010), Siberia offers a fertile ground for the neodiffusionist thesis with regards to different and disruptive accounts of policy diffusion and transfer. I share the view that the post-Soviet case may be seen as a specific manifestation, rather than exception, of an incipient transnationalization of the policy-making process and argue that urban regeneration in secondary Siberian cities is instrumentalized as inciter of change, ranging from strengthening the existing urban regime up to catalysing transformative change, in accordance with the theory of strategic action fields. At the same time, the landscape of actors involved is site-specific. Relations and dynamics that develop among them are inscribed in physical space and revealed in the chronology of the studied projects.

The material consists of information derived from (1) official documentation and media reports, (2) interviews and (3) participant observation during field visits. The case study is situated in Achinsk, an industrial city in Central-Eastern Siberia with a population of roughly 100,000. Achinsk is a city that shares many characteristics with several other cities in the Urals and Siberia, where the industrial enterprise of Rusal is an indispensable part of the socioeconomic life.

A chronology

During the 2000s, the Achinsk Alumina plant consistently provided employment to the local workforce, overseas profits to its owners, few revenues to the city and the Krasnoyarsk Territory, and heavily polluted the air, soil and water bodies nearby. At the same time, the topic of the tax seat of the plant was a source for confrontation among the economic and political elites that had a say on the Krasnoyarsk Territory's large enterprises.

In August 2004 however, RUSAL adopted its corporate code, formally conforming to international business norms in production management and environmental policy. By 2007, when UC Rusal was formed, the preconditions were generally positive: the regional budget was growing, new principles of corporate governance were gaining ground and the concept of Corporate Social Responsibility was also popularized as a prerequisite for entering the international market. At this period, the aluminium plant was a rather insignificant social partner of the city and had a next to non-existent implemented or anticipated involvement in urban development. the Soviet-inherited top-down practice of the main urban planning document of the peripheral city being drawn in the centre was firmly respected: The latest General Plan of Achinsk was prepared by the Saint Petersburg Institute of Urban Studies and presented as draft in July 2005 by the City Architect to the Regional Government in Krasnoyarsk, approved and brought in public discussion. This process included concerns expressed by local planners with regards to the environmental situation in Achinsk due to the alumina and oil plants, a City Architect with executive role only and the absence of any meaningful feedback mechanisms involving citizens.

In the aftermath of the 2008 economic crisis, Rusal entered a series of regional conflicts which further harmed its image. The state interference and easing of tensions that followed saw the

maturing of the concept of social responsibility. Small actions surfaced in the public space of Achinsk, more characteristic of which was a small square reconstruction, to which Rusal contributed. To be sure, the acting mayor of Achinsk, in office since 2007, had also served as general director at both the Achinsk Alumina Refinery and the Krasnoyarsk Aluminum Plant, while serving as Deputy at the Krasnoyarsk Territory Legislative Assembly. The increasingly global appeal of the company however generated a need to properly comply with global standards. That was translated into substantial investments in social programs and a compromise with local, regional and federal authorities, visible in the company's new 10-year strategy, adopted in 2011. Soon, an organizational structure aiming at formulating entrepreneurial, participatory, business-friendly, self-aware and engaged local societies started unfolding simultaneously across Siberia and the Urals. This was followed by the signing, in October 2011, of a cooperation agreement with the Krasnoyarsk Government, that officially linked the company's social policy and its product development strategy with the industrial profile of the Krasnoyarsk Territory, and a social partnership agreement with the city of Achinsk. Further agreements followed and the company formally acquired the instruments for facilitating coordination of activities with the Regional Government.

Soon after, the company's main corporate responsibility program, "Territory Rusal" started integrating clear urbanistic components. The city administration would soon find itself having to adapt to new vocabularies, processes and requirements. Up to that moment, all impediments to Achinsk's development had been documented and well known. Previous state reports however lacked any reference to the citizens as active agents of urban renewal or the quality of the built environment. In the contrary, they advocated for growth through the implementation of regional investment programs, increase of housing construction and social programs, in line with the Soviet tradition of plans for socioeconomic development. The urban life quality component had however become central in nationwide debates with the federal program "Formation of a comfortable urban environment". This has been a milestone moment of nationwide significance that sought to export Moscow's fresh experience of urban renovation, legislative updating but also participatory design across Russia. The program aimed to function as catalyst, accelerating processes through direct commissioning and financing of projects in a certain time frame.

In Achinsk, it was the expansion of Rusal's CSR that gradually aligned and undertook the task of both educating the administration and becoming attentive to citizen wishes, despite the latter casually observing the series of announcements passively. Autumn of 2015 saw the launch of a workshop under the title "Forming a comfortable urban environment", in which the St. Petersburg Institute of territorial planning "Urbanica" was invited by Rusal. The organizers expressed a clear intention to adapt to contemporary urban design practices with Urbanica acting as moderator between the city and citizens. The workshop was promoted by local media, emphasizing that Achinsk planned to create "urban zones of European comfort". The resulting strategy identified a network of key public spaces, that soon became the centre of activity. Thereby Urbanica, an organization informed on contemporary debates, introduced them to the public or, at least, to city officials. How these were translated by them, is a different matter: What Urbanica experts were proposing at the given moment was a gradual transformation process. However, when the mayor of another small city agreed that *"it is not possible to wait for large investments, you need to start improving the quality of life yourself"*, he essentially implied delegating infrastructure maintenance to the city residents. Nevertheless, Achinsk administration rushed to adapt to the new situation and even considered changes in

the urban planning legislation. Regional officials praised the program, as it could allow the city administration to provide them concrete proposals and apply for joining other state programs, thus suggesting a partial reversal of the top-down decision making. In this proposal for inversion, Rusal could be seen as a linking agent towards something that would resemble the long wished-for shift towards strategic planning, there exists however no indication that this initiative evolved beyond that.

On another note, Urbanica representatives noted that the strategy implementation would largely depend on the economic situation in Achinsk. However, city and Krasnoyarsk Territory representatives appeared confident that the work would be done in any case. This determination to deliver results essentially contradicts the same persons' relentlessly stated interest for qualitative improvement: if the main concern is to deliver results regardless of budget limitations, then these results can't possibly be of high quality – these are mutually exclusive. On the other hand, and regardless of the real degree of citizen involvement, at least some assistance to the city's department of architecture and urban planning was given. However, local and regional authorities have had their own rationale: change would occur one way or another, because it had to. Thus, in the ground they sought to both catch-up with prescriptions and directives coming from elsewhere, police contractors' activity and budget management and make sure that the expected results were delivered on time and engage a largely uninterested citizenry, so that the much-advertised participatory processes actually become such. In the process, much was interpreted at will and short-term goals were mixed with elsewhere-defined objectives. In that, parts of Rusal's social projects were essentially directed towards assisting the implementation of the Federal Program, by sponsoring the dissemination of cutting-edge participatory practices from the centre to the periphery. The shift of Rusal's CSR program towards questions of urban space quality went beyond the Territory Rusal contest. It is demonstrated in the organization of numerous workshops, festivals and events that explicitly aimed to activate the city's public space. These can be seen as an attempt to consolidate an urban identity in Achinsk, by assigning it the role of the capital of Western Krasnoyarsk or granting it urban qualities that resembled Moscow's grandeur, at least as collective imagery. Attempts from the side of the city administration to conform to the new urban paradigm continued as well, often in rather peculiar ways, with the entire city council literally taking to the streets in one instance, to meet citizens and issue fines, following the mayor's order, who emphasized the need to impose rule and order.

Towards the end of 2017, an event of broader significance took place: Governor Uss signed a cooperation memorandum with the three major regional enterprises on an ambitious investment program. In it, the creation of a comfortable, pleasant urban environment was described as prerequisite for attracting skilled people, making them stay in the region and not just curbing negative demographic indicators. On top of that, in February 2018 the company publicly announced the intention to relocate its headquarters to Krasnoyarsk: a ground-breaking development, as it implied the creation, for the first time in the history of the city, of global economic and management functions. Concurrently, one of Rusal's social programs received a Presidential Grant for the development of civil society. In Achinsk, the federal program was running, with local press inviting citizens to vote for the public space that should be renovated. Interestingly enough, the vote was set for 18 March 2018, set to coincide with the national Election Day. This program was not formally linked to Rusal. However, Rusal's social entrepreneurship programs had by then paved a path and provided organizational tools to the public to access the Federal program.

By April 2018, this increasingly tight relationship was threatened by an external event. This was the announcement of sanctions by the US Treasury on Rusal's Oleg Deripaska. At first, it appeared that hell would break loose in Siberia, considering the significant degree of dependence of the regional economy on Rusal. Deripaska later announced he was resigning from the Board of Rusal, while sanctions on the company were finally lifted in early 2019. In any case, with the exception of the postponement of headquarter relocation, Rusal during this period appeared determined to not abandon its social programs and to improve conditions for business and living in the Krasnoyarsk Territory. Meanwhile in Achinsk, the combined outcome of Rusal's social projects, the Federal Project as well as local activation resulted in intensified renovation and construction activity, with the local press attentively observing the changes and regional Deputies closely monitoring the implementation of the federal program, even volunteering to supervise the contractor's work, with the City Architect wishing to see "more active participation, and not only from elderly people".

Towards the end of 2018, the launch of the regional "Yenisei Siberia" investment project signalled a deeper integration of Rusal's CSR in the territorial development strategy. A conventional culmination of the first decade of Rusal's involvement in urban policy mutations in Siberia is the company's sponsoring of the Krasnoyarsk Winter Universiade in March 2019, that among others entailed multiple acts of financing of public works and urban space activation in the capital of the region.

Conclusions

In the intersection between unchanged administrative structures and the arrival of the CSR program, the latter gradually entered the territory of the former. It assumed extended tasks, introduced civic social-oriented organizations and even tended to overshadow the city administration through increased financing that started being directed not only to social projects but essentially public works. From 2015, the company's CSR formally engaged in an urban regeneration process that was initiated elsewhere in the federal centre. From the aluminium plant "tyrannizing" the city through pollution and neglect throughout the 1990s and 2000s, Rusal's CSR in Siberia has become part of a nationwide effort towards the enrichment of the public debate on urbanism and urban life, broadly defined, including the improvement of the country's public spaces.

This ongoing effort has so far led to a number of ambivalent results and has marginally stimulated the much-expected public response in peripheral Siberia. The intention to support civic entrepreneurship seems to have the potential to stimulate the challenging of centre-periphery patterns of knowledge transmission in the field of urban regeneration as well, it is however very early to draw conclusions, other than that these programs: (a) have facilitated a coordination between central and local authorities (b) engaged in capacity-building (c) covered budget holes and/or compensated for a negative image of the enterprise. (d) have been embodied in the company's production development strategy. (e) have been deliberately interpreted and utilized by local authorities.

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Urban Morphosis Lab is a research lab established in 2018, based at the Department of Architecture in TU Darmstadt and places its focus on investigating complexity and diversity in contemporary urban changes. The Lab aims to provide a research platform for investigating diverse phenomena in urban change, and fostering connections between international researchers with similar research foci, thereby enabling networks that can provide more comprehensive knowledge.

The lab is founded on the following objectives:

- to draw attention towards a deeper understanding of various manifestations of contemporary urban change in cities; in particular the causes, trajectories and implications;
- to establish an efficient exchange platform for researchers with similar interests;
- to offer international and inter-disciplinary approaches for researchers in the form of publications, exhibitions, conferences and forums;
- to highlight and promote creative and inspiring ideas and solutions

Editors

Nebojša Čamprag
Anshika Suri

Author & Distributor:

"Urban Morphosis Lab" Research Group
Email: urbanmorphosislab@gmail.com
[www.https://urbanmorphosis.wixsite.com/urbanlab](https://urbanmorphosis.wixsite.com/urbanlab)

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Design

Zsombor Szabo
Email: szsdesign@gmail.com

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